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sive and all-round studies, its staff comprises those working from the standpoint of the psychological, medical, and social sciences. It is only through the devoted service of the entire personnel that the material for the present publications is available.

Readers cannot draw conclusions for scientific purposes from statements concerning localities, names, dates, nationalities, and facts of family history as given because, in the usual professional fashion cases are reported with disguises. But the general facts, even of heredity are accurately transcribed, and no matters of importance for interpretation of causation as it bears on therapeutic possibilities in the individual case are changed or omitted.

The plan of presentation is to offer a first series of twenty studies covering a wide range of problems of interest to educators, psychologists, psychiatrists, sociologists, judges, probation officers, and all who deal with matters involving the adjustments of young people. For teaching purposes, a loose-leaf edition is available so that all pages designated with (a) may be withheld until the factual material of the first study of the case, given in the other pages, is treated by the student as a problem to be solved.

It is hoped that the publications can continue and include consideration of groups of cases representing types of problems in education, in make-up of individuals, in conduct, etc. It is planned at later dates to report on important facts of cases earlier published.

The gratitude of students who benefit by these studies is due to the Commonwealth Fund of New York, a grant from which has made this series possible.

The social treatment has been carried out through child welfare agencies of many sorts, and the spirit of their co-operation has been splendid. It would be a pleasure to give credit to the particular agency in each case, but since, for several reasons, it is inadvisable, we desire here to express our deep appreciation of their co-operation with the Judge Baker Foundation.

WILLIAM HEALY, M. D.
AUGUSTA F. BRONNER, Ph. D.
Directors.

Case Study No. 1

SERIES I

JUDGE BAKER FOUNDATION
40 COURT STREET
BOSTON

Copyright September, 1922

CASE ONE

Gregorius Mantos: 16 yrs., 2 mos.; Greek parentage; born in Greece; in U. S. 7 yrs.

Introductory Statement

(Oct. 1918). For the last two years Gregory had been in foster homes carefully selected and believed to be suited to his needs. From each of the four homes in which he had lived for varying periods, there came, after a time, the same complaints and demands that he be removed at once. Too impudent to be tolerated, too conceited to be amenable to ordinary family life, he was lazy, hot-tempered, generally dirty, and he was forever asserting the superiority of his own race and of communistic ideas.

When, two years earlier, the court had asked that he be placed out, Gregory already had quite a career of delinquency. At eleven years he first appeared in court for petty larceny, and there followed repeated appearances for begging, stealing, staying away from home for days at a time, truanting, petty burglary, and receiving stolen goods. All this, in spite of active probation, had continued over a period of three years.

The child-placing agency which had charge of Gregory, discouraged by his general behavior tendencies rather than by any repetition of his former offences, desired a study of him. They wondered whether he were mentally abnormal, or whether possibly their homes had been unsuited to his needs, or whether he ought not to be returned to the court as a failure and sent to a boys' correctional institution.

Study of the Background

Family

1 (The agency interested arranged for the father to come to see us. He presented himself very willingly and was found to be friendly, and thoroughly co-operative His story obtained by a social worker who spoke his native language had every semblance of being reliable.)

1 We have little sympathy with the idea that an individual or his problem can be really known through "an examination" and a labelling process — it requires, rather, an *examination into* what makes him what he is and makes him do what he does. It can only be lack of experience in studying life careers that leads anyone to believe otherwise, to believe that the individual's problems in conduct and education can really be appreciated or solved by looking him over physically and giving him some intelligence tests. There is always interplay between the individual and his environment, physical and mental, present and past. From the facts provided by knowledge of the background we get indicators or clues to elements which may possibly be explanatory of the active or passive components in his behavior trends, creating urges and developing inhibitions. One cannot completely study from the standpoint of life's functionings any sort of a biological specimen apart from molding outside influences. That is the weakness of a bare laboratory method, of "examining" an individual.

Even though an agency has dealt with the family, it is our experience that its statement of facts will not adequately take the place of a personal interview with parents, because scientific study has very different points of emphasis. Important whole groups of facts are not taken account of in any ordinary investigation; for example, the powerful but formative influences of mental life that are always active in home and other associations beneath the surface of observable exteriors.

2 *Father*: 61 years old; born in Thessaly. A rather picturesque personage, small in stature, poorly but very neatly dressed, quiet, dignified, very courteous. He states that he has always been healthy, except for rheumatism in recent years and denies any excessive drinking. He graduated from an elementary school in Greece, has always been a great reader, especially of history, and has been much interested in politics. He gave an account of his own turbulent youth and of how he spent some time in prison abroad for "speaking against the country." "When I was young, I, too, was rebellious."

He first came to the U. S. when he was 31 years old and worked at his trade, which was that of a marble cutter. After some years he returned to his native land and was married. He remained about two years, during which time his first two children were born. Then he came again to this country, bringing his family, but in a few years he once more returned to Greece. Shortly afterwards his wife died. Then, leaving the two older children in the care of relatives, he brought his youngest child, 2 years old, to America, thinking he could earn a better living here. He did not do well, and leaving the little girl in charge of the State Board of Charity, he went back. In a couple of years he emigrated finally with his older children. In all the years since then he has conducted in his little lodgings a business of repairing broken household articles, statues, ornaments, china, etc. He apparently drifted into this through his earlier work with stone cutting and repairing marble.

Several have been impressed by the father's apparent sincerity and honesty, and these qualities, together with his cleanliness, beyond what might be expected of him, and his good manners make him generally well thought of. He speaks broken English, but we have been several times informed that his Greek is very unusual in its purity and in its literary qualities. He has maintained his interest in public affairs and regularly reads a daily newspaper printed in his native language. He has long since become an American citizen and regularly votes the Republican ticket.

3 *Father's Family*: His father was a stone mason, healthy, intelligent, but quarrelsome and wild when a boy. When a middle-aged man he was killed in a street quarrel. This man had a brother who was especially quick-tempered and who had in the old country a court record for fighting. The father's mother lived to old age. She had 13 children, only 4 of whom lived to grow up; most died in infancy of ailments unknown to the father. Two of them are very

2 This man is clearly much better educated than the average immigrant, though he has never been even moderately successful. He has never been earning at all up to the level of his intelligence or his good character traits, both of which should have been assets. While we know little of his special capacities and incapacities, we do know, of course, that he lacks forcefulness. One wonders whether with proper introduction and organization of immigrants into our community life there might not be more advantageous adaptations. The story as it proceeds offers a commentary on the expensiveness of neglecting to fit the immigrant better into the new conditions. Both the immigrant and the rest of us would gain vastly by bringing about a more sensible adjustment than this case represents.

It appears suggestive for ultimate prognosis in this boy's case that the father, though so aggressive in his younger days, is mild now.

A man with a little learning, especially in political theory, unsuccessful, harassed by poverty, without complete family ties, already in trouble in the old country because of his anti-governmental views might well be thought of as anarchistic material. It is interesting that this man somehow changed. Perhaps American democracy is nearer his ideals; perhaps it is his advancing age with its natural conservatism.

His nationality has little to do with matters of radical political beliefs; aggressive malcontents with government are found among many nationalities.

There is nothing very unusual about this man's trips back and forth, especially as he had no established business, and such journeyings are common among Southern Europeans.

3 There is too little known of the extent of hot temper in this family to bear on its significance for Gregory's case; nor is much known about its heritability. What contributions have been made in the literature on the subject are mostly from the standpoint of the relations of extreme temper to epilepsy.

We should be loath to conclude anything from the fact of much infant mortality. It might be due to epidemics or ignorance rather than to inherent weakness in the family stock.

good men, living in the old country. The other is a sister here, with whom he is not on friendly terms. No evidences of insanity, mental defect, or epilepsy were found in this history.

4 *Mother*: The father reports that she was healthy and of good moral standards, but "she was headstrong." She suffered from no nervous or mental disease prior to an attack in which she was paralyzed and died at 42 years of age. She was practically illiterate.

Mother's Family: The mother's father was a cobbler, a good man, rather dull mentally, who died at an advanced age. Little is known of his wife (she died much earlier) or of several of their 5 children. One of the mother's sisters was decidedly erratic, but was never declared insane.

5 *Children*: (1) Boy 17. Healthy. Graduated from grammar school at 14. A quiet, good boy. Works in a factory. Earlier he sold papers and contributed a little to the family earnings. (2) Gregory. (3) Girl, 12, in 6th grade. Healthy. Rather hard to manage. Still with the same family where she was placed by the State Board of Charity when she was 2 years old.

Developmental History

6 The father was working at a distance from home when the boy was born. However, he has understood that the pregnancy and birth were quite normal. Certainly he and his wife were thoroughly healthy at the time of conception. Gregory was breast fed, but cried much, and he suffered in infancy from some severe acute intestinal disorder. He walked and talked early, had no convulsions, and never took any of the children's contagious diseases. At 14 years the report from a good clinic states that there is a moderate heart murmur, possibly due to a mild endocarditis and that the boy should refrain from competitive athletic exercises and from work. Removal of his tonsils was advised on this account, they were not enlarged. Inside of a year his heart had shown considerable improvement, although his tonsils had not yet been taken out.

The clinic report gives weight 73 lbs. at 13 yrs., 9 mos; 93 lbs. at 15 yrs., 8 mos.; 104 lbs. at 15 yrs., 11 mos.

Home and Neighborhood Conditions

7 In Greece, where the boy lived till he was 9 years old, the home was in a very small town with fields and orchards all about. After the mother died, the two brothers, until the father brought them

4 Of course her illiteracy means nothing, considering the poor opportunities for education afforded girls in many places in Europe.

Paralytic shock at such an early age is unusual. (Because of its frequent relationship under these circumstances to syphilis, it should be made the matter of special inquiry, although there are other causes even in early life.) But we could not get reliable data concerning it, even though the father was co-operative.

5 This older brother, coming to the United States at 10 years of age, made good school progress. It is interesting, too, that under the same living conditions, street life, etc., as Gregory, he was never delinquent. This should challenge us to find the specific background or causes for Gregory's delinquencies. It does not rule out environmental influences — no two individuals even closely united in the same family have quite the same conditions in life.

6 This immunity, especially in the light of the poor living condition and probably poor dietary (facts which come out later) is worth noting as showing individual variations. But, of course, the endocarditis is due to infection, the tonsils being one possible cause since they are probably a common source of infection.

Concerning the weights recorded at the clinic, they can be interpreted fairly only in correlation with height, which is not given. But undoubtedly they are low figures.

7 The marked contrasts of living conditions which frequently occur in the lives of immigrants are sharply brought out here. It is strange that so little harm sometimes results from such extreme dislocations, but it is clear from the study of many similar instances that such changes oftentimes do prove important from the standpoint of both physical and moral welfare.

on his last trip to the United States, lived with an uncle, a village trader, who was a man of a little schooling, and who was good to them.

In the West End of Boston, the father set up housekeeping with his boys at first in one room and then in a couple of rooms, rented out by a month, in an old wooden building in a tenement district crowded by foreigners. His meagre earnings have never permitted better quarters, nor have they enabled him to obtain a housekeeper. One room serves as a kitchen and shop, and at night as a bedroom for one member of the family. The place is, of course, very scantily furnished, but clean and neatly kept, with no books of their own and with no attempt at ornamentation, only a calendar appearing on the wall.

Ever since the father's last return he has had to struggle against poverty. His earnings have been precarious. He built up his little business by soliciting trade from neighbors and small stores in the vicinity, managing to make about 75 cents a day. The older boy added 30 or 40 cents a day through selling newspapers. More recently, working in a factory in a nearby town, he has contributed a little more, but a considerable share of his earnings go to pay for his transportation and for clothing, which now has to be better than formerly.

The congested district in which they live is near the market and abounds in small shops and street stands. There are no open spots immediately nearby, but within easy access is a large public playground, a bath house, and a city swimming beach. Of course there are pool rooms and cheap moving picture houses close at hand, and within easy walking distance are a number of the poorest sort of vaudeville and burlesque theatres. On the other hand, equally accessible are several settlement houses, two of them being large and featuring many different kinds of activities.

The neighborhood has the usual street gangs that are found in practically all crowded quarters, but it is not notorious for this. The boys gather to talk and joke and gamble more than to fight as gangs or to indulge in organized depredations. In any good weather groups of loafing boys will be found on the corners in the immediate vicinity of Gregory's home.

Home Influences

8 The mother was an easy-going but hot-tempered woman who had very little control over the children. After their return to Greece, when Gregory was about three years old, they were allowed much

The life of the family in a very crowded portion of the city bears upon housing conditions as a matter of even wider significance than physical well-being; particularly are they related to the development of conduct tendencies. And over and over in the study of delinquents the question arises: What, under any good public regime, should be allowed as minimum standards of housing conditions, adequate to meet requirements for developing good citizenship? No democracy can afford to neglect such basic conditions of its own life.

What chances had the boys in this family to build up socially desirable feelings about the decencies — cleanliness and privacy in personal life? Do any of us really know at all what these mean in the formation of character or for meeting many situations in the world of today?

Nor do we find it easy to estimate the results in a case like this from having no woman in the household. The father, with all his patience, is not adequate as bread-winner and housekeeper both, and it leaves a thoroughly abnormal situation. The widower with children is just coming to have some recognition as a large problem for social understanding and handling through social welfare work.

The fact that the family budget was altogether inadequate needs no comment, except possibly for what it means to the health and energy of the members of the family. Social workers hardly need to be told that scientifically compiled budgets are now available for families living on various economic levels. In the use of them it must be remembered that there have been immensely varying costs in different years, mostly the result of the World War. As bearing on this case, we might cite *Food for the Worker* by Stern and Spitz, which gives the minimum cost of raw food for a family of three during the pre-war years as 60 to 70 cents a day. (Among the best of the schedules is the very recent pamphlet *Good Nutrition and Adequate Food Allowances for the Family*, published by the Association for the Improvement of the Conditions of the Poor, New York City.) So important is this matter that dietetic bureaus now exist in connection with various welfare organizations.

The description of the neighborhood offers a picture that is quite representative of many of the foreign districts of the large cities of the United States. There are forces for good and forces for bad. The problem of the former is not only how to exist, but also how to compete successfully, how to fall in line with the psychological law of pleasurable returns in order to make their activities as satisfying, or more so, than the poorer ways of occupying leisure. The first necessity is to challenge interest; movies and other forms of amusements do it by all sorts of enticing and alluring procedures. And, secondly, pleasant associations must be awakened upon which to base habit formation. The whole affair has an interesting psychology back of it which is only too little realized, we should judge, by those who seem to think that the mere establishment of bare opportunities in playgrounds, bath houses, and settlements is all that is necessary.

A considerable literature on gang life has been developed, but according to our studies of delinquents, the rôle of the gang has been overdone. Of course there are plentiful examples of harmful influences, but there are many others, as in this case, where gang life has had very little bearing on delinquency. There are gangs that are "predatory," and there are many gangs that are quite innocuous, and there are gangs that by no means draw into them all the boys in the vicinity.

8 There is much insistence nowadays, and possibly a very correct recognition, of the influences during the first years of life which are formative of personality and character. Some psychiatrists and some psychologists

freedom. The children were out evenings and there was undoubtedly very lax discipline. Until Gregory was five years old the father was at home very little. The details of this period are not obtainable. In the next few years they lived with the uncle in a small town in Thessaly. Conditions in the family, the father says, were much the same as in any other family in the district. The children were kindly treated, but they were much beset by the ordinary superstitions of the countryside — the belief that spirits were abroad in the evenings, etc.

All observers have remarked the deep devotion of the father to his boys and particularly to what he has thought to be Gregory's best interests. It is interesting to note that the man has great respect for professional advice and lately has sought and followed it to the best of his ability; but of course he obtained no special guidance about the upbringing of his children in their relationships to him and to the home. In his efforts to be good to the children he has really been extremely over-indulgent all through these years. He himself has done all the cooking, cleaning, and even the washing of the clothing of all three of them—never asking even the boys to take any share in the duties of their little household. He says that he has preferred to do it himself—"Let them go on with their studies and work."

In the early days of Gregory's delinquencies his father attempted punishment by whipping, but he found that the boy ran away and stayed out for hours when he knew that a whipping was due him, and that even when he was whipped the influence of the punishment lasted only a day or two. So the father soon ceased these methods and merely scolded him and exhorted him to do better.

The father began his little home business merely that he might have good care and supervision of his boys. With the very best of intentions and effort he shared his mental life with Gregory particularly, who seemed to be the brighter, and attempted in various ways to be companionable. He went for walks with Gregory and occasionally to picture shows. He interested himself in the boy's school work, although he had no relations with the school people. It must be remembered that the father spoke very little English. Himself a great reader earlier for a man of his opportunities, he has discussed with Gregory the story of the Iliad, the Odyssey, modern Greek history, and what he has read of the political ideas of Pericles, Aristotle, and modern writers of the liberal school. He says that he has tried by this to inculcate patriotism.

The father has all along taken much pride in his efforts for the

believe that many of these influences are effective in very early childhood, even antedating the fourth year. They stress the importance of what in ordinary family life seems negligible; and that is why with intelligent parents careful inquiry should be made into possible influences at this period. (But in this case there was no opportunity for learning accurate details of earliest influences, methods of discipline and upbringing, relations to the mother, etc.)

The main point that we know about the boy's earliest upbringing was that he was allowed a good deal of freedom. (See boy's own accounts of his early life.) In general there is little to be said concerning superstitions in old country life, except that the consequences of arousing early fears are variable; sometimes they are very important.

From everything we learn about the father it seems that much could have been done by helping this man to manage his affairs. He had all sorts of good intentions, but the opportunities for advising a widower are not nearly so well developed as with mothers. The latter may be approached through clubs or classes or baby hygiene work and many other organizations; not that most of these stress child training particularly, but they give help indirectly and occasionally directly. This would have been a very promising family to work with from their earliest life here in America. Apparently the first social agency that came in contact with this family was the court. One might think of values accruing through the state agency that took the little girl attempting to better the family living conditions so that the father could properly take the little girl again, rather than allowing her to remain for so many years a state charge.

It seems as if the father made a great mistake in not trying to develop responsibility on the part of this boy through making him play his part in household duties. He over-valued book study, and as the case history proceeds it may be seen what the outcomes of his attitude have been. The father represents the antithesis of the modern view of socialized education of learning to do through doing. Moral as well as educational values in this way undoubtedly were neglected.

The story of the result of whipping in this case is a very common one, we find. Even allowing for some deterrent effect, our experience with hundreds of cases shows that repeated whippings accomplish comparatively little and frequently have a reaction quite the opposite of that desired.

The father's intellectual interests in this case present a situation that is, of course, most unusual among immigrants. And despite all the poverty and the cramped conditions of thefamily life we should at once say that his discussions with Gregory must have had a marked influence upon the boy's life.

The father's notions of patriotism seem to have led him to believe that patriotism can be instilled as a general idea, that is, emphasis upon the greatness of Greece would carry over into a love of America. At least that is what we infer from his own statements. His actual influence is seen a little later. We have no evidence that he actually taught the boy radical ideas. Indeed he seems himself not to have developed any anti-governmental feeling in America.

That the father had no relations with the school people in spite of his interest in the boy's education gives room for another commentary on the possibilities of the situation. Of course the boy was no particular school problem early, and so no school visitor would have appeared on the scene even if there had been one in the district.

We feel that there is no cause for discussion of the relationship of Gregory's conduct to the fact that he did not go to church. We find many cases of delinquency among church and Sunday School attendants of all faiths.

education of his boys and has been eager for more than ordinary grammar school training for Gregory. He has wanted him and urged him to do well in every way. The man's moral standards appear to be of the best, although he has renounced all church connections through the influence of philosophical writers. He never sent the boys to church or Sunday School.

The older brother is very unlike Gregory and there has been very little close companionship between the boys since they have been in this country. He is less affectionate than Gregory and has had little personal influence on his younger brother. They have had different companions and the older boy has kept entirely out of delinquency.

In the five years between the ages of nine and fourteen, Gregory had no contact with women other than his teachers. The distant relatives in this country have had practically nothing to do with the family.

Habits and Interests

9 In the old country Gregory's main interests, judging from the father's reports, were in play on the village streets and rambling about the countryside. His mother had very limited attainments, and certainly fostered no particularly good mental life in her children. We know little else in detail about this period. At nine years, when he was again brought to America, Gregory apparently transferred his interests immediately to street activities here. He played about on the streets, occasionally on the playgrounds, and frequently visited the market. He soon learned to gather wood from the discarded boxes, taking it home for fuel or selling some of it when he could. Money obtained in this way he frequently used in going to moving picture shows. Early he began to try to sell newspapers, but was prevented from doing this regularly through the intervention of police and probation officers.

He had no games at home and the most meagre of boyish possessions. His father would not permit him ever to handle his few tools, because he did not wish him to develop an interest in hand work. He wanted him to be educated. "Why did I send him to school?"

There was much discussion at home, even of some classical literature (as told above), and Gregory early showed an interest in history and in argumentation. Even his father said, "He likes to talk better than anything else." There were no books at home—his father had done his reading in the old country—but Gregory

The difference between the conduct of Gregory and that of his brother illustrates the point made in Discussion Note 1 — that one has to take into account not the personality or the environment alone, but always both are to be considered in their interplay.

Even two brothers do not come in contact with exactly the same environmental influences. It was statistically interesting to find how many siblings escaped being delinquent in the series enumerated in *The Individual Delinquent* (Healy). Among the familes of 1,000 repeated offenders there were, for instance, 137 with two children, and of these only in 26 instances were they both delinquent. In a similar series which we have studied in Boston there were 102 families with two children, and of these only in 16 cases were they both delinquent.

9 What else was there for Gregory to do but to seek his pleasures in the street; after all, adventure is there of many kinds — more kinds even than are enumerated in Jane Addams suggestive book "*Youth and the City Streets.*" Had he been introduced and interested in the activities of one of the good settlements nearby we imagine that Gregory might have found abundant satisfaction there.

The gathering of discarded wood is a peculiar feature of the street life in the West and North Ends of Boston. It is a very common sight to see one or more boys pulling home a bundle of sides and ends of boxes on some sort of contraption with wheels, or merely dragging the bundle sledge-wise. More rarely the primitive method of carrying the wood on the head is used. The boxes are thrown out at the market places about Faneuil Hall or in alleys, etc., with the knowledge that boys will come and pick them up.

There is no gainsaying that the exercise involved, and the practice in industry and in taking responsibility for the family welfare are desirable enough ends. We have seen little fellows with chests and muscles remarkably well developed from this daily practice of getting wood. Many of them think of it as a family duty and not entirely unpleasant. We observe that market people seem to think of throwing out the wood as a charity, and any passerby is challenged to help the little fellows up a curbing with a particularly heavy load. But involved in the practice there are very dangerous incidental elements, as many boys have told us. There is the temptation to look for and pick up more valuable things, anything at all, about the market stands or in halls and doorways. And there are the incentives towards delinquency of quiet alleys and almost deserted streets after closing hours, when the wood is largely recruited, or during the dark of late afternoons in the winter. There are all the dangers of petty "street trades" for boys with the added possibilities always of an excuse, because they can say wherever they are found or however long hours they are away from home that they were "looking for wood." Altogether Gregory's possibilities of beginning delinquency through this gathering of wood, and

made use of the nearby branch of the public library. He was not a very great reader, but really liked a better class of books. By the time he was fifteen his favorites were the King Arthur stories, the "Arabian Nights," and "Don Quixote."

He took little interest in sports and was never on any athletic team. There was little room for boys' games in his congested neighborhood, and at the playground he rarely entered into organized play. With his companions he wandered about sometimes, looking in windows or listening to the talk of older fellows. He early learned to play dice and cards, but his gambling was very petty and not nearly as much as many of the boys even of his age indulged in.

His father reports him as having a good appetite, and as being a restless sleeper. Gregory himself says that early he began smoking a little, and from twelve to fourteen, he smoked fairly often, but he never acquired a set habit. He never was reported for smoking in any foster home. Coffee and wine he rarely drank.

He learned of masturbation soon after he came to America and practised it for a time, but not extensively. His father did not know of this. As soon as he left his poor type of companions he ceased it altogether—if we may judge by his own story and the report of foster parents.

Throughout his school life Gregory has shown considerable genuine interest in learning. He was very little truant in comparison with the boys of his group. He must have studied well in school to have made his steady advancement, for he very rarely brought his books home to study as his father urged.

School History

10 Gregory attended the town primary school for about two years in Greece. In Boston he had to begin in the first grade at nine years, but was able to complete the first three grades in one year. Then he made one grade a year, having completed the seventh grade when he was placed in a foaster home. His work was always reported satisfactory; the court record states that at one home he was office boy for the principal, a position of some trust and responsibility.

While in his first foster home he went through the eighth grade, with a report of fairly good in all subjects except arithmetic, which was passable, and deportment fair. He then attended first year country high school, but when transferred to the third foster home

particularly of selling it, are just exactly what occurs in any such dangerous practice. Analogous activities in other cities are gathering coal and grain spilled from cars on railroad tracks or "hunting for junk" to sell. There is a distinct moral hazard involved in any of this, into which it is the community's business to inquire.

The selling of newspapers at an early age, fortunately, in most cities, has been reuglated as a protective measure by school and police authorities. The dangers are somewhat appreciated, and some literature on the subject has grown up — a good piece of work on this is represented by Maurice B. Hexter's *Newsboys in Cincinnati*, Helen S. Trounstine Foundation Studies No. 4.

It would be a matter of merely academic interest to know whether it was the father's little book learning with his dwelling on "the greatness that was Greece" or his own failure at developing successfully a trade that has made him feel the value of an education that does not include any manual training. At any rate, nowadays it has come to be considered a poorly balanced idea. Furthermore it was the one thing in their meagre life that might have taken the place of games as a home interest.

That Gregory liked argumentation so much was very likely due to the fostering influence of the father's discussions; and perhaps his good reading interests were due to his introduction by his father into a really good world of literature and thought.

Gregory showed little urge to physical activity. We wonder if he was strong and well nourished at this stage of his life.

That the father did not know of sex habits is, of course, quite usual. Most parents do not observe them at all and very few indeed, most unfortunately, are on confidential enough terms with their children to induce frankness on the subject.

10. In this case there is a good illustration of the disadvantages in school life which come from moving. Only too frequently there is no effort made to help the child maintain his standing in the new school, and the simple method of demotion is resorted to. This is often very unfortunate; it leads to discouragement of the pupil and loss of interest through repetition of his work. In such a case as Gregory's we have an added wrong, inasmuch as Gregory should have finished school as young as possible and there was no one to help him advance in his school work except the school people. As a matter of public economy, those who are being supported by public agencies, state or otherwise, should be aided toward early independence, especially by other agencies, in this case the school. And of course the same is true in the case of families who are suffering from economic stress. One can continually observe that only too often the school does not consider its problem in relation to the needs of the individual or of society other than purely scholastic.

The behavior of the teacher in this last high school is fortunately not commonly found; but when such conduct occurs it is, needless to say, disastrous.

he found the standards of the local suburban high school too difficult and he was demoted to the eighth grade, graduating once more. He was taking a commercial course in the first year high school in his fourth home placement at the time he was studied. In this last school he was doing very poorly, his marks averaging only 67. But the principal, who characterized the boy as dirty, disobedient, and uninterested in his work, quite anomalously stated that he believed him worthy of a high school education. The visitor, investigating why his marks should be so poor, felt that was considerable in the fact that the teacher had made fun of him before the class, with such remarks as, "Here is a Greek friend who does not know a thing."

Court History

11 Within a little less than three years Gregory had nine formal complaints lodged against him in court, besides which a number of minor delinquencies had been reported during this period.

He first appeared in court in June, 1913, for larceny of canned goods from a grocery store where he had been accustomed to go for kindling wood. Canned goods had been missed there before. The father and two boys were found to be living in a single room. The boy was placed on probation and ordered to copy pamphlets on truth and honesty. He did this faithfully over a couple of months, but the case was not filed then because Gregory was caught begging. He appeared in court looking neglected and very dirty, evidently being away from home long hours. Two weeks later he was found begging again in the neighborhood of a restaurant. He was given a suspended sentence to the State Board of Charities and probation was again tried. About this time Gregory was given a short vacation through the charitable fund known as "Country Week." He reported regularly to the probation officer, but always appeared dirty. During the next few months he was repeatedly seen in the neighborhood of the market, sometimes in the evening, with boxes and barrels, which he always denied having stolen, although the probation officer suspected the possibility of it.

In June, 1914, Gregory was found helping a newsboy sell papers and he was then warned that he was not old enough. A month later he was found selling papers alone without a license. The school people refused to give a license because they thought he was too young and too much on the streets already. In spite of this, he was, shortly afterwards, again found selling papers and was brought into court for violating his probation. The father admitted having suggested selling papers earlier. A fine of one dollar was

11 Much more than space permits might be said at this point concerning court treatment of such cases of delinquency. But mention must be made at least, of the following: Undoubtedly constructive efforts were made, which, as in most probation work, were not specifically recorded. For this reason court records in many places have too little scientific value. In Gregory's case it is evident by way of connotation rather than by direct statement, that there was much friendly warning and that the father, who at one time was anti-governmental, was not antagonized, indeed he later came voluntarily to the court for help. But one wonders if much earlier it should not have been recognized that the boy's problem could only be solved through treatment of the family and if something much more radical, especially involving their living conditions, should not have been undertaken. Looking back now it can be seen that such a step, requiring some effort at the time, would have been vastly more economical.

Of course it is a question how far a court can go in solving family difficulties, but in this case it might have been possible to have moved the father and the boys early in the history of the case to a better district or even to the country and to have obtained more profitable work for the father and better living conditions. No doubt the court view was that the delinquencies were petty and that since the boy did well at school and showed some good traits he somehow would "muddle through." In the course of the nine court appearances and the many informal encounters with police and probation officers the measures of correction tried—copying of moral precepts in the court room, frequent warnings outside, reporting on probation, suspended sentence, fining, paying further restitution, filing the case and re-opening it—none of these reached the needs of the situation any more than suggestions for better recreations or for changing pernicious friendships met with success.

imposed and the boy was given a suspended sentence to the state industrial school. Not long after this, the teacher reported that the boy had been truant, but after warning there was no more trouble about this matter.

That summer Gregory spent mainly in selling wood which he took around in a truck he had made himself. Of course very much of his time was spent on the streets. The probation officer reported that it was difficult to get the boy interested in anything to his own advantage. He refused to go swimming. His friendship with a boy whose influence was felt to be bad continued. The case was filed.

In June, 1915, the case was re-opened because the father reported that the boy had been away from home for four days. The probation officer found that he had been sleeping in down-town alleys. They were still living in one room. The boy returned home and was once more put on probation.

A few months later Gregory was arrested for breaking into a little shop with another boy. They took some things and he was ordered to pay $2.50 restitution. Just after this the boy did not report regularly on probation and the father was summoned. In another month the boy was brought into court again for breaking into a store and taking some small coils of wire. After this he reported regularly on probation. A few weeks later he was once more arrested for stealing an assortment of provisions from the market in company with a new companion. The case was now referred by the court to an agency for placing.

Foster Homes

12 It was six weeks before the agency could find a home which they considered suitable. A number of places were investigated and rejected for one reason or another. During this period Gregory was at home and there is no report of his being in any further trouble.

In October, 1916, Gregory was placed in a family consisting of Mr. and Mrs. A. and a nineteen year old son who had been to high school, but who now came to the city every day to work. They had a comfortably furnished home a few minutes from the center of a small town. Mr. A. was a travelling salesman for a small firm and was away from home for days at a time. His wife wanted a child to keep her company now that her son was away daytimes also. Gregory attended school and had no particular work to do, except to be helpful in the house; but even this little he refused to do, and in his personal habits he was found to be not cleanly. Mrs. A.

12 An agency which attempts to find a home to fit individual needs frequently cannot do so in a very short time. But it must be acknowledged that the less time spent the better. What to do with a delinquent in the interim is not always an easy problem to solve. We have seen cases where the delay was a very serious matter and apparently was disastrous. On the other hand we have seen others besides Gregory who have done very well while waiting to be placed. Unless the home situation is particularly bad or the individual's delinquencies, such as running away, are extreme, it seems often safe enough for the boy or girl to remain at home until the right foster home is found. We have observed over and over very considerable failure resulting from temporary placing in congregate detention homes. There are many points in this connection which might be discussed *pro* and *con*.

We can see considerable rationale in the selection of these different homes, although the reasons are not explicitly stated in the agency record. From the standpoint of physical conditions they were all good homes, the standards of the third home being, however, considerably lower than the others—not that Gregory fitted in any better or was less self-assertive. The second home was evidently selected to give play to his love of discussion, etc.

objected to keeping him unless the agency paid more board for him. Gregory got into no delinquencies here, but he did not fit into the household, being particularly argumentative and somewhat impertinent when Mr. A. and his son were at home evenings. They kept him for a year, but when they were going to move they made this an excuse for not keeping him longer. Their complaints altogether were of his disobedience, hot temper, "demanding things as his right, deliberately trying to annoy, staying out late." The visitor felt that the boy's mental life and ideas had been made fun of in this home; that he had not been encouraged in self-expression; and that in answering back the boy did not know when fun stopped and seriousness began.

In October, 1917, Gregory was placed on a large farm where he was to go to school and work for his board. The household consisted of Mr. and Mrs. B. They were reported as industrious people but not very intelligent. Mr. B. was very fond of arguing and of discussing current events, and the visitor thought that this might be an asset of the home. But the man was later found to be rather coarse and bullying about little things. Himself a hard worker he expected others to do quite a bit too, and when Gregory objected, Mr. B. reported that the boy wanted to get by with as little work as possible. The visitor found that the boy was expected to feed the cattle, clean the stables, pump water for twenty cows, and do a variety of chores around the house; and a considerable amount of this he actually did. In this home, too, it was noted that the boy's behavior was very much better when the man was away. Although the visitor felt that the woman was in some ways unfair to the boy, yet we may note that she reported him dirty, saucy, and annoying in argument. She complained that he was forever extolling the Greeks as models and "holding Americans in contempt as easy marks." When told to do something, would say, "Do it yourself." When in the heat of argument would shout, "You lie." On account of friction, he remained in the home of Mr. and Mrs. B. only three months.

In both of these homes Gregory had argued much in favor of radical political ideas, which were reported to be socialistic.

In January, 1918, Gregory was placed in a home in a small suburb, largely residential, where his board was again paid by the agency. This was partly necessitated by the fact that a clinic physician reported a heart murmur on account of which the boy should do no work and have only light exercise. Mrs. C. with whom he was now placed, was a widow with three half-grown children. The

The change from Gregory's own home to these new living conditions must have been extreme. The type of complaints made by the foster mothers brings up the question of what could have been expected of him considering his home opportunities and training. We may wonder whether the visitor made clear to the foster mothers the conditions under which the boy had lived and whether they took his poor upbringing into account and made allowances for it or attempted training in better personal habits.

The three types of chief complaints, his unwillingness to bathe, together with his general uncleanliness, his extreme love of argumentation, and his unwillingness to help in the work of the households, hark back to his own home life, where bathing was impossible, and where the other objectionable characteristics were actually fostered. It is noteworthy that although he was reported as lazy it can only have been about household work, because he really did considerable outside work in one home and in another he actually sought and found employment.

In what is a fair summary of the boy's treatment in foster homes, there is very little frank representation of the quieter and subtler social processes which were involved in attempting to make better human adjustments, and yet these very attempts at adjustments may be more important than any record of other occurrences. For instance, we are unable to tell how much information the visitor gave the foster mother concerning the boy's past habits or present needs, or what suggestions were made as to means of meeting them.

The record of Gregory's behavior in foster homes shows that his delinquent tendencies were speedily broken up under better living conditions and that the problem changed at once to what would ordinarily be called one of personality. But how largely the traits exhibited in these homes were innate is an open question. One might ask whether the tendencies about which there was so much complaint were present in his own home and if they were not merely the result of formation of habits rather than matters of his fundamental nature.

Only too frequently there is a clash between physical hygiene and mental hygiene. With a greater understanding of the needs of mental hygiene, directions for physical care should be very well considered. In Gregory's case there were far reaching consequences from prohibiting his working. This is an interesting commentary upon a situation that was not closely studied, for, as a matter of fact, the boy was doing quite hard work in a previous home and nothing was said about it. "To go to work" seems to connote physical strain, but sometimes there is less effort involved than in the ordinary activities of boys or, as in this case, than in chores done about the home.

family occupied a six room house, back of which was a large barn where the children could play. Mrs. C. was decidedly warm-hearted and kindly, but rather lenient—a woman of comparatively poor education. She had earlier been successful with young children who presented no particular problem. Here Gregory went to school and himself complained that in his free time he had nothing to do. He hung about on the streets somewhat and made friends with a group of boys with whom he began staying out late nights. When school closed, on his own initiative, he found a job which he was made to discontinue on the doctor's orders. He was now spending his Sundays frequently with his father, occasionally staying at home over night. He himself complained of the food in the foster home and more particularly of the way in which it was served. Because the foster mother did not seem able or willing to carry out the suggestions about diet made by the doctor and the visitor it was felt advisable to change the home.

Therefore in August, 1917, Gregory was put in another suburban town in a home very pleasantly located and comfortably furnished with modern conveniences. This time the family consisted of Mr. and Mrs. D. Mr. D. worked in a factory and was interested in the boy, but took no part in the management of him. Mrs. D. was a pleasant, wholesome woman, but high strung and without much power of management. She took a great deal of pains with Gregory and was generous, and he was made a member of the family. She tried to correct him, but through her nagging irritated the boy. He found dissatisfaction in his school life there and the foster mother complained about his associating with a certain bad boy, and she said he never lifted a finger unless compelled to do so, and sulked for several days if he had to take a bath. As he expressed it, "I can't be bothered, it isn't up to me to please anybody." The school people said that he was lazy, uninterested, and doing poor work, although they did say that he should go on with his high school career. It was after he had been in this home three months and the foster mother was utterly discouraged with him that he was studied at the Judge Baker Foundation.

Study of the Individual

Physical

13 We found Gregory a fairly strong appearing boy, quite neatly dressed, short, but upright, and assuming a firm posture. His features, regular and indeed rather sharp, lighted up readily in a pleasant response to friendliness. One noted a broad forehead, dark, almost merry eyes, and a comparatively small lower face. With his dark complexion, his pale skin gave him a rather unhealthy appearance.

Weight, 105 lbs. Height, just 5 ft. Thorax fairly well developed. Musculature in general decidedly good tonus, arms and shoulders especially strong. Color of mucous membranes only fair. Teeth somewhat crowded in lower jaw, apparently perfect condition, none carious, none filled. No defect of eyes or ears by ordinary tests. Other examination of eyes negative. Reflexes all normal. Slight tremor of outstretched hands. Tongue coated. Tonsils not obviously enlarged or diseased. Pubertal development normal. Heart sounds negative. Rather squarish, broad head; moderate symmetry of rather prominent frontal bosses. Complaint of occasional slight headaches.

Mental

14 (1) *Results on Psychological Examination*:[1]

(Attitude toward mental work very good. Deliberate worker. Co-operative.)

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[1]Stanford-Binet I. Q. 98; passes all 14-year tests and (2, 4, 5, 6,) of the 16-year tests. None above that level.

Visual memory: Binet geometrical forms, score 75%; Healy geometrical form, score 75%.

Auditory memory span, 7 digits.

Trabue language scale D; score 16, equals median for grade X.

Vocabulary definitions: Terman 14-year norm; correct on only two of the 4 distinctions between abstract words in the 16-year test.

Pictorial Completion Test II; score 52.5, median for 10 to 11 years.

Tapping Test; score 80 squares, 2 errors, median for 14 years.

Easy opposites test (Woodworth-Wells); score, average time 1.7″, one failure.

Mental Representations: Code test, only one error; Clock hands, all correct; Enclosed boxes, 3 of 4 problems correct.

Construction test A; score, 20″, 6 moves.

Construction test B; score 151″, 18 moves.

Fables test (Terman), score 8.

Thurstone's number series, score 3 out of 6 correct.

Spelling; Ayres scale, 8th grade correct.

Reading; Thorndike scale, high school passage, well read and questions answered correctly.

Arithmetic, does the four fundamental processes correctly.

13 Stature and weight should be interpreted in the light of the best collection of norms for American young people. We have lately used the charts prepared by Dr. Thomas D. Wood (now distributed on small cards by the Federal Bureau of Education, Washington, D. C.) For a good critical discussion see *Height and Weight as an Index of Nutrition* by New York Nutrition Council. According to these standards the median height for Gregory's age, 16 years, is 5 ft., 7 in., and weight, 133 lbs. But the median weight at that age for 5 ft. is 101 lbs. So Gregory's nutrition is normal. And then we must remember that the average height of Southern Europeans is not nearly that of the general average of Americans. His strength of shoulders and arms probably bears out what we have said earlier about the effect of carrying wood, although at the time we saw him, Gregory had had some months of work on a farm. It is remarkable that after two years of wholesome living conditions his color was not good.

In clinical work one sees occasional striking examples of excellent teeth, together with poor general physical conditions and undernourishment in individuals who live upon what seems a poor diet and under defective hygienic conditions. Thus there is an immunity to dental caries apart from general physical health.

The heart condition has evidently much improved.

14 The score on the age-level tests is remarkably even, showing no peculiarities. His failures on the 16-year tests, both of which are in defining words, are doubtless due to lack of opportunity for obtaining a good vocabulary. But in his use of language he proves fairly adept.

Gregory is thus found to have good average ability and beyond this shows no striking special capacities, as far as tested. His auditory and visual memory are about equal; his apperceptions — ability to size up the situation, to see relationships—is somewhat better when the problem is presented verbally than pictorially. (For discussion of the meaning and significance of apperceptive abilities, see articles by A. F. Bronner, *Apperceptive Abilities*, Psychological Review, July, 1921, and *Apperceptive Abilities Among Delinquents*, Journal of Delinquency, January, 1922.) He is a rather slow worker; there is little difference between facility with concrete as opposed to abstract material. He is not "hand minded." Indeed he does a little worse in manual work than in understanding ideas. He is well able to carry in mind visual images and to solve problems that require analysis and dealing with these images.

This briefer schedule of tests (our minimum schedule), partly meant to give indication of irregularities of capacities, those then to be studied further, gives no grounds for believing that any great differences in abilities existed. Although we find no memorandum of having discussed the point, Gregory evidently seemed to have the capacities for successfully meeting the requirements of the high school commercial course he was taking.

But it must be confessed that with this boy just beginning his high school career, which would keep him largely dependent for several years longer,

According to age-level tests Gregory graded as having good average general ability. Intelligence Quotient 98.

From a number of other tests given and from results on some of the age-level tests, it was concluded that for his age:

Visual memory powers, hardly average.

Auditory memory (immediate recall of digits), average.

Language ability, rather good except for meagre vocabulary.

Apperceptive ability, with language, good; with pictorial representations, a little below average.

Speed and accuracy of hand movements, about average.

Speed of mental response, a little slow.

Ability to carry in mind and mentally work with visual representations, good.

Ability to handle constructively simple problems with concrete material, fairly good; perceptions of relationships of form not rapid.

Generalizing ability for abstract ideas, average; with number relationships, mediocre.

Writes a good hand.

Spells 8th grade words correctly.

Reads high school passage intelligently, with good expression. Comprehends correctly same passage dealing with abstract ideas.

Arithmetic: understands and does correctly but slowly the four fundamental processes. (More difficult work not given.)

15 (2) *Mental Balance*: From all observations and test results no signs of poor mental balance. He is thoroughly coherent in conversation, well oriented, and shows no defect of judgment or will.

16 (3) *Personality Traits*: During the study, Gregory's personality traits came out quite strikingly. He at once appeared thoroughly pleasant, responsive, smiling often, talking with an air of conscious self satisfaction and sometimes with a little patronizing manner. It was clear that he was rather firm in attitudes, even to the point of being stubborn.

He proved to be interested enough in discussion of himself, his likes and dislikes, and his opinions, although in completely objective fashion. At no time was he evasive or inhibited. He seemed really to enjoy elaborating and rationalizing. In all this he appeared truthful and frank, reasonable and open-minded, non-suggestible.

Without being exceedingly egocentric or particularly egotistical, it was clear from his story that he felt the urge to be considered somebody. He did not propose to be relegated to the background

a somewhat wider range of tests should have been given to determine more surely the wisdom of his selection and any possible indication that he might have profited more by some other course. We are today much more alive to the practical value of such a wider examination.

15 Our study of mentality, apart from the analysis of the mental content, is undertaken from four main standpoints: (1) General capacity or "general intelligence;" (2) Special abilities or disabilities; (3) Questions of balance —healthy mindedness vs. psychotic tenedencies; (4) Personality traits.

16 We know of no way as yet to estimate personality differences as satisfactorily as by descriptive terms. There have been efforts to evaluate traits quantitatively, as in the numerical scale of five values used in the army personnel work. (For a good outline of this work as well as a critique of it and other examples of the method, see articles *Is the Rating of Human Character Practicable?* Harold Rugg, Journal of Educational Psychology, Nov., Dec., 1921, Jan., Feb. 1922.) But only a few qualities considered important in war were estimated in the army personnel studies and these traits were rated comparatively for all.

An interesting attempt to analyze the composition of personality and devise some means of rating traits has been contributed by F. H. and G. W. Allport (*Personality Traits: Their Classification and Measurement*, Journal of Abnormal Psychology, April, 1921.) A considerably larger number of traits is estimated than was done in the army work, but the practicability is certainly limited. Of late there has been a good deal of attention given to an attempt to measure the will, to plot a will profile or volitional pattern. This has its inception in the work of June E. Downey (*The Will Profile*, University of Wyoming Bulletin, Nov., 1919.)

A certain plan for "the rating of temperament as expressed in prevailing

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—his aggressiveness in this particular being evidenced by his insistent argumentation and discussion, especially in foster homes.

He seemed not readily to form attachments, nor to feel keenly any loyalties or affections, although he spoke with some fondness of his father. (The visitor commented on his distress at leaving his father for the first time.) Notable was his lack of feeling of obligation or indebtedness, but even more outstanding was his expressed desire to have the best of it in any situtation where he was placed.

His father calls him good-hearted and fairly affectionate, but stubborn and argumentative.

When first in court, the probation officer wrote, "a smiling little fellow, unembarrassed in court, irresponsible and hard to get stirred up about anything."

There are no essential differences in the reports from the four foster homes concerning Gregory's personality. In each of them he made a good impression at first, seeming to be happy, contented, and doing as he was told. But after a short time there came, from at least three of the homes, complaints based on personality traits —uncleanliness, persistent arguing, disparagement of America and American life. Other traits reported were, in varying degree, according to the different homes, hot-headedness, sauciness, laziness, some disobedience, and always "he hates to admit himself in the wrong." In spite of his laziness, it was said by one mother that once he was persuaded to begin a piece of work, "he does it up brown." He was pleased when at fifteen he was tried in a free home to work for his board, and in the third placing he voluntarily obtained a job which he only gave up when he was compelled to.

Not particularly mischievous, he yet was fond of activity and was fun-loving. His deportment in school was nearly always excellent.

Boy's Own Story

17 Gregory tells us that he remembers Greece quite well. He lived in a province made up of little towns. He remembers his mother only slightly. He can remember much more clearly the way they lived. He thinks that America is a better place to live in. "You can see more and you have more chances for education, but in Greece there were many nice things. Even if there is a king, I had all the freeness I wanted." Everyone there used to be out of doors a great deal, even until late at night, and you could go about and get all the fruit you wanted—there was always plenty. He remembers, too, a couple of earthquake scares. All the people would

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mood,"—temperament, of course, being of great importance in the study of delinquents—uses of a scale of seven points ranging from "Melancholic (1)" to "Choleric (7)." (See Whittier California State School Biennial Report, 1916-18.) We feel that the trouble with such procedures is that they are artificial and do not give a correct estimate of values in the situation,—do not give a picture of the specific traits which are vital for understanding and dealing with individuals.

Aside from any plan of measurement, there already are many contributions on the subject of personality and character. One of the most recent and most readable is Abraham Myerson's *Foundations of Personality*.

Gregory's striking personality traits were, of course, very important to reckon with. Practically, they formed the crux of his problem when we saw him. The questions at once to the fore, from the student's point of view, are (a) whether or not, or to what extent they were merely adolescent traits likely to be modified by the passing of years and (b) to what extent they were the normal result of living with his father. A third question to be taken up later, is concerned with the extent to which his traits may have been caused or exaggerated by an inferiority feeling with its demand for over-compensation. Whatever conclusions may be drawn in these respects, they are of great significance for prognosis. The practical, present issue was to size up his traits and make some intelligent, direct effort to meet them.

17 No study of delinquents that is either scientific or practical from the standpoint of treatment can be undertaken without getting at the facts which can only be obtained through the individual's own story well guided by sympathetic questioning. It requires more technical understanding and training than perhaps any other part of the study. (For a schedule of the general types of important facts which must be sought for, see the section on "Elements of Mental Life Related to Delinquency" in *The Practical Value of Scientific Study of Juvenile Delinquents* (Healy), Federal Children's Bureau Publication No. 96.)

The "own story" affords the only means of acquiring knowledge of many facts concerning outside situations as well as factors in the mental life which may be active elements in producing that which we are studying, namely, the tendency to delinquency. There is a much richer psychology concerned with inner mental life, memories, ideations, imageries, etc., with their

gather out in the fields. It seemed very different when he came to this country.

The West End, where he has always lived until he went away from home, did not seem very nice in the beginning. Of course the schools were better than in Greece and he learned a lot pretty quickly. He thinks that a boy in the city learns much both good and bad, but particularly bad. "It seemed very different to be shut up in one room, and when I went down to the market and saw all the fruit there it seemed strange that I could not help myself."

It wasn't very long before the boys in his neighborhood initiated him into "American ways." He began his stealing with D., whom he remembers particularly as first telling him about it. He did not come from a bad family, but certainly he and his brothers were in a lot of trouble. "He knew a lot of bad stuff and he talked about it; and his older brother was the sort of fellow who ran away every time he got his pay and didn't come back until his money was gone." He doesn't think that the West End is a good place in which to bring up a boy. "It isn't healthy down there and there are too many gangs."

He thinks that the worst thing he learned in the West End was stealing. A great deal of it goes on there. He was in court several times for little things. (Mentions this in a very offhand manner as though his delinquencies were minor affairs.) He was on probation. He stole quite frequently, but they were all very small things. Even when they broke into places it was only to get empty barrels or little things like that which they wanted to sell.

There was a good deal of bad talk around in the neighborhood, but that never seemed to bother him particularly. Of course he learned all kinds of English swear words. "And you know how it is. When you hear swearing, you pretty soon do it too. If you don't they call you a mama's boy. And when you once know it, it is hard to break yourself." He acknowledges that in some of the foster homes in which he has lived he has used bad language, "sometimes just to show off."

He learned of sex habits soon after he came to the West End and he practised them, but not very frequently. When he was placed out he broke himself. "If nobody else is doing it you take care of yourself, too." He never worried about sex affairs, although the boys talked a good deal about girls. He never was shown bad pictures.

His father always took good care of the children and was always very good to them. "He would eat what we didn't like so we could

emotional backgrounds than is dreamed of during an ordinary examination of a delinquent young person. And this is not material of theoretical or academic interest; it is most useful in its practical bearing upon what ought to be done in the case.

Some of this material is so deeply buried that it requires considerable skill on the part of the inquirer to overcome inhibitions and forgetfulnesses so that underlying fundamental truths of the situation may be brought to the surface.

It is clear that Gregory has come to realize some of the advantages of America by this time and that the anti-American arguments which were complained of in his early foster homes were echoes of his unfortunate early living conditions, as well as the indirect effect of his father's discussions. In the last two foster homes this argumentation had largely ceased.

The second paragraph shows very well how keenly a child may feel the differences between free country life and confining city quarters and between the generosities of simple country people and the necessary property restrictions of the city.

We gain here our first information of the beginnings of Gregory's stealing, and were he still a delinquent, this matter would have to be followed up more fully. The fact that the delinquencies dropped away so quickly was sufficient evidence that they were, for the most part, due to bad companions, street life, and other conditions under which he was living.

Very interesting, indeed, is Gregory's rejection of sex affairs; the same experience—hearing bad talk, etc.—might have influenced another boy very differently. There are tremendous individual differences in emotional response and conduct to facts about sex life, depending partly on the make-up of the individual and partly on the way the information is obtained.

Gregory's picture of his home life and of his father's influence is corroborative of what we already know, but his statement of his own reaction thereto is a new contribution. "I didn't want him to put it over me" throws light on much of the boy's behavior, especially in foster homes. Handicapped there by poor training, by ignorance of American ways, and by poor standdards of cleanliness, what more natural than that Gregory should over-use that in which he had been well grounded and was practiced—knowledge of history and ability to argue. Inferior to the foster families in many ways, he could compensate by holding up his own end in discussion and at least be victor enough to annoy his opponent.

It seems clear, too, that Gregory did not realize the extent to which he was complained of in the various foster-homes; he was not conscious of the breaches of social standards of which he was guilty, plain enough to others, but foreign to his early training.

Gregory's story gives corroboration of much gleaned from other sources. It sheds light upon beginnings and motives. It has negative values, for it tends to rule out other possible bases for his delinquencies. In particular there seem to be no indicators of any deepset disturbing and conflicting elements in his hidden mental life.

have the best. He wasn't the kind who was always hitting, but when things were bad enough he would punish." He remembers that very early his father used to talk a great deal to him and his older brother about Greece. He knew all about Greek history. "And I didn't want him to put it over me, and so I began to read other histories, Roman and American, and I would tell my father about it and we would argue about which was the best." His older brother didn't care much about such things. "He is not as smart as me. He isn't interested in history; he likes art things better."

He has been away from home now for about two years. "At first I thought I would die. Then I got used to it, and now I think it is better." He has never lived with Greek people, but that doesn't make any difference. He liked American food and American ways from the start. All of the homes in which he has lived have been very good ones; the people have been good to him. The greatest trouble was in his second home. "That man was pretty smart. He knew a lot about cows. He used to be called all over the neighborhood to examine the cows; but he was smart in other ways too." They used to argue much together. "He made me mad. He called me a Wop. He said the Wops were no good, and then I would say that they were better than the English and that would get him mad. I used to keep it up just to get his goat and to have some fun. I knew it made him mad. I used to tell him to look it up in the books. I always wanted to be the right one. I didn't want to let any one else put something over on me. Of course I haven't always been in the right, but I would like to be, and I always think I am until I find out better." Then there was another trouble in this home. "That man wanted too much work. He expected every one to do what he could do." He liked it in the country where there were cows and chickens.

There was nothing wrong in the next home except the boy in the household tried to bully him. As for the present home, "Sure I like it. I only wish she'd let me go more by myself. She keeps telling me that I'm too slow. And maybe I am. My motto is 'Slow but sure.' She gets mad pretty quick. She preaches and I don't like that. She says I do everything slow. She wants you to do things in five seconds, and then she calls me lazy and says she'd rather do it herself."

Since he has been away from home he hasn't got in with any really bad boys. In one of the homes there was a little "pinching" of apples, where he is now he wants to stay out evenings with the boys just to fool around. At home he used to stay out evenings and he

can't see any sense in making him come in so early. Of course there are boys everywhere who swear, but there has been no bad sex talk or conduct in any of these places. He insists that he isn't lazy. Indeed he says that he would like a job after school and on Saturdays. It is true he has a temper, but he doesn't stay angry long.

He has never been truant since he was placed out. He really likes school and wants to get an education. He is fond of reading. He doesn't care for love stories; he likes books of adventure and travel. "I don't read many books, but I read good things." He doesn't know what he wants to be when he is grown. "I want to be everything." "When I was about twelve I smoked every butt I saw; now I just smoke once in a while to show off. That's what's the trouble with me. A good many of the troubles I get into is because I want to make others think I am wise. You do lots of things to make others think you are a great fellow."

Gregory expresses himself as being appreciative of the fact that his board is being paid for him. He was willing to earn his way by working outside but the doctor wouldn't let him.

At present he is having some difficulty in school. "Nobody likes that teacher." He is taking the commercial course and is passing in everything but bookkeeping. Generally he is very happy He doesn't get especially homesick; he sees his father every Sunday. He doesn't have any worries.

At this point SUMMARY OF CASE and SUBSEQUENT HISTORY follow.

SUMMARY OF STAFF CONFERENCE

PROBLEM: *Delinquencies Earlier:* Many small larcenies, petty burglary, begging, truancy, sleeping away from home—nine court appearances. *Recent Complaints:* Difficult home behavior in foster homes.

PHYSICAL: Short. Fair nutrition and strength. Pleasant, responsive, and rather firm expression.

MENTAL: (1) *Abilities:* Normal. Fairly good general ability. No marked discrepancies in capacities noted. (2) *Mental Balance:* No signs of poor mental balance. (3) *Personality:* Traits important. fied. Aggressively self-assertive, however, for the most part, is truthful and in many ways reasonable.

BACKGROUND: (a) *Heredity:* Father rebellious in youth, but good man. Some alcoholism, bad temper and court records in his family. Mother "headstrong," but good woman. One of her sisters erratic mentally. (b) *Developmental:* Practically negative, except mild endocarditis at 14. (c) *Home Conditions:* Early much freedom in native country. Mother dead 10 years. In recent years poverty and very crowded living conditions. (d) *Habits:* Some masturbation. Considerable smoking for a time.

PROBABLE DIRECT CAUSATIONS: (a) *Of earlier delinquencies:* (1) Maladjustments through immigration. (2) Excessive street life with (3) Bad companions. (4) Poor parental supervision. (5) Poverty.

(b) *Of later behavior difficulties:* (6) Peculiarities and lack of early training. (7) Fostering at home of argumentative spirit. (8) Personality traits as above. (9) All possibly augmented now by adolescence and (10) Sense of inferiority in foster homes, and (11) irresponsibility somewhat fostered by charity.

PROGNOSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS: Not sure of the outlook because of boy's anti-American feeling and too ready acceptance of help.

It is a problem for skilful social treatment. Placing in homes should be terminated because of his attitude; he is accepting help too readily and demanding more. Under probation should come home and work, and get further schooling by his own efforts. Has now broken away from old companions and is old enough to be kept away through better interests, school work and recreations. Should be helped to get these. If continues doing badly should perhaps be sent to correctional institution for a short time of discipline to awaken his sense of responsibility. Should be made to realize that Americans are not, as he says, "easy marks."

Subsequent History

Because of the advice of the clinic that tonsils and adenoids should be removed in order to improve the heart condition, Gregory was kept a month longer in the same foster home until this advice could be carried out. During that period he continued much as before,—sullen, lazy, and dirty. Then he went to the hospital. When he was leaving, he would not take home from the hospital the nice night clothes which had been given him. He showed more than ever, both by his attitude and by his remarks, that he was quite willing that other people should take care of him and that he himself was going to have his own way.

In November, 1918, Gregory returned home to his father and entered the first year of the city high school. He obtained work as an errand boy after school hours. At the end of the year he was promoted. The principal advised him to go to work because he thought Gregory was not enough interested in making a good school record. Late that summer Gregory obtained a position in a factory and decided that he would leave school. Out of his eleven dollars a week he gave ten dollars to his father; but nevertheless they continued to live in the same rooms and under about the same conditions. During this period he was having very nominal supervision from his former visitor. His recreation consisted largely in playing pool. He was still not in touch with any clubs or settlements, nor were any plans made for good recreations.

In the fall, his ambitions having revived, he gave up his job and returned to school. For a time he showed no initiative in securing employment after school, but toward Christmas he obtained work as an errand boy for a florist. Things went fairly well until the spring of 1920 when his father came to his former visitor saying that he was worried about Gregory. Although there were no repetitions of delinquencies, he was spending a good deal of his time away from home and his father was suspicious that he had fallen in with bad companions and was gambling somewhat. He seemed lazy and independent, making no plans for summer work, and his father feared the consequences of months of idleness. Following a conference, plans were made to send Gregory on a six weeks' summer cruise in the Navy Summer School, a plan to which the boy himself agreed, although with not a great deal of enthusiasm. His letters written during the cruise showed, however, that he became quite interested and fell in line with the training. He enjoyed the drill and got into no trouble of any kind.

During the school year of 1920-1921 Gregory completed the third year in high school. After school hours and on Saturdays he went to work in the same place where he had been employed after coming back to the city and where he was very well liked. He was considered slow but very steady. "Not a slacker, but he does not propose to do hard work in general. He uses his head to save his heels. He likes to sit in the sun and plan ways of doing things." He was reported as absolutely honest and much trusted. He was not particularly clean or tidy, and he certainly showed no great ambition. He was not at all attracted by the girls who worked in the office—indeed when they joked with him he seemed rather to disdain them, and never seemed in any way silly in his attitude toward them. But in the middle of the year, apparently without any reason, he suddenly gave up this job. He did not seek anything else in its place and his father was forced to ask some financial help from the child-placing agency. They were able to obtain for Gregory a scholarship, which carried him through the rest of that school year.

During this period he went occasionally to a boys' club where he was learning boxing. In the autumn he returned to school to complete his high school course, but during the year he was absent a great deal on account of a skin disease, scabies[1], in consequence of which he fell behind in two subjects, passing the rest with average marks. He attended summer school in order to make up the credits for these two courses and obtain his diploma.

Only once since his return home has he been in any delinquency. He and another young fellow of his own age were taking a walk together when they saw a shop window open. On the sill were a number of caps. They each took several, Gregory keeping one for himself and selling the others. He was later arrested for this and taken to court, where he was put on probation. When he himself talked of the affair he acknowledged that it was a very stupid thing to do, though first saying, "It was their fault. They shouldn't have left the window open; they should have latched it." But later he said, "We shouldn't have taken them."

A year or more before this even the nominal oversight of his old visitor ceased and no personal touch was kept either with Gregory or with his father by any one until the spring of 1922 when the home was once more visited, after which visit Gregory came to see us. The father and Gregory were then found living on the top floor of an old wooden tenement, the father still maintaining his little kitchen shop. Practically all of their home life, eating, sleeping, washing, cooking, working, is crowded into one room, dingy in spite of its two windows. It is low studded; its bare walls are badly in need of paint, but the room is kept in fairly orderly fashion and clean.

The father was somewhat discouraged because Gregory was showing no very great ambition. He complained because the boy had not done better in his studies and had not been working after school, although he also added that the boy, during the year, long had scabies from which he himself had suffered at the same time.* He really knew very little about Gregory's life outside the home, but he suspected that he still gambled somewhat because he had no other source from which to get spending money. He thought that Gregory was rather lacking in initiative, or possibly was too timid to go and find a job, but that he would work if any one obtained a job for him. He tried to give the boy some oversight and was very friendly with him, going with him occasionally to the beach or to the movies. The father's earnings were very meager and he could not afford to dress Gregory well; he complained that the boy did not take good care of the few clothes that he had. He knew the neighborhood was poor, but said he could not afford to pay more rent nor, furthermore, to lose the customers which he had in the neighborhood. Very little is contributed to the family by the older boy, who for a long time now has lived with relatives near the place where he is employed in another town. The little girl still remains with the same family. The father visits her occasionally. She is happy and perfectly contented in her foster home. The State Department will not consider her return to the father as long as he lives under present conditions.

When Gregory himself came to see us, July 1922, we found him friendly and very cooperative, and frank in his discussion not only of present conditions but also of what had happened in the past.

[1] This disease is due, of course, to lack of thorough cleanliness and it bears upon their poor living conditions. As a matter of fact, Gregory told us of how he had lost sleep for long on account of the itching and how his school work had suffered therefrom. He had poor advice conerning it, using some ineffectual salve till he went to a good hospital clinic, where the nature of the trouble was at once recognized and he was speedily cured by radical measures undertaken.

Physical

Now 19 yrs., 11 mos. Weight 123 lbs. Height 5 ft., 3 in. Spare build. Rather drawn face. Color not good. Tired look about his eyes. Skin muddy. Lips rather compressed. No heart murmur. Other examination negative.[1]

He is upright, and although very quiet in repose is rather alert in movements. He looks far from healthy and is nowadays untidy and careless about his dress, not wearing a collar in the several times he came to the office.

Mental

(1) *Abilities* (estimated now on a wide range of tests): Good average general ability. Very good in visual memory and powers of visual representation, syllogistic reasoning, and generalizations. Good learning ability. Does well in total clerical examination. (*This is a long test, composed of eight parts, widely used in business houses, etc., to show capacity in terms of accuracy and speed for clerical work.*) Inconsistent arithmetic performance (*possibly due to fatigue and very hot weather*); at times does both reasoning and rote work fairly well. Writing and spelling fair average. Fair only in apperceptions. Poorer in vocabulary and language in general, although in composition shows originality. Average motor control, but very little mechanical ability indeed (*so poor that it suggests an attitude based on father's attitude*). Average mental control. Planfulness as shown with concrete material (*Dearborn and Porteus tests*) quite good. When attempting to work rapidly, make careless errors and shows variabilities in energy.[2] These test results bear out somewhat and amplify the earlier test findings, especially that Gregory is poor in mechanical work, that he does better in working with abstractions — reasoning and general-

[1] Gregory's poor appearance led to a careful inquiry into his diet, which proved to be as follows: Breakfast, usually a cup of milk and two slices of bread, sometimes macaroni or other things left over. Sunday dinner: meat, potatoes, macaroni, and wine. Other days: macaroni with rarely salad and meat on one week day. Supper consists usually of macaroni, with eggs twice a week and occasionally a fresh vegetable or fruit. No tea or coffee, and never more than a pint of milk a day for the two men.

[2] Stanford-Binet I.Q. 101; passes all 14-year tests and (2, 4, 5, 6) of 16-year and (4) of 18-year tests.
Porteus Adult Scale; 6 trials required.
Auditory Memory Span, 7 digits.
Recognition Memory, 9/10 of cards correct. Ellis Visual Memory, 8/10 correct.
Kelley-Trabue Language Scale, score 8.4, median for 8th to 9th grade, an inconsistent performance because many difficult sentences done better than easy.
Vocabulary Definitions; Terman, 14-year norm.
Original composition rather good.
Pictorial Completion Test II, score 62, median for adults.
Tapping Test; score 93 squares, no errors, median for 17 years.
Kansas Silent Reading Test, No. 3; score 21.2, about median for grade 9.
Woodworth Wells Easy Directions; 105″, no errors; Hard Directions, 175″, 2 errors.
Mental Representations: Code Test, Clock Hands, Enclosed Boxes, McCallie Cube Test, Floor Plans—all done well. Thurstone's Hands Test, 95% correct; Wheel Test, only 1/6 correct.
Dearborn Form Board, No. 3, score 3, 5, 10, 10.
Stenquist Assembly Test, score 12; lower than median given for any age.
Fables Test (Terman), score 10.
Thurstone Syllogism Test A, 19/20 correct.
Thurstone Proverbs Test, 18/20 correct.
Healy-Bronner Learning Tests: A; first trial 9, second trial 12
B; first trial 3, second trial 5
C; first trial 7,
D; first trial 4½, second trial 10
Writing and Spelling about equivalent to average high school performance.
Thurstone Clerical Examination; Accuracy rank, 58; Speed rank, 70; Combined rank, 72.
Arithmetic: Courtis Test 7, 6th grade performance; test in Thurstone's clerical 10/12 correct; Thurstone's Engineering Arithmetic Test I, 6 correct.

izing — and that he has very good capacity for handling visual imagery That he was well enough suited for a commercial course is evidenced by the score on the clerical test; he evidently has profited by his training. (2) *Balance*: Is entirely coherent, cogent, and oriented. (3) *Personaliy*: Pleasant. Very serious. No signs whatever of being argumentative or aggressive. Is amenable to rational suggestions. Appears mild and distinctly lacking in energy, but not lacking in ambitions.

Excerpts from Autobiography[1]

"My behavior in Greece was always good, but after I was here a couple of years I was spoiled . . . I liked going to school in Greece . . . I was allowed my own way, wandering about everywhere. In my early life, I always did things (that is, went where I pleased) . . . They used to tell me that in America one could almost find money in the street . . . . .

"I had feelings of injustice early and up to about three or four years ago. The injustice was that when my father was drunk he'd hit my brother and I for almost nothing. He has or he had a bad way of beating. I don't think I ever used to get hit very much when my father was sober. . . [2]

"I never had any companions here that used to influence me to do good. All the companions used to talk about bad things, but the only bad things I ever really done was steal. . .

"The influence that got me into trouble and court was about two years after I landed here . . . I used to go to the market picking up fruit on the ground every day. I used to get wood and take it home every day until I came in touch with D. I met D. one morning and he asked me if I wanted to make some money. I consented and he told me all I'd have to do is steal barrels and sell them. I went with him and we used to get 10 cents or 20 cents each for barrels. . . I got more and more inclined to this affair to steal alone, so when D wasn't around I used to go with other boys that did the same thing. I used to go to the show pretty often with the money I made in this way, otherwise I wouldn't have the means. . .

"I remember the first time I got arrested. . . We got a year probation I think. But probation did not stop us from stealing, we went right on. . . . All the court trouble that I had is explained easily. It was because we were youngsters and we said if we got caught they won't do us anything because we were too young. The main causes were that we had been so much in the habit of stealing that we would take a chance at bigger things. . . If the others steal and you don't steal they call you a "scarecrow." This name means "yellow" and the boy that doesn't steal, just to show that he isn't afraid goes and steals.

"Gambling has a bad effect, because a bunch of boys get together and gamble in some alley the money that they have made by stealing. That makes the loser all the more desperate to steal and make back the money he has lost.

"My placing in homes changed my views pretty extensively. It gave me a different idea of life. It changed me in habits, etc., by being with Americans. I got used to different foods. I got inclined to sports more. . . . My being placed had a good influence and was very beneficial, because it made me forget the boys with whom I used to go stealing, I was treated very well, there was more chance for me to have fun, it made me change my habits, I used to be more regular in my daily procedures, it made me

[1] This autobiography is a long document that Gregory was interested in writing. It was written at our office and its composition was guided by a series of questions.

[2] We were, naturally, much surprised at this. After all these years it is the first intimation that anybody, outside the family circle, seems to have had that the father drank. In response to our latest inquiry, it appears that of late years the father has been drinking very little and that Gregory really respects his father in many ways.

healthier, I used to grow more rapidly and I used to enjoy life better in every way I can think of. . . When I came back home I was afraid to touch a toothpick and stealing ideas were dead in me. . . I heard that D. had been in the reformatory for about a year.[1]

"In one home we used to have friendly arguments concerning England and Greece. He'd stand for England and I'd stand for Greece. Once in a while the United States would come in it. We'd say things against each others countries, but in a friendly way. . . (Speaking of his last home). If it wasn't for one teacher up the High School and the trouble I had with a man I think I would be there yet. . I didn't like one teacher and that teacher wasn't in love with me either, so one of us had to get out; the teacher might still be there. . . He used to call me down, call me names, etc., and sometimes I used to feel like having a fight with him. He thought he was having fun with me, but he didn't know how I used to feel. . .

"It would have been better if I could have been put in some place where there was more work to do. In Y especially there was nothing there that I could do. . . There was no place I could go but the pool room, which has bad influence to those who patronize it. . .

"The first or second time that I appeared at court I should have been placed in some home, because in the first place the court knew we did not have a mother, second my father could not go to work on our account, because he had to get our dinner at noon, etc., and third all the court trouble that I've had would have been prevented and I think I would have better ideas, etc. My brother was not like me but the same thing would have done him good also. . .

"I used to think about how a man became great and what he did that made him great, etc. Those things used to impress me very much. Some times those thoughts used to make me ambitious. I used to try to make plans, then I'd see my position and I would forget. . . I do not care for the pleasures that boys seek with girls because in the first place if a boy thinks of that, he's done for, and he's no good. . . The happiest things I ever did was read good books, sports and I used to like to live out the country. . .

"Talking about the government the United States Gov't. cannot be beat; and the founders and the ones who kept it so good were very smart men. There have been smart men but I hear that the assembly that composed the constitution consisted of more genius than ever before have met. . .

"I think of the past and I say to myself what a fool I was, but when a thing is done it is no time to weep over it but just be ready to do better some other time."

[1] We know that this is true. D. and his companions continued in delinquency and he and at least one other were committed to the reform school.

FINAL COMMENT

The study of Gregory is presented at considerable length, abbreviated from the original record, because we have such detailed knowledge of so many aspects of the case that may be of interest to students in different fields. Of course good practical social treatment in very many cases does not require any such extensive study.

The case illustrates the heading off of a delinquent career, the altering of certain personality traits that had unfortunate social implications, and the turning of the foreign born, even with aggressively foreign notions, in favor of American ideas. With inadequate treatment and left at home, Gregory was already developing into an habitual delinquent with the possibility that as he grew older his delinquencies would become more serious. For long he presented a peculiar personality problem—a personality that might have turned towards general anti-social and even anti-governmental action. The day seems to have been saved by treatment that has been fluid and varied as different needs have arisen: At one time he needed to be taken away from home; at another time it was certainly best for him to be returned and made to feel more responsibility; still another time it helped greatly for him to go on the cruise. To be sure, such diversified treatment is not any more than is frequently given to the child of an intelligent family by the family itself. The case presents ample arguments for the value of diagnosis of the whole situation from widely collected facts, and repeated diagnosis as new issues arise, even if the new situations mainly involve merely subjective elements in the boy's life.

The great saving to society by proper handling of such a case as this is difficult to estimate. We know by our experience that a Southern European immigrant, if left to himself in a poor environment, is apt to become a very costly member of society when once he starts in delinquency. The well directed social work among this group in Boston is splendidly effective in prevention.

The student can pick out point after point that bears upon (a) what might have been done earlier by way of prevention, (b) and perhaps by a school visitor or any agency that would have attempted reconstruction of the family life upon a better level, (c) what better adjustments could have been made through placing out if a careful study had been made earlier, (d) how Americanization is promoted by familiarity with American life, (e) how possible anti-governmental attitudes may be overcome, (f) how living conditions and diet bear upon questions of moral life and efficiency in school and at work, (g) what might have resulted if the boy had been repressively punished at the period when he had so strong an urge towards self-expres-

sion of his ideas, (h) what relation adolescence has to personality traits, even as clearly marked as Gregory's, (i) how constructive efforts may be and should be continued even after an agency has done its own specific work in the case, and how great a matter of economy it frequently is to continue friendly aid, looking to the development of independence.

And there are many other aspects of this case that represent matters of fundamental importance for individual and community welfare.

JUDGE BAKER FOUNDATION
CASE STUDIES

SERIES 1 CASE 2 AND 3

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sive and all-round studies, its staff comprises those working from the standpoint of the psychological, medical, and social sciences. It is only through the devoted service of the entire personnel that the material for the present publication is available.

Readers cannot draw conclusions for scientific purposes from statements concerning localities, names, dates, nationalities, and facts of family history as given because, in the usual professional fashion cases are reported with disguises. But the general facts, even of heredity are accurately transcribed, and no matters of importance for interpretation of causation as it bears on therapeutic possibilities in the individual case are changed or omitted.

The plan of presentation is to offer a first series of twenty studies covering a wide range of problems of interest to educators, psychologists, psychiatrists, sociologists, judges, probation officers, and all who deal with matters involving the adjustments of young people. For teaching purposes, a loose-leaf edition is available so that all pages designated with (a) may be withheld until the factual material of the first study of the case, given in the other pages, is treated by the student as a problem to be solved.

It is hoped that the publications can continue and include consideration of groups of cases representing types of problems in education, in make-up of individuals, in conduct, etc. It is planned at later dates to report on important facts of cases earlier published.

The gratitude of students who benefit by these studies is due to the Commonwealth Fund of New York, a grant from which has made this series possible.

The social treatment has been carried out through child welfare agencies of many sorts, and the spirit of their co-operation has been splendid. It would be a pleasure to give credit to the particular agency in each case, but since, for several reasons, it is inadvisable, we desire here to express our deep appreciation of their co-operation with the Judge Baker Foundation.

WILLIAM HEALY, M. D.
AUGUSTA F. BRONNER, Ph. D.
Directors.

Case Study No. 2 and 3

SERIES I

JUDGE BAKER FOUNDATION
40 COURT STREET
BOSTON

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CASE TWO AND THREE

(A) **Winthrop Standen, Jr.:** 15 yrs., 8 mos.; of New England ancestry on both sides.

Introductory Statement

1 Mr. and Mrs. Winthrop Standen, evidently thoroughly right-minded people, came for advice concerning their son. To them he is a baffling puzzle. Except for him, every member of their families that they have heard of has had high standards of integrity and citizenship. For two years Winthrop has caused them anxiety through school misdemeanors and through repeated and serious dishonesty which began earlier in small ways. Recently he has been in court twice — once for burglary with a companion, and a few months later, while still on probation, he was arrested for breaking into a garage and driving off an automobile. The whole story of his delinquencies totals many instances of stealing and of taking automobiles, but it has been the boy's indifferent attitude that has disturbed the parents most.

To emphasize certain features of great importance for treatment in the type of cases of which case *(A)* is representative, we offer briefly in smaller type a number of other illustrations which have some of the main features in common, but which show differences, sometimes in matters most important for diagnosis, as will appear below. *(On account of the length of the whole study we designate the subsidiary five case studies as Case 3.)*

Among the delinquencies of the five additional cases, the youngest just 14, the oldest not quite 17, were school offenses in all but one case. Three had stolen repeatedly, three had definitely run away from home for considerable periods, one had already developed a vicious criminalistic career.

Study of the Background

Family

2 A careful, detailed account of the family as learned through Winthrop's intelligent and much concerned parents may be summarized:

1 It is a fact of no little importance that in five out of these six cases the families themselves brought the individual as a serious delinquent for study; they would not have sought the court thus voluntarily for aid. Indeed, had there been court proceedings and had the usual treatment for delinquencies as serious and as repeated as most of these been prescribed, namely commitment to a correctional institution, the parents would probably have appealed from this decision. (Only in one instance were the circumstances such that a different attitude was taken.)

The point is that all of these parents were eager for relief in the situation, but they would not have availed themselves of the court, although the court is the agency for the treatment of delinquency appointed by the law.

This idea of checking the growth of delinquency through scientifically getting at its roots is a new social concept. It suggests great possibilities for the future through the establishment of centers for the really scientific study of behavior problems.

The meeting of the demand for this service can afford one of the great means for the prevention of delinquency.

That cases will come only at the instigation of courts or schools is not borne out by experience; we ourselves have ample evidence that with the development of facilities, even families themselves will take the initiative in seeking professional advice concerning delinquency and often before any public agency has taken up the case.

Furthermore, under these circumstances, a very different attitude is assumed than that of the defensive opposition with which official procedure is frequently met.

2 A large share of the facts brought out by the accounts given by the families is negative. In only the last case is the heredity distinctly bad, while in (*B*) there is great admixture of good and poor traits on one side of the ancestry. While the group is too small for per-

Father: 48, large, fine physique, bears the appearance of the good habits which he is said to have always had. Member of a successful business firm. Had two years of college life and then financial circumstances led him into business. A reader and student along the lines of his own vocation. A hard worker, but outside of working hours very companionable with his children. Evidently an admirable father.

Father's Family: Rural New England people earlier; in the father's generation living in small towns; ambitious for education and recently prospering. Substantial people, free from nervous and mental diseases and anything like criminalism.

Mother: Healthy, even-tempered, a good housekeeper, devoted to her children. Graduated from high school.

Mother's Family: Steady and industrious people, mostly living in country districts. Not ambitious for higher education, but there has been no exception to the family reputation for integrity and sound mentality.

Siblings: Four sisters, all younger than Winthrop. All healthy and normal in every way.

(B) Both parents come from American families. Both much worried about their son's delinquencies. *Father:* Very large, healthy, calm, sincere, fairly intelligent. Shows that he knows less than would be expected concerning the details of his boy's life and interests. He is a builder in a town of moderate size and a man of thoroughly good habits and reputation. *Father's Family:* Many members very large. Much alcoholism and irresponsibility for at least two generations. Some members of the family very fine people, others bad dispositioned and of poor morals, although no criminal careers or insanity in family. A great-uncle was a rover. *Mother:* Intelligent and tactful, "a hard-working woman." *Mothers Family:* Large family. Many members large physically and very healthy. Proud of their unblemished record for soundness of mind and good behavior. *Siblings:* Two older brothers. Successful in school and at work. Two younger sisters normal in every way.

(C) Both parents of old American stock. *Father:* Healthy, excellent habits, high morals, college graduate, very moderately successful in business, of intellectual interests. Has been very reasonable and has tried hard to understand his boy. *Father's*

centages to mean much, it is clear that there is no relationship of defective heredity of any sort to the problem represented in these cases.

One point of interest concerns alcoholism in the families; there was only one instance of an alcoholic parent, and he was not a chronic alcoholic. This contrasts the picture of the Chicago cases of delinquency in general which showed that of two series, each of 1,000 young offenders, in 31% of the cases of one series, and in 26.5% of the other series one or both parents drank to excess. A similar Boston series showed that in 51% one or both parents drank immoderately.

Inasmuch as three of the six cases have been runaways, it is worth noting that tendencies to rove were negligible. A paternal great uncle in one case, reported a "rover," was the only possible representative of this type.

It may be noted that in facts gathered in the family histories it was specifically stated in three of the six cases that a parent or members of a parent's family were unusually large. Information concerning this point was not definitely asked for in the other cases.

There was no immigration problem involved in any case. The two foreign-born fathers came so early to America that they had been thoroughly Americanized, receiving their education here.

In no case was the delinquent an only child; and his place among the siblings varied, one being the oldest child, another the youngest, etc. *(Siblings is a term used to include both brothers and sisters.)* Just now when so much emphasis is placed on the psychology of the only or the eldest child, this is rather interesting to note.

And in no instance was another sibling delinquent — we have commented in Case 1 on the frequency of this.

Family: His father a quiet, studious man—in this being quite out of line with his ancestors, who were marked for generations by their vigor in pioneering. Not the slightest indication in the family annals of any nervous or mental abnormality. *Mother:* Healthy, private secondary school education, devoted to her family, a great reader. *Mother's Family:* All healthy, strong, good people, some well-to-do. *Siblings:* An older sister, a very intelligent college student; two younger brothers thoroughly normal and of very good conduct tendencies.

(D) Both parents Jewish, father born in England, mother in America. *Father:* Large, very healthy, active, head of a wholesale dry goods business, in various civic enterprises. Received fairly good education in England. *Father's Family:* Rather scholarly people, some professors among them. *Mother:* High school graduate. A quiet woman, good housewife, emotional, but no nervous disease. *Mother's Family:* Healthy, hardworking, pious people. *Siblings:* Two older boys, enterprising young men, one established with father in his business. Two younger sisters, still in school, doing well. Altogether a healthy family in mind and body.

(E) Americans of Scotch descent—highly intelligent people. *Father:* Scholarly, quiet, reserved, sensitive, high-tempered; holds a position in a research division of the State service. *Father's Family:* All very stable, well educated. *Mother:* "A woman of sound judgment and dignified personality." *Mother's Family:* Professional people, none abnormal in any way. *Siblings:* One older brother, three older sisters, all college graduates. All have done well in later life.

(F) Father born in Holland, of Dutch family, brought in infancy to this country. Mother American. *Father:* In school life was troublesome and truant; left at 13, but later returned and graduated from high school. Never very strong, moderate size, 5 ft. 9 in. Built up good business, but for a time lost ambition and was periodic alcoholic following the death of a favorite son. Then he suffered a severe accident which was followed by a long complicating illness of which he died at 43. *Father's Family:* His father was a very large, strong man who was periodic alcoholic, but a steady worker, "kept well in hand by his wife"—who weighed 225 lbs. She was a strong-minded woman, quiet but very obstinate; she developed diabetes in later life. Her two daughters are forceful and very successful business women. The moral standards of the family have been unusually high. Other distant relatives have suffered from diabetes. *Mother:* Very healthy, "a pleasure-loving young woman who wanted excitement and found it difficult to settle down." But she has met the family troubles wonderfully bravely. *Mother's Family:* Her father was industrious, sober, and well thought of outside his home, but within doors would give vent to wild temper or be moody and not speak for weeks at a time. He had violent headaches. He lived to old age, a great trial to his family. His wife was a very large woman,

quite normal. Their children are intelligent and have been successful in business. *Siblings:* Three out of seven children have died in later childhood of diabetes, another of nephritis. The others are healthy. None of them have had convulsions or any other nervous disturbance, and all have been apparently normal mentally.

Developmental History

3 Parents healthy at time of conception. Normal pregnacy; full term and normal delivery; 8 lbs. at birth. Breast fed. No illnesses during infancy. Walked and talked first at about 1 year. Some digestive disturbance at 2½ years, followed by a period of poor general condition. Some diseases common to childhood very mildly. Tonsils and adenoids removed at 5 years. No illnesses since. All along very large for age.

(B) Pregnancy and birth normal. Average size at birth. Quite healthy, except for children's diseases in very mild form, and otorrhea, not severe, at 13 years. Not large for age till 12 years old, then began excessive growth; grew 6 inches in one year, and 5 inches in the next; at 13 already weighed 150 lbs.

(C) Weighed 10 lbs. at birth. Walked and talked very early. Very healthy, only measles and whooping cough, and these mildly. Tonsils and adenoids removed at 10 years. No injuries. Has grown much in last 2 years.

(D) Moderately large at birth — weight not exactly remembered. Never any severe illnesses or accidents. Was always fairly large, but grew rapidly at 12. Already at 14 passed frequently for 17 or 18. Parents are not sure about exact age of puberty, but know that signs were evident at 12. At 15 was shaving regularly.

(E) Pregnancy and birth normal. Weighed about 8 lbs. at birth. No illnesses and in every way normal development as young child, but was a mouth breather. Tonsils and adenoids removed at 8 years, and shortly afterwards operation for abscess which formed at side of abdomen. No physical troubles since then. Very well nourished child — largest of the family.

(F) Mother says she was cranky and nervous during pregnancy, but at birth child was normal, weighed 8 lbs. At 5 months was hit on head by door and same day began a series of convulsions, ten or fifteen. At 6 months severe bronchial trouble and was unconscious for days. Slow in talking, but with removal of tonsils and adenoids there was rapid improvement. At 3 years had a fall followed by unconsciousness for ten minutes; at hospital where he was taken head injury was suspected. "Sunstroke" at 5 years with unconsciousness. At 7 years a child gave him belladonna pills. He was barely saved and for long time was in a serious condition. At about 8 years, had scarlet fever, whooping cough,

3 None of these boys was unusually large at birth. With the exception of *(F)* who, although he developed enormous strength, suffered from a remarkable number of serious accidents, none of them had a particularly eventful health history. And none of them, except *(F)* showed evidences during their development of any special nervous instability.

In four instances growth at 12 or 13 years of age was excessive. In only one case could we learn the age of puberty, though we may fairly suspect its early onset in the other cases also. This fact is very difficult to obtain from relatives, differing in this, of course, from knowledge to be obtained similarly about girls.

measles, but none of them severely. He was not unusually large till 12 years of age; at 13 he was wearing his father's clothes. No illnesses for years but for long he has complained of severe headaches and at times has acted as if he were almost crazy with the pain.

Home and Neighborhood Conditions and Influences

4 Winthrop has been brought up in a very sensible home, where there has been plenty, but no luxury, where there has been no friction and where his parents have endeavored to give him the best that an intelligent American household affords in pleasant suburban surroundings. There has been good reading, outdoor sports, social life, contact with church, and a very reasonable attitude towards his needs as far as realized. The father has given all of his time outside of his work to companionship with his children.

(B) This boy comes from a good home, comfortably provided for. The ideals are industry and right living, but there is no companionship between boy and older brothers, and his father says, "The truth is, I don't know what he does. I have so much to do to support the family and try to give them a good education that I never have time to talk with him, to go walking with him, or to be a comrade to the boys in any way." The suburban town where they live has the ordinary range of interests, good and bad, and the boy seeks them as he chooses. The only discipline has been scolding and threats of court action.

(C) This family has lived many years in a good residence district of a small city. The boy has had many opportunities for good times at home and with companions. The parents have given him the closest supervision at home and have closely co-operated with the school people. When he first began his delinquent tendencies the parents used various means to better his behavior; they tried whippings, but that seemed to harden him; they kept him once for two days in his room with only bread and water. There has been every attempt all along to alter his bad conduct tendencies and to guard against poor companionship.

(D) This family lives in a New England seaport in a district of well-to-do and friendly neighbors. They have ordinary comforts and some luxuries; it is a musical family. There are close family ties, with the father domineering and the mother passive, of the worrying kind. There has been every effort made to keep the children at home, but one of the older brothers felt his best interests depended upon his establishing himself away from home. The parents have been very anxious for the younger boy to have a good education and the father has been insistent upon his taking a place in his large and growing business. The parents are not

4 It can be quickly seen that all of these boys were brought up in good American homes. Of course companionships were not well known—how many parents do know well the companions of their sons? And the subtler phases of these boys' mental lives were neglected, but not any more than in the average and better than average home. Confidences were unfortunately lacking, as they are all too frequently.

Economic conditions of the home left little to be desired. Even in the case of *(F)*, delinquency was begun long before the family fortunes ebbed. In his case only was the family circle broken up, although here, again, he had a good father when he began his misconduct. All this is utterly different from the general run of delinquent cases which notoriously come in such large measure from broken up homes. (See Breckenridge and Abbot — *The Delinquent Child and the Home,* and E. H. Shideler, *The Delinquent Boy and the Home,* Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, Jan. 1918.) In our Chicago series 52% and 45%, and in our Boston series 42% of delinquents came from abnormally constituted home relationships.

The parental attitudes represented by these cases were good, although in *(B)* there was clearly lacking a normally inquiring supervision. Several of the fathers had offered their children unusually good companionship. But for the most part the parental management was such as is suited to young boys and as such caused irritation.

Nor was there in any one of the cases the over-indulgence of the rich or of the morally careless. The homes were characterized by the thrift and good economic ideals which are supposed to make so greatly for good standards of honesty.

The disciplines were those of the normal home—scoldings, whippings, till the boy became too large, and other physical retributions—all in what might be called sound measure only.

In short, this group is peculiarly representative of delinquents coming from types of homes where ordinarily good citizens are made.

strictly orthodox, but keep up various Jewish observances — the children do not. There are occasional arguments about these matters, but no lasting friction. There has been no overindulgence. The boy's delinquencies have been met by stern scoldings and reasoning. Whippings, which had no effect, were discontinued earlier when father thought such treatment would certainly develop a grudge on the boy's part.

(E) The atmosphere of this family group is particularly one of culture, and there has been much social contact with people of prominence in the world of scholarship and literature. In possession of only moderate means, the parents have yet been able by close living to give their children the healthiest of lives in a small town and in the country. Their associates were always children of cultured families. The father is too much of a scholar to associate closely with his children in their interests, but there has always been appreciation of their needs. In the case of this youngest boy there certainly has been much less careful oversight of his recreational hours and vacations than with the older children. His delinquencies have been met by moral appeals; he has never been punished physically.

(F) Up to four years ago the family were in very comfortable circumstances, living in a very good residential district. The father was devoted to his home and children and "he was the one who could control the boy." When, following the father's death, the family fortunes disappeared, this boy, at 14, readily able to pass for a young man of 22 or 23, made an attempt to keep his father's business and fulfill important contracts made, but of course he quickly proved his incapacity and no one came forward who could manage affairs. On account of other illnesses, the family situation became desperate. The mother went out to work and lost nearly all oversight of the boy. He made some effort at holding jobs, but soon fell in with poor companions, and sometimes remained away from home for days at a time and sometimes was gone months on his various journeys.

Companions

5 In connection with the Boy Scouts and in his own neighborhood, Winthrop has found some very desirable friends, whom he has retained. But he has also formed a very influential comradeship with one young fellow, somewhat older than himself, who is a notorious scamp, but who has succeeded in avoiding punishment because of the political influence of his family. Through this fellow Winthrop has formed casual acquaintance with an undesirable crowd of older fellows. His association with girls has been very normal and wholesome.

5 The account of companionship given by parents is, of course, a great help in studying the case, because it gives clues to follow, but we have found from long experience that the bare facts as given by outsiders, even such as parents, may mean little. The essence of the situation very commonly is in the subtler influences which perhaps even one companion known for a little while may exert. That is why it is necessary to analyze most carefully with the delinquent himself just what experiences with companionships have been and what influences have been left upon his mind and character. The case of *(A)* is an example of where the parents really knew of, but did nothing radical to prevent, a companionship important in their boy's career. In contrast, the family of *(E)*, most intelligent people, had no inkling of what had gone on with companions which was highly formative of the boy's tendencies. It shows how little appreciation there is of the effect of the spread of ideas, of the touch of one mind and its content upon another mind.

(B) Recently he has been going with an older set of boys who have a bad reputation; he has been out late at night a number of times with them. Earlier most of his companions were schoolboy friends with whom he has had, as far as is known, the healthiest relationships.

(C) He has always gone with a very good class of boys. He has generally truanted alone. In a normal, boyish way, he gets along very well with girls.

(D) In school life and outside of it, boy has been very friendly and popular with a normal crowd of boys and girls, but has never had any deep friendship with members of either sex of his own age. He was most chummy at one time with a middle-aged man who at times had a very good influence on him. The boy formed acquaintance with some factory girls at one time and had clandestine meetings with them.

(E) Earlier he had some good companions, boys and girls with whom he associated in a very normal, friendly way. Recently he has formed no intimate friendships, though he is not at all reserved. The bad influences of certain companions, supposedly good, of which he himself tells, are unknown to his family.

(F) Already, as a little boy, he found undesirable companions and wandered away to nearby amusement resorts with them. Later he associated with much older boys of poor habits. Recently away from home, he has been in vicious and low company.

Habits

6 Winthrop's eating and sleeping habits have always been quite normal. He has not been allowed tea or coffee and has never been in the habit of smoking. He has had almost no experience with bad sex habits, has not been immoral with girls.

(B) Eating and sleeping habits, normal. Moderate tea and coffee. Smoking of cigarettes in excess during the last year. Since he was 10 years old some masturbation, but never to excess. No immorality with girls.

(C) Very normal habits in all ways. Very little smoking. Very slight experience with masturbation never immoral with girls.

(D) General habits quite normal. No excess of tea or coffee; has hardly ever smoked. No drinking. Slight amount of masturbation, since 13. First immoral with a girl when only 13, and since, at long intervals, on two other occasions.

(E) In childhood, was notably slow in giving up old habits, or in formation of new habits, such as those concerned with eating. This trait is considered not so well marked now-a-days. Very little smoking, and that only recently. Masturbation began at 10 or 11 years; very considerable at times ever since.

6 There is certainly nothing concerning habits which is characteristic of this group. In three instances habits have been unusually good, in the others the facts speak for themselves.

The smoking to an excess at an early age done by *(B)*, though the boy was so large and strong, perhaps has been distinctly injurious to his nervous system. (Note physical findings below). Perhaps it was particularly bad because indulged in at the period of very rapid growth. (For the sake of truth we must acknowledge that we have seen some instances of just such excessive smoking in boys without any signs of nervous disturbance.)

The effect of prolonged masturbation, such as seen in the case of *(E)*, can only be properly discussed in the light of analysis of school history, knowledge concerning physical energy, and its influence upon the individual's attitude toward himself and the world and upon his thought life. We feel that this whole subject has never been done justice to on the side of mental life, in spite of the really good contributions to facts and to phraseology by the psychoanalytic school and the thorough-going discussion of the more surface aspects of the subject by such writers as Moll — *The Sexual Life of the Child.*

Of course the abnormal habits of *(F)* are to be considered in the light of his abnormal history. His excessive craving for candy is suspicious in the light of the family history of diabetes.

(F) Always a restless sleeper; talks much in his dreams. Abnormal craving for candy. Excessive smoking, beginning at 14. Some masturbation at intervals. Immoral with dissolute women several times (but contracted no disease). Occasionally drinks beer; has taken whiskey only twice (the last time just prior to his recent and most serious delinquency).

Interests

7 The only two keen interests which Winthrop displays are in connection with his companionship and in things mechanical. His father claims that at the age of eight Winthrop could name and put together all the parts of an automobile. He has now grown quite expert in making repairs and is perfectly happy if he is going over a motor and its parts.

His gregariousness has led to his forming some undesirable friendships as well as some good ones, as mentioned before, and as these ties have been formed it has been difficult for him to break away.

Beyond this, Winthrop is moderately interested in sports, especially swimming; but he has never taken much part in competitive games. He is a first class Scout and has been much interested in Scout activities. Earlier he was much of a reader of boys' books, the only kind he reads now occasionally. He was interested in church affairs and in the activities of a social club. But the outstanding point that his father makes is that Winthrop doesn't show much lasting enthusiasm about any of his interests except mechanical.

In school, Winthrop showed a fair amount of interest, at least he never truanted, until he entered high school. Since then he has become very indifferent towards his studies.

(B) Fond of engaging with companions in rough sports; "enjoys scrapping." Recently has been going with much older boys. When still young tried to get on athletic teams. Reads books of adventure, goes much to moving picture shows. Has recently been going a little with a high school crowd to public dance halls. Has very little interest in school. Used to say he wanted to be a mechanical engineer, but is really most keen to do something very active that embodies adventure.

(C) Reads a great deal, chiefly books of adventure and exciting stories. "I don't read dime novels, there's too much trash in them." Talks much about ranch life and the woods. Loves the water. When truant spends all day in the woods alone. Fond of good companionship, both boys and girls. No interest in music,

7 Perhaps the most significant point to discuss here is the relationship of the interests of these boys to their early physical maturity and large size (detailed facts of which appear later in the physical findings). One would think of them first as being individuals who showed at an early age the characteristics which belong to later years. One might ask: Would they early seek association with older boys and show an early interest in the opposite sex? Four of them did form companionships with young fellows older than themselves, of course finding it easy to do so because of their mature growth, but most of them showed interests that were not at all adult. This seems especially clear in their reading, several of them being fond of books of adventure such as many young boys like.

Concerning attraction to girls, we learn that in four cases this was not undue or premature. Indeed, in several of the cases it is specifically stated that their relationships with girls were very normal and wholesome. In two cases there was sex stress and some occasional immorality with girls. While one would not imply that this proportion has any statistical value whatever, yet it may be stated that among delinquent boys one finds that in very small measure have they been immoral with girls. Less than 5% of 2,200 boys up to 18 years, repeated offenders, in our Chicago and Boston series, had been immoral with girls, according to the best knowledge obtainable—and undoubtedly this figure is not far from the truth. This is strikingly different from the facts among prematurely and over-developed girls who are delinquent.

Then one would naturally think of these large, strong boys as being particularly interested in adventures and sports. While all but one showed considerable interest in adventure, at least through reading and talking about it, only three actually sought it in world experience. One of these, *(F)*, is, of course, very abnormal in this. The fact is that one finds instances of love of adventure among boys, or even girls, who are not at all prematurely developed or overly strong, as well as among those whose physique would seem to make them well fitted for rough contact with the world. (See section on Love of Excitement and Adventure, *The Individual Delinquent,* Healy.)

And much the same might be said concerning sports; not all the big fellows are especially interested in competitive athletics, nor, conversely, are those who have such interest naturally large and strong. We find one of these cases sedentary and two of them just moderately interested in sports of young men.

although he has good musical ability. "I hate school; it's too much indoors." "If there was anything I was interested in, I could have done it all right." "I'm for going off and learning things by myself — any new trick in skating or swimming." What he wants to do is "just some rough work — any kind of rough work." "Believe me, I do like horses."

(D) For several years he has, at times, been very dissatisfied with the quiet home life which was sufficient in their youth for the older boys. His chief interests seemed to be in excitement, fast motoring, or in "starting something with the crowd," some sensation, such as when once at an amusement park, he invited all the bystanders into a side show. He professes at times to be interested in business, but soon gives it up. He seemed to like grammar school, but when he entered high school at 14, he lost all interest. He has shown almost no interest in athletics, in spite of his strength, but at times has worked furiously hard in the gymnasium. He has never been over-fond of theatres or moving picture shows, and dances he has attended only occasionally. He has never shown any special ambitions. Earlier he read many stories of adventure, but recently "he won't read even a newspaper." Lately he has acquired an interest in night life, wandering restlessly from place to place seeing what is going on.

(E) Always fond of indoor games, likes to play outside games with companions in a mild way, and enjoys companionship in general. Has no real liking for school — is passive about it. No mechanical or musical interests. Has always expressed greatest fondness for farm life. Reads little voluntarily, and then only boys' books. On account of family disapproval, has been very little to moving pictures or theatres.

(F) Earlier, only interests were in rough play and in wandering about seeking exciting amusement. Not at all a reader. Never went in for athletics. Recently main pleasure is in travelling to various cities or even across the ocean, where he rapidly spends on poor sorts of amusements the money which he has been able to earn in considerable amounts.

School and Work History

8 Winthrop attended two private schools and one public school, as his parents moved about. He was a moderately good student and offered no conduct problem until, at the age of 13 he entered the high school in the town where he now lives. Truancy soon began there and in a few months, Winthrop withdrew. In each of the two succeeding years this has been repeated, so that he has never completed one entire year. His grades in the high school have been uniformly poor and the school principal has expressed the

8 The essential fact which the school careers have in common, in spite of a great deal of individual variation, is that at some period school was intensely disliked by five of the six boys. The exception was *(B)*, who tolerated rather than enjoyed it; in his case the school work was light and consisted mainly of active shop work with some correlated activity. Both *(A)* and *(D)* found school unattractive at the period when they began to grow rapidly, while *(C)* and *(E)* at no time displayed any great interest in school or any success there. All, certainly, had more interest in outside activities than in school achievement.

We may ask: To what extent did the school appreciate the prob-

opinion that Winthrop is subnormal. His course has consisted entirely of languages and mathematics. Most of the time he has taken three languages and algebra. He had neither shop nor laboratory work.

During the periods when Winthrop was out of school, he worked in several places. His father has tried to prevent what he thought was harmful employment; Winthrop wanted to work in a garage but his father would not allow this because he has been fearful of the association with an inferior class of men. For a short time the boy was employed by his father's firm, although he did not work directly under his father. In nearly every position before he has been long at it, he has taken a day or two off, without permission, and of course his employer in each case has discharged him because of his evident lack of interest.

(B) Attended public school from the first. Was advanced regularly and there were no school complaints about him. He seems to have been just an average student. Entered high school when a little less than 14, taking the practical arts course, which consists of shop work, English and mechanical drawing. It did not involve much studying and he got along passably well. He never truanted. After school hours he worked at odd jobs and during his vacation was employed in different retail stores.

(C) This boy has been tried in ten different schools, public and private, the latter both ordinary and special tutoring schools, day schools and boarding schools, for periods varying from two weeks to two and a half years. The trouble at first was merely that he would not study sufficiently to learn his lessons, although the school people never complained that he was dull. Later, in one of the schools where sports were featured, he did famously in these and kept away from his classes to indulge in athletics. In one very good school he braced up for a time, but at the end of the term wrote across his examination papers, "I do not care to take these." The special tutoring schools were absolute failures. At one time he persistently truanted and attempted shrewd deceptions about it. At a junior training camp school he did more loafing than anything else. Entered in a trade school, he attended only a few days and spent the rest of his time in moving picture theatres. In none of the schools was he ever considered vicious, but his lack of interest was so apparent that his parents were generally told that the school did not seem to be the right place for him. Sometimes he has asserted that he would not study and recently he has absolutely refused to go to school at all.

(D) In this case the grammar school career progressed normally. The boy had fairly good marks, but there was some trouble in the

lem these boys presented? This is a difficult question to answer. Certain facts seem fairly clear (some of them in the light of psychological findings given later); *(A)* did not, on entering high school, take up the course in line with his interests and for which he was fitted, namely, mechanical work. This would have been possible. Did the school know of his objectionable companion who was also a student in the school, or of their truancy together? Could it have done anything to break up the companionship had it known?

The ineffectiveness of simply changing schools is well shown in the case of *(C)*. Every sort of school was tried, except one which gave a course adapted particularly to his special abilities. In no school that he attended was there any good psychological study of the problem he presented. In view of his early failure had he built up an attitude toward school life and had any one made inquiry about this? If he had, was any attempt made to find its basis? Why was *(E)* so consistently a failure? Was any effort made to determine whether this was due to general or special incapacities, to attitude, or to habits? The career of *(F)* is clearly that of an abnormal personality. Had the school recognized him as such? Of course even if a psychiatric report had been received special adjustment would have been difficult, as it was at a later time.

All, then, except possibly *(B)*, presented problems which the school had not in the least solved. Could the school have done so? It is, of course, possible that it could not. Perhaps such individuals are simply misfits in school life which is organized for the average and the majority. Unless the school is so planned that it can meet the unusual, should it not recognize its limitations and advise some other plan for such individuals?

The work records in the cases of the three boys who had left school indicate that it was hard work especially that was attractive. *(A's)* occupations, limited by his father, were unsuited both to his interests and to his abilities.

last two grades on account of mischief and there were threats of expulsion. He entered high school at 13½. At once friction began; the boy asserted his independence and unwillingness to conform, and in a short time he left school.

He then made his way across the continent, working at odd jobs here and there. From that time on, during the three intervening years, he has sometimes worked in his home town for a few weeks at a time, either in his father's business or at other establishments, sometimes remaining idle for weeks. He made one trip as a cargo handler to South America; he spent nearly a year in service at an army base until his father interfered because he was under age; he has made a trip to the Canadian Northwest, and worked in a lumber camp there, remaining until his father insisted on his coming home, etc. The reports from employers away from home are that the boy is industrious and full of promise, but in the army service he was in much trouble, frequently for taking the stand that the discipline given to others or to himself was unjust.

(E) On account of family circumstances, this boy has been transferred from one private school to another — four in all, doing well in no one of them as far as scholarship is concerned, being always behind in one or two subjects. There was never any truancy, and never any misconduct reported, except repeated stealing in two of the schools.

(F) He began school at 5 years and was soon in trouble with one of his teachers; "was full of petty mischief." He stole cigarettes from home, took them to school, and gave them to the boys. At 7 years, he was expelled for fighting. A private academy was then tried where discipline was supposed to be severe, but he remained only a few months; he was in a serious fight and was expelled. He was then sent to a religious institution, but in a few months his parents were asked to take him home. After that he was sent to public school, where his behaviour was decidedly erratic. Some days he would do anything to please his teachers, and again would behave very badly. He never got beyond the 5th grade, leaving school before he was 13 years old. Then, lying about his age, he worked in the building trades, and during the war time he earned very well at irregular periods, contributing then considerably to the family income. Afterwards he did various sorts of hard labor, in different parts of the country, at one time working as a coal passer, crossing the ocean twice.

Delinquencies

9 Winthrop was first known to steal at 10 years. He took small sums of money from home, and occasionally larger amounts, which he spent in boyish fashion, sometimes hiding the money to spend later on. After his stealing was dis-

9 There is nothing peculiar or unusual in the delinquencies of these boys or in the circumstances under which they occurred, with the exception of the delinquencies of *(F);* they fairly represent the offences committed by the general run of offenders. But the interest in their cases has to do rather with the personalities of the boys

covered, Winthrop was neither severely scolded nor punished, because the parents felt that they were largely to blame through their own carelessness in leaving money about. Later, when he was 12, he stole three times, five dollars and ten dollars at a time, from a neighbor at whose house he went to play with a boy. And this was done in spite of severe whippings which followed the discovery of his first thieving. Finally they thought that he had learned a lesson when he was made to pay the whole sum back from his spending money. No repetition of his delinquency was known until a a year before we saw him, when with a bad companion, he was implicated in a burglary and petty stealing—a ridiculous affair because it was so petty—for which he was taken to court and placed on probation under suspended sentence. Later it was discovered that he had been repeatedly misappropriating automobiles with this same companion, driving the automobiles away from private garages in the night time, but returning them. When finally trapped at this he made a melodramatic escape, but was, of course, caught. He was allowed to stay in jail for a week; then the case was appealed to a higher court, his parents not wishing him to be sent to correctional school. But even after this Winthrop showed no deep concern about making good. He did not hold jobs, and his father asserted he "could not believe him on oath" now.

During the last two years he had also been in the school difficulties, mainly truancy, elsewhere mentioned.

(B) There had been very repeated stealing of small amounts of money from home for years, although the parents did not know of this. Last year he stole from an employer, at which time his father made good the amount of the theft. After that he stole from stores, even considerable amounts, and from lockers at a club. He ran away once and was gone for a month without letting his parents know where he was. His stealing at the club was undetected and was continued both before and after he ran away. When he was caught, his father again made restitution — and so the boy was never in court.

(C) Earlier there was much petty mischief and lying about it; later his truancy began, and at 14 years persistant refusal to go to school. He stole small sums at home, but there was no stealing elsewhere. In spite of the various forms of punishment resorted to by his parents, his school attitude, at least, has never changed.

and with the fact that they have come from good homes and from circumstances where they have had plenty of chances for good interests. In this, they do not represent the usual background of delinquency.

In this connection we should take note of the fact that only two of these boys, *(A)* and *(F)* have been in court at all, in spite of the fact that *(B)* and *(D)* have had careers of wrong-doing more extreme than many who do get into court. It brings out the point, that young people of well-to-do families can commit offences and then receive protection to the extent that they are not subjected to arrest or court procedure in anything like the way that delinquents from families less well-off are. To a very considerable extent it seems clear that money and influence win the privilege of staying out even of the juvenile court. And this not by virtue of any of the unfairnesses of the adult courts that have been dwelt on by such writers as R. H. Smith *(Justice to the Poor,* Carnegie Foundation, Bulletin No. 13), because the Juvenile Court is specially intended to be, and usually is, a place for bringing about better adjustments and setting in motion constructive measures just as good as, or better than families themselves effect. But it is a very striking fact, which one comes to know through studying cases brought by families, that there are many uncaught or "unregistered" delinquents, both boys and girls, often who have committed much more serious offences than are represented most days in the courtroom.

(D) In this case there was disturbing mischief in school, ending with flagrant defiance of authority. The boy ran away from home three or four times for long periods. To get money with which to make his way, he took on one occasion a considerable amount from his father's cash drawer, on another he pawned a number of valuable articles belonging to his brother, on a third he sold, for the same purpose, a Ford car belonging to another employer in his home town. When at home he gambled a little. On several occasions has been immoral with girls, and has been in trouble with the authorities and has been fined, etc. for reckless driving. In the army he was frequently disciplined for insubordination, and once for overstaying his leave of absence.

(E) There was repeated stealing of money from neighbors, from locker-rooms at school, and on several occasions, from home. The boy also took many different articles of no great value from school and from stores. There was much lying in denial.

(F) This boy's tendencies toward misconduct began early and developed consistently into criminalism. Always a great fighter, he was now in court for a vicious assault with a lead pipe upon a man, which by good fortune did not result in murder. Altho never arrested before, he has been in much petty stealing at home and elsewhere; he has broken the school laws of the State; he has been repeatedly immoral sexually, and has been drunk at least once. When younger, he was a runaway from home, and during the last four years he has at times been a great rover. He is thoroughly untruthful.

Study of the Individual

Physical

10 Winthrop makes a decidedly good impression; he is clean-looking, well-dressed, manly in appearance. His head is well-shaped; he has a very light complexion; his features are somewhat heavy, with comparatively weak mouth and chin. His expression is pleasant and responsive; his posture is strong and upright; his manners are good.

Weight 155 lbs. Height 5ft. 9in. Strength very unusual for age. Particularly large arms and legs. Adult voice. In development of primary sex characteristics almost adult type. Teeth and throat in good condition. Vision and hearing normal. Physical examination otherwise quite negative.

(B) Age 14 yrs. 2 mos. In physical appearance is very strong, but somewhat slouchy; clothes ill-kept. Large features; rather prominent superciliary ridges and moderately retreating forehead, but head otherwise well shaped. Normally responsive expression. Careless, rather indistinct articulation, deep voice. Dark complexion.

10 The obvious point of significance in these physical findings is oversize for age, in some cases extreme, without, however, being at all pathological — that is, showing peculiarities such as giantism that indicate disease of the growth-producing glands. Using Dr. Wood's chart, (see Case 1) which is of especial value for this group, since his figures are compiled mainly from children of American families comfortably well off, we find that the medians for boys are:

14 years: weight 119 lbs., height 5 ft. 4 in.
15 years: weight 129 lbs., height 5 ft. 6 in.
16 years: weight 133 lbs., height 5 ft. 7 in.
17 years: weight 156 lbs., height 5 ft. 7 in.

A great weakness in such a chart as Wood's is that it does not indicate the frequency of the findings in his groups. For example, how many boys were there above 6 ft. at 15 years? He schedules 6 ft. 4 in. as the upper finding for 15 years, and at the opposite extreme 4 ft. 9 in. One would like to know how many cases these extremes represented, say among 1,000 or 10,000 boys, as compared with the findings at or near the median for that age. Neither a

Weight 175 lbs. Height 5 ft. 11 in. Very large thorax and remarkably strong limbs. Primary sex development nearly adult. Tonsils somewhat large and ragged. Patellar reflexes lively to extent of crossed reflex being present; but no ankle clonus. Marked fine tremor of outstretched hands and tongue. Other reflexes not abnormal Physical examination otherwise negative.

(C) Age 15 yrs. 7 mos. Holds himself erect. Slight facial asymmetry and rather weak chin suggesting remnant of adenoid facies. Pleasant, somewhat sheepish expression. Dark complexion.

Weight 155 lbs. Height 6 ft. Thorax of adult development. Very strong arms. Primary sex development practically completely adult. Adult voice. Except for moderately deflected nasal septum, all other physical examination negative.

(D) Age 16 yrs. 11 mos. Very upright, alert posture, rather smartly dressed. Regular, normal features; pleasant, responsive expression. Light blond complexion.

Weight 160 lbs. Height 5 ft. 9 in. Thorax very well developed and muscles of chest, arms, and shoulders remarkably strong. Completely adult primary and secondary sex characteristics. Could readily pass for 22 or 23 years old. No sensory defects by ordinary examination. Reflexes normal. All other examination negative.

(E) Age 16 years, 5 mos. Attitude markedly slouchy; heavy gait Large, rather flat face. Dull sheepish expression. Deep but poorly inflected voice. Head large; high forehead, but not well balanced contours — posterior rather prominent. Decidedly dark complexion.

Weight 145 lbs. Height 5 ft. 10 in. Very broad chest. Strength good but not remarkable. Only moderate development of primary or of secondary sex characteristics. Slightly deflected nasal septum, not obstructive.—largely mouth breather by habit. Vision and hearing normal. All other physical examination negative.

(F) Age 16 yrs. 2 mos. Very strong, upright posture. Large bony features; strong jaws. Rather dull expression. Medium complexion.

Weight 165 lbs. Height 5 ft. 8 in. Enormously large thorax and broad shoulders. Muscular development and strength extraordinary for age. Adult sex characteristics, both primary and secondary. Deep heavy voice. Reflexes all normal. Left tonsil enlarged. One badly carious tooth. All other physical examination negative now and by previous clinical report. No evidence of diabetes. Wasserman negative.

Mental

11 (1) *Results on Psychological Examination:*

(Winthrop co-operates well enough; he works pleasantly and with persistence, but shows no really keen interest.)

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median nor an average tells how the upper or lower 10% or 5% etc. is distributed on the scale.

On account of its physical, mental, moral, and social implications, the advent of puberty is highly important in both sexes. It should be well known that there are considerable individual differences in the age at which puberty begins and that there are great variations in the rate of development until the adult stage is reached.

In boys the growth of pubic hair together with the development of the sex organs constitutes the only direct criterion of the onset of puberty. Also these form the best guage of subsequent growth to the adult type. They may be called the primary sex characteristics. Those who gather data on these points, both for knowledge of the individual and for scientific generalizations should endeavor to be as exact as possible in this matter, which is inexact enough at best. Crampton some years ago formulated the stages of growth which may be used for specifying in the individual case the point in sex development which the individual has reached. It is based on the relative growth of the pubic hair. (Crampton, *Physiological Age — A Fundamental Principle,* American Physical Educational Review, 1908.)

The average age of the onset of puberty in boys is 14½ to 15 years. Normally there is then a gradual growth to the adult level which certainly is not usually reached before 20 years of age. The stages of puberty and adolescence in boys, according to Morro, normally extend over a period of ten years.

The secondary sex characteristics in young people are the ones usually observed. They consist of, in boys, voice change, growth of hair on the face, general skeletal development and alteration of the facial bones and contours to the adult type. There is much variance not only of the rate of the appearance of these secondary characteristics, as is well known, but also in their relation to primary sex development. The findings in our present group illustrate this.

Social judgments are, naturally, much more swayed by observation of these secondary signs, particularly by maturity of facial appearance and voice. But there may be onset of puberty, with all that this means, long before these other changes occur.

11 The psychological tests in the case of *(A)* show that he is not only supernormal in general ability, but that he does extremely well on all the tests given except defining words. There are no irregularities, and it is quite clear that he should have been a successful student, so far as capacities are concerned. The fact that the principal of the high school stated that he believed the boy to be subnormal merely suggests the weakness of an impression as compared to the definiteness with which such a point can be settled. His interest in mechanical pursuits is quite in keeping with the capacities which

According to age-level tests, grades as supernormal. Intelligence Quotient 116.

On the auditory memory test (immediate recall of digits) he achieved a superior adult performance. Language ability, very good except for rather meagre vocabulary. Apperceptive ability, with language very good; with pictorial representations, very good—an adult performance. Speed and accuracy of hand movements, slightly above average. Speed of mental response, very rapid. Ability to carry in mind and mentally work with visual representations, exceedingly good. Ability to handle constructive simple problems with concrete material, very good; perceptions of relationship of form, rapid. Mechanical ability, very good. Generalizing ability for abstract ideas, very good. Learning ability, exceedingly good for rote visual and rote auditory materials and for ideas.

(Attitude in all cases was satisfactory. *(F)* for reasons indicated later was not given a wide range of tests.)

According to age-level tests, *(B) (D)* graded as super normal; *(C) (E) (F)* as of good average general ability. Visual memory powers, *(B) (C) (D)* good; *(E)* rather poor. Auditory memory (immediate recall of digits), *(B) (D) (F)* superior adult performance; *(E)* exceptionally good; *(C)* average. Language ability, all five, only fair; fairly good vocabularies. Apperceptive ability, with language in all cases, fair; with pictorial representations, *(B) (C)* exceedingly good; *(D)* average; *(E)* poor; *(F)* very poor. Speed and accuracy of hand movements, *(B)* good; *(D)* and *(E)* very good. Speed of mental response, *(B) (D) (E)* all within the range of normal performances. Ability to carry in mind and mentally work with visual representations, *(B) (C)* good; *(D)* very good; *(E)* barely average. Ability to handle constructively simple problems with concrete material, *(B) (D)* good; *(E)* rather poor. Mechanical ability, *(C)* exceptionally good; *(D)* good; *(E)* very poor.

These and other tests given and scores made are enumerated in the table. Norms are given in terms of medians.

12 (2) *Mental balance:*

From observation and on test results there were no signs whatever of poor mental balance. Winthrop has good control of mental powers, is well oriented and coherent.

(B) (C) (D) (E) None give any evidence of poor mental balance. Insight and orientation are normal, and there are no indications of morbid introspections or poor mental control.

Age	15-8	14-2	15-7	16-11	16-5	16-2
Stanford-Binet I. Q.	116	114	104	110	104	104
Tests correct, 14-year	all	all	all	all	all	all
Tests correct, 16-year	2, 4, 5, 6	2, 3, 4, 6	2, 4, 5, 6	2, 3, 4, 5, 6	3, 4, 5, 6	4,5
Tests correct, 18-year	2, 3, 4, 5, 6	3	5	2, 3, 5	3,5	3,5
Visual Memory Binet Figures		correct	correct	correct	correct	
Visual Memory Ellis Figures				fails 9, 10	fails 6, 8, 9, 10	
Auditory Span—digits	8	8	7	8	9	8
Language Scale—Trabue B		13—Grade 7	14—Grade 8	15—Grade 8	14—Grade 8	
Language Scale—Trabue K				10—Grade 9	10—Grade 9	
Language Scale—Kelly-Trabue	9.5—Grade 12					
Vocabulary—Terman	62 words	50 words	56 words	62 words	54 words	58 words
Pictorial Completion II	64—15 years	91—above adult	95—above adult	67—adult	51—10 years	48—10 years
Tapping Test	86—16 years	83—15 years		101—above 17 yrs.	102—above 17 yrs.	
Easy Opposite (Woodw.-Wells)	average 1″	average 1.8″		average 1.3″ 1 err.	average 1.2″	
Visual Mental Representations						
Clock Hands	correct	correct	correct	correct	correct	
Enclosed Boxes	correct	correct	correct	correct	correct	correct
Code	0 errors	1 error	2 errors	0 errors	2 errors	
McCallie Cube				fails in 10′	fails in 10′	
Thurstone Wheels and Hands				0 errors		
Construction A.	11″—5 moves	76″—19 moves		10″—6 moves	96″—18 moves	
Construction B.	43″—13 moves	81″—15 moves		78″—15 moves	163″—27 moves	
Stenquist Assembly	76—16 year		105—above adult	85—above adult	19—below 12 yrs.	
Spelling (Ayres)	Grade 8	Grade 8		very good	Grade 8	Grade 7, fails
Arithmetic			fails long division	{ Courtis —Grade 8	Courtis—Grade 8	fails long div.
				{ T's Clerical 11/12.		
Healy-Bronner Learning	(A-5, 12) (B-5) (C-5, 7) (D-9, 10)					
Cont. Subtr.—7's from 100				30″ 0 errors	23″ 0 errors	
Clerical Exam. (Thurstone)				Acc'y 36%—Speed 8%	Acc'y 46%—Speed 38%	
				Combined 20%	Combined 40%	
Word Building (aeobmt)				15 words—15 years	18 words—above adult	
Thurstone Arith. Series				4/6 correct	4/6 correct	
Cancellation (Whipple a)				Index 270″	Index 214″	
Ellis Inverted Figures				all well done	all bad failures	
Dearborn Board No. 3				3, 12, 8, 9 moves	3, 6, 15, 11 moves	
Kansas Silent Reading III				25—Gr. 10-11	18—below Gr. 9	
Easy Directions (W-W)				90″ 1 error	118″ 0 errors	
Hard Directions (W-W)				146″ 1 error	182″ 3 errors	
Memory—Objects (Ellis)				9	10	
Memory—Auditory-verbal (sailor)				90% correct	92% correct	
Memory—Visual-verbal (fire)				60% correct	60% correct	
Composition (coal supply)				very well done	very poor	
Downey Will Profile				Strong Traits		

he has along this line, although a number of his other abilities are equally good.

All of the other five boys in the group have good general ability, though *(E)* is poorer in most of the tests given than any of the others. *(B)* does especially well working with concrete material, and his visualizations, as far as tested, are very good. *(C)* has unusually good mechanical ability, in which, although he is much interested, he has had no training. There is no indication in the comparatively brief schedule of tests given that he was unable to master the ordinary work of the schools. *(D)* has good mechanical ability, though he is not the equal of *(C)* in this respect. His powers of visualization must be considered extremely good when we note that he does very well on a number of tests in this field usually given for college students, particularly those taking engineering courses. He has also fairly good ability in language tests, grading on most of them somewhat above the highest school grade that he attained. He is a somewhat slow worker and poorly equipped for clerical work. *(E)* has an exceedingly good auditory span for digits, but the practical significance of this is rather slight. He has good motor control but exceptionally poor mechanical dexterity. Considering his lack of training, he does fairly well on the clerical examination, while his comprehension of ideas, his apperceptions, *(For definition and discussion of certain psychological terms, see Case 1.)* and visual powers are all distinctly poor. His lack of school progress is correlated with his mediocre capacities, though doubtless influenced also by other facts shown later in his "own story." *(F)* is clearly normal in capacities, but because of his obvious psychosis, a wide range of tests was not given.

12 One of the best definitions of good mental balance is "a normally integrated personality." The mental life proceeds without any major disturbances of emotion, will, judgment, flow of thought — this is good integration, working of the parts in relation to each other. One of the common phenomena of adolescence is poor integration, but this is recognized as being due to the immaturities or upheavals of this growing period and as being only ephemeral, and so it is not considered mental imbalance to the extent of being a psychosis.

A psychosis is distinguished by serious lack of balanced working of the different parts of the mental life; it may rest on a well defined physical ailment or it may exist without any known or determinable physical bases. The psychoses are frequently termed mental diseases.

There is a distinction which was very clearly made by Southard between the usages of the terms psychosis and insanity — the former being mental imbalance which may be of varying degrees of severity, and interfering to different degrees with responsible social behavior. Insanity is legal irresponsibility caused by a psychosis or mental disease. Occasionally there may be an insanity without there being a psychosis that belongs in any of the well defined categories. *(Alienists and Psychiatrists: Note on Divisions and Nomenclature.*

(F) Although his own statements made a cogent and plausible enough story, yet they represented ridiculous lies when compared with accounts of himself readily enough obtained from other sources. The story of his career as given by his mother showed erratic behaviour and episodes which at once suggest mental disease. He shows poor emotional and mental control, is hot-tempered, forms extreme grudges, and several mental specialists who, because of his erratic behaviour, have seen him in clinics, have diagnosed him, some as mildly insane, others as suffering from a mild psychosis, probably early dementia praecox, but hardly committable as insane.

13 (3) *Personality Traits:*

Winthrop is described by his parents as essentially a group boy and as very popular among his companions. He is just one of the crowd, not standing out against influences either good or bad. Indeed, he himself says he is socially suggestible. The traits which have been outstanding in the last two or three years are his easy-going love of pleasure, his restless changeableness, his resentfulness of criticism from his family, and his self-assertive and argumentative attitude. Also, he has grown to have a lack of feeling toward his misconduct; he doesn't seem to mind worrying his parents or to feel disgraced even when arrested. Towards his father he has grown extremely reserved. He assumes an air of manliness in wanting to manage family affairs, but is really boyish and unformed. He is not without some shrewdness, and a sense of humor. In the last year seems to have made very little effort towards doing better, and there has been much lying.

Winthrop has always seemed unusually refined and clean-minded. Many of his relatives have remarked about this.

As a little boy he was very affectionate and nice to the younger children, but somewhat jealous of them. He has always been impulsive rather than deliberate. He has never appeared to have a particularly sensitive nature. He is quite even-tempered, never moody.

His school principal reports him in no way vicious, not insolent or bad tempered, but apparently thoroughly indifferent to his success, both in regard to his work and his conduct. His employers say that he starts in as "a regular whirlwind," but soon slacks up and after a little while becomes worthless.

Mental Hygiene, Oct. 1917.) In the case of *(F)*, evidently some who saw him thought that he was irresponsible, but were not sure what the nature of his psychosis was. Others seemed to think that he was an early case of a definite mental disease but was hardly to be considered irresponsible, at least not insane enough to be committed as such. It is out of such situations as this that arise very considerable social difficulties which the career of this case illustrates. Perhaps a conference of psychiatrists with others interested in the case, with a full knowledge of the boy's social career, would have led to a more efficient procedure in handling the problem represented by his personality and conduct.

13 Starting from the standpoint of the most obvious characteristic of this group, namely, great size and early physical maturity, one is interested in what this means for personality characteristics. Would one expect to find personality characteristics of any kind correlated with great size? (We must leave *(F)* out of consideration through any discussion of personality because of his well defined mental abnormalities.) Would one expect to find roughness a characteristic? It is found in only one of these cases. Would one think of bullying? This is not an indicated trait in any of the normal members of this group. Indeed none of them are in the least vicious or mean. Besides this they seem to be sound in their loyalties. Concerning energy or laziness, it must be remembered that these are boys who have been rapidly growing and are not at all likely to show the same characteristics as they may during adult life. As it is, they are nearly all of them denominated "lazy" in spite of their great strength, although several found satisfaction in rough play and even in continued rough work, — especially note the case of *(D)*.

Another matter of interest would be concerned with moods and introspective tendencies: we learn that all of them, with the possible exception of *(D)* are notably "extroverts," the "introvert" being a person whose mental life in general and mental attitudes toward life's problems are not expressed in outward action. The extrovert does not avoid them, or worry about them, or repress them as does the introvert. (For readable chapters on this subject, see Green, *Psychanalysis in the Class Room.)*

Despite the separation of interests which has undoubtedly ensued between these individuals and their fellows of the same age, they have not ceased to be gregarious. Indeed, all of them are specifically said to be socially inclined. But, of course, their recreations have led them to seek comradeship with older young people.

On the whole, has premature development and great size led these boys to have the traits of men rather than of boys? It appears not; indeed some of them do not show the maturity of judgment and the traits which belong to older adolescents. All of them are decidedly boyish; two of them even cried rather easily.

Coming now to the traits of adolescents which we should naturally expect to find at their chronological age, we note restlessness and

(B) Although so mature in size and features he is at once found normally boyish for his age in outlook and in emotional reactions. He is friendly, talkative, outspoken, seems unrepressed, happy-go-lucky, undeliberative, unworried. His father says he recently cried hard after a family scolding, but there are no evidences of real remorse or deep concern about his delinquencies.

At home he is affectionate and truthful, except that he lies sometimes in self-defense. He is a good mixer, popular, and loyal to his friends. He has always been a good-natured boy and not cowardly, rather enjoying a good fight, though always in a good spirit. Recently he has been talking much of what he would do under various adventurous circumstances. He is extravagant, generous, impulsive, and recently lacking in self-control.

(C) Naïvely frank in a sheepish, self-conscious way, during a serious inquiry by us into his career, yet he is reported by his parents as being a great falsifier even to the extent of fabricating. This has been true over a period of years, even about matters other than his delinquencies. We found him taking a very rational attitude toward his own wilfulness, though his family say that he has acted anything but rationally, and that his own self interests stand first and he desires to be the center of attraction everywhere. He is popular, but is not much of a leader. He is extravagant, generous, unusually demonstrative and affectionate toward his family, though he does not seem to care how much worry he causes them. He takes everything lightly and acts impulsively. He is not exactly lazy; he can work well if his interest can only be aroused. His mother says, "I don't know if he is really shallow or if he is not awakened yet." No appeal seems to reach him. "He makes really no effort to conform to our wishes. He just goes along from day to day trying to get in as many good times as he can."

He seems immature in some ways; for example, he cries easily. While at home, he has written letters saying that he was going to leave home. He used to be deceitful in small ways, to gain his ends, but now frankly asserts what he will do and what he will not do. In his conversation at home he is full of self-pity, but he is very forgiving, he likes everyone, and never holds a grudge.

(D) This boy showed many nice characteristics when little, he was likeable, generous, and sympathetic — all of which traits he has retained. From 10 to 12 years he first began to show restlessness and dissatisfaction, which have become intense; he was mischievous and argumentative. By the time he was 14, he had become very independent, rebelling at any kind of authority; was headstrong, wanting to control every situation — characteristics he still exhibits. Besides, for years he has been reckless, loving adventure and excitement, fond of expressing his views, critical of others, a spendthrift and exceedingly changeable, especially about any proposal for his career. His manliness and his quiet, polite manners, however, are also notable characteristics.

changeability well marked in four of the cases, egocentrisms definite to a normal amount, but clearly spoken of by relatives in all cases but one, and we find typical self-assertion in four. There is also, in a varying amount, a certain lack of deep feeling about delinquencies. They also show a selfish lack of concern about whether their families worry about them in a way that we should doubt they would show later on in life when greater altruism is naturally reached. The phrases "easy going," and "love of pleasure" are used frequently in the reports given to us of these boys. This, too, is quite characteristic of adolescence.

It may be rather surprising to some to find included in this group a Jewish boy. It is commonly true that Jews are not fond of adventure and rough physical work, but in the light of such cases as this and the fact that nowadays a considerable number of young athletes are Jewish, we wonder whether their sedentary tendencies have not been due to lack of opportunities for exercise and recreations, possibly accounting in turn for small size and poor musculature. These and other sociological factors may form the explanation of their infrequent presence in the field of adventure. At any rate it may be shown by such examples as *(D)* that with abundant strength there is restlessness and craving for rough life even among Jewish people.

(E) Has always been regarded by his family as very affectionate and gregarious. He has a rather explosive temper about trifles, though his anger is soon over and is not, they think, extraordinary in any way. About most matters, he is normally controlled; he is not grudgeful; he has never been a fabricator; he has lied somewhat in self-defense about his delinquencies, but in the main is truthful. He has seemed tenacious of old habits, not pliable even to an ordinary extent. He is inclined to be lazy and easy-going.

(F) His lying and bad temper have been characteristic since early childhood. He is boastful of his prowess in fighting; forms strong grudges and prides himself on seeking revenge, in "not being yellow or a coward." He is rough in manner even when polite in speech. Usually he talks and acts sensibly, but at times loses control of himself and then he is likely to commit acts of violence. Sometimes lazy and restless, he is often a hard worker. Frequently he is sullen, morose, or angry. At periods he has shown a definite feeling of family responsibility.

Boy's Own Story

14 In talking to us, Winthrop seems sincere, although evidently he lacks energy at all commensurate with his size and strength.

He says it was foolish of him to let anybody get him into things that were wrong. Since he entered high school he has been in with a bad crowd right along. His stealing and truancy have been under the influence particularly of one young fellow who is "the biggest all-round crook" he ever heard of, and who yet gets out of everything because of political influence of his family. The fellow's father is dead and his mother allows him to do as he pleases, and the old friends of the father at the city hall let him off all the time. In answer to the question: Why do you go with him? he says, "I don't understand that myself. Everything seriously wrong I have ever done has been his idea."

His earlier stealing was simply taking money from his relatives, and he doesn't feel that was anything of consequence. Come to think of it, he did hear boys talk about stealing — older boys — when he was a little fellow, but he doesn't remember distinctly anything about their influence in starting him.

Concerning his lying, he says, "It is part of the same

14 Considerable corroboration of points derived from other sources is obtained in the "own stories" given by this group of boys. Since the majority of them are extroverts, not a great deal about inner mental life is emphasized in their own accounts.

That Winthrop has quite a clear appreciation of his own situation is evidenced not only by his own statement of the influences that have led him into difficulties, which of course might conceivably be a repetition of what he has heard said, but also by his realization of what is needed in order that he may make good. His story also brings to the fore the question of how largely his standards have been affected by less obvious, but rather undermining influences; for instance, the fact corroborated by his father's story that his early stealing from his relatives was considered of little consequence, and more recently that his companion, who was certainly equally if not more guilty in the delinquencies, has been able to evade court through political friendships. His explanation of his dislike of school and of his vocational dissatisfactions are interesting; his last employment was certainly not very largely in keeping either with his interests or his capacities. It is important from the standpoint of prognosis to note that the deleterious habits of his companions have not taken any hold on him. This makes even his delinquencies seem to be more or less surface affairs in his mental life.

Through the "own story" of *(B)* we obtain a better understanding of the genesis and continuance of this boy's stealing, of which the father gives a clear enough account, but into the causes of which he seems never to have inquired. From *(B's)* "own story" there seems to be nothing peculiar or pathological involved in his delinquency. That it began in a manner not at all unusual in small chil-

trouble. Going with this crowd and lying about things makes it seem as if I had a weak will that way."

He takes things as they come, never worries about them. He doesn't plan his stealing ahead and denies any special impulse or temptation to steal.

It is because he doesn't like the high school that he has been truant. These fellows come around and want him, so he goes out with them; but any way, he has had a general dislike for school lately. He has been taking a general course; he has had no shop work, and that is what he likes. He has always been interested in mechanical things. He wanted to do repair work in a garage, but his father wouldn't let him. He is not old enough to get into a regular factory. Says he has never had any job he liked. At present he is simply working as assistant soda clerk in a drug store.

Although Bill, the boy with whom he goes, smokes heavily and drinks, and although the whole crowd gamble, Winthrop denies that he has done any of these things. He maintains that the crowd is very little interested in girls and that there is no bad sex talk and no bad pictures. "They don't go in for that sort of thing." He learned when he was in the sixth grade about bad sex habits from a older boy, but he soon stopped. "I never had that inclination."

He wants to leave school. Bill and this crowd are there and it would only mean trouble if he stayed on. "There is no use hanging around my town anyway; I would just be sure to see these fellows." What he particularly wants to do is to study air-plane construction and mechanics. He would soon understand the engines because he knows so much about automobile engines. He thinks it is wonderful that the air-planes are able to carry their own weight up in the air. He knows about the army air-plane fields, but is afraid that he can't get in because he is so young.

(B) This boy says he is doing very little work in school — shop work, mechanical drawing and English — only three periods of work a day. He never has any home work. Is taking a practical arts course and hopes later to become a surveyor or something of that sort that will keep him out of doors. He has changed his ideas about what he wants to do, but now thinks he has a plan he likes; he might begin in the forestry service as a log chopper and later do the surveying and ultimately become a ranger.

dren and grew into a very definite habit because he was successful, and that there were certain elements in and of themselves fortuitous, seems clear. So, too, is the fact that the parents were very careless in their supervision, as when they did not even inquire where he got the money with which he travelled to New York.

His own point of view is apparent in the story given by *(C)*, brief though it is. No analysis of causes for dislike of school was undertaken, largely because he was beyond the age at which he would be likely now to succeed in school without the foundation which he largely lacks through his years of truancy.

From *(D)* one obtains a clearer expression of attitudes and standards than is given by any of the others of the group, because, as is stated earlier, he is more of an introvert. Many of his ideas are still young adolescent, such as his lack of definite knowledge of what he wants to do in life. He gives, too, an interesting picture of some features of his home life — the strength of home ties so frequently found in Jewish families even in spite of disagreements and considerable friction. His love of adventure, his rather boyish ways of trying to satisfy it, his standards about immorality, his explanation of his school difficulties, as well as of his stealing, all are among the points of special interest.

Since *(E's)* story is omitted, we need only state here that his mental life — his peculiar ideation — and sex experience may, and probably did, interfere to some extent, at least, with his school progress.

In his frank account of some features of his career, *(F)* shows himself somewhat of a braggart, evidently proud of his record as a fighter. He makes clear his love of adventure and of hard work. There is evidently no emotional reaction on his part concerning his distinctly bad habits.

He discusses his stealing very frankly. It began when he was 7 years old and developed into a regular habit of taking money from his father's pocket or his mother's purse. They never found it out. Once he entered a house with another boy and got money. His stealing from the lockers at the country club began by accident. He is so tall that he can see the keys which are left by the men on the top of the lockers. This stealing he has kept up for months, taking only portions of the money that he found. But once he took all of a large sum because he couldn't resist the temptation. Then he met another boy and they went to a nearby town to enjoy hotel life. While there he fell in with a fellow a few years older than himself and with him went to New York. He says he has no particular impulse to steal; each time he merely stole again after his funds were depleted. At the shops where he worked he took things as he had use for them. He has never thought whether it was right or wrong; has never felt worried afterwards or sorry about it. His parents never knew where he got the money to go away with and never asked, so when he came back he repeated the stealing in the country club until he was caught. He says it is simply a habit that he got into, he can't otherwise figure out why he does it. He simply wants the things that he can get with the money. He is very certain that he can stop stealing, and he will stop.

He says he has never fallen in with bad company. The boys that he goes with are much older and of course have a great deal more money to spend, but none of them are bad, neither are the girls with whom he goes to dances. Of course they, too, are much older than he is. Earlier he learned about sex habits and "practiced a little as other boys do, but not to any extent." He has never been immoral with girls and has no particular temptations. Nothing worries him.

(C) In a very friendly and blunt way this boy is willing and almost anxious to discuss his own situation. He says he has always hated school, particularly languages. He adds that he is not really truant, he merely stays away from school; doesn't go anywhere at all. His parents used to scold, "but the more scolding they did the more I would do it. I used to say to myself, 'I am just getting them mad; isn't it fun.' My father used to whip me for not going to school, but I don't intend to allow him to punish me any more." "I used to take money out of my mother's purse to get things to eat, but I quit — that's a babyish trick." He says that his parents are perfectly just and good to him and he is fond of them. He blames himself entirely for his own conduct.

No other boys have influenced him in any way. He likes to do things well in athletics. "This is the kind of boy I am, I don't like to make a fool of myself. I go off by myself to learn new things in skating or swimming."

He is very boyishly enthusiastic in talking about the possibility of his going out west.

(D) This young man says he wants to do well in the world; he wants to get everything straightened out. The trouble mainly is that he and his family disagree — it's nothing much of importance, perhaps, but it's about everything. He doesn't like to work for his father; and the fact is that he feels grouchy about almost everything he is told to do. He feels the need for more important things. He ought to have more education, but he doesn't want to go back to high school. He thinks perhaps he would like law, but really doesn't know just what would appeal to him. Anyhow he dislikes to work for anybody in his home town.

As a little boy he thought his father severe, but as he has grown older he has decided there is fault on both sides. He was put to work under a chief clerk, and he didn't like the way this man did things — he wanted to take charge of the department. But the truth is that he never could stand to do things for other people.

His mind is on travel and adventure. He didn't see much of it in the routine work of the army. He thinks he would like reconstruction work in France or Russia or service with the Canadian Mounted Police. When he first ran away at 14 he had the idea of enlisting if trouble developed in Mexico — that was his main reason for going to San Francisco. Talked to about his day dreams, he says that one of his common ones lately has been about kidnapping the Kaiser.

He has had no close companions, but always got along well with boys and girls, and "they always looked to me to start things." A pretty face attracts him, but when working or when away from home he has had no temptation to be immoral. He has felt like a convict when he has gone with nice girls after having been with bad ones. He sees other fellows playing the double game, but he cannot.

In the army he disagreed with the officers, especially about the way they extended privileges. He told one fellow that extension of leave had been granted him — the fellow's mother was sick — because he thought the boy ought to have it and would have had it if the officers knew the whole story, "And there wasn't anything doing, anyway."

He would have preferred to stay away several times when his parents sent for him or his father sent word that their hearts were breaking and he must come home.

The trouble in school was that he was so big for school and he doesn't believe the teachers understood him. Then he made a fuss continually and thought that he was having a good time.

His taking money was always following his impulse to get away and meet a different world.

(E) The boy's own story in this instance is altogether too long to be given here. It required a number of interviews, because it was early found that his stealing was not on the basis of an ordinary impulse or even habit formation, but that it involved peculiar ideation following early experiences. This type of causa-

tion is so important for treatment and prognosis that it will be the subject of a later detailed study. His story involved a long account of early acquaintance with unfortunate sex affairs and long continued stress arising from this with much fighting both against his sex impulses and the impulse to steal.

(F) The first impression that this boy makes in his conversation is that of frankness and pleasantness, although his appearance is against him — he looks like a hard character. He at once went into the story of his fights, how they began when he was a little boy and how he once beat up a boy in the private school so that the boy had to be sent to the hospital and he himself was expelled. Then he tells that he ran away from another school and went out to British Columbia. He was several weeks in getting there. He tells about the fights he got into with the rough crowds that he has met everywhere. He joined the navy as a fireman and claims that he finally left because they put him to "swabbing decks;" and they couldn't do anything about it because he was so young. He had "faked" his age, and they knew it. He tells about his immorality with girls and his drinking and of his trying to enlist in England during the war, although he had contracted to return on the supply boat on which he went over. He wasn't allowed to leave the boat, so he jumped overboard one night and made for land, about a hundred feet away, although he didn't know how to swim. The next morning he found himself on the ship. The people said he would have drowned if they had not picked him up. He has made very good wages and spent them all on travel. He has been on long trips to California twice. Nobody could ever put anything over on him. He can beat any fellows of his age. He has a very bad temper. He absolutely denies, even after we had the facts in hand, that he had ever been to any psychopathic clinic or hospital.

The trouble is now that they "pickled" a fellow. He hit him with a piece of pipe. He was mad at the fellow, but he wouldn't have done it if he hadn't drunk nearly a pint of whiskey. After he did it he was nervous and leaving the fellows down the street saying, "You can go to Halifax; I'm going to give myself up," he went to the police station.

At this point SUMMARY OF CASE and SUBSEQUENT HISTORY FOLLOW.

SUMMARY OF STAFF CONFERENCE

PROBLEM: **Delinquency:**—Stealing occasionally for years. Truancy. Court record for petty burglary. Misappropriation of automobiles.

PHYSICAL: Considerable overdevelopment. Unusual strength. Premature sex development.

MENTAL: 1. **Abilities;** Somewhat supernormal in general ability. Good memory powers. Good learning ability. Very good mechanical ability. No marked defect or disability. Inadequate interests in comparison to capacities. 2. **Mental Balance;** Psychiatric examination negative. 3. **Personality;** Assumes manliness, but really is unformed. Pleasure-loving. Socially suggestible.

BACKGROUND: **(a) Heredity;** Negative in thoroughly reliable account. Family of rather strong characters and good standards. **(b) Developmental;** Practically negative. **(c) Home Conditions;** Unusually good physically and in attempts at companionship. **(d) Habits;** Negative.

POSSIBLE DIRECT CAUSATIONS: (1) Physical over-development and sex prematurity, which is not in accord with (2) Adolescent traits. And possibly (3) Personality traits, particularly suggestibility. (4) Bad companion; very marked influence. Peculiar situation because this other boy is able to avoid arrest, although really the leader. (5) Educational and vocational situation not in keeping with either general or special abilities. (6) Development of a poor standard of values concerning property rights through defective training in otherwise good home.

PROGNOSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS: The outlook is distinctly bad under present conditions; the boy is unlikely to get away from the influence of his old companions. His school and work situations, too, are difficult to adjust satisfactorily. His social suggestibility bespeaks his response to good conditions as well as to bad influences.

Any plan for his future should include his removal from his home town. He needs activity suitable to his large size and strength, and if possible in connection with further education along the lines of his special interests. Being in some ways practically adult he should have association largely with men rather than only with boys of his age.

Just where suitable conditions may be found can be discussed in detail with parents. We can at once think of the army and navy tech-

nical training schools or camps, but he cannot legally enter yet. In the meantime work at air-plane fields or at a commercial factory or flying field might be considered if someone could have special friendly oversight. Or for a tiding-over period until he is old enough for the above plans to be carried out, he might work on a western ranch.

In the light of our experience with boys associating with bad companions, it is strongly advised that Winthrop go away even while his case is pending in court.

(B) (C) (D) (E) (F)

PROBLEM: **Delinquency:**—(B) stealing repeatedly and once away from home for several weeks; (C) truancy, very extreme, petty mischief and lying; (D) school difficulties, serious stealing several times, repeatedly running away and staying long periods, some immorality; (E) repeated stealing; (F) stealing, drinking, immorality, lying, running away from home, fighting, in court for vicious assault.

PHYSICAL: All show marked (some very extreme) general overdevelopment for their years, and all but one have unusual strength. While still boys in age all but (E) are practically men in development of sex characteristics.

MENTAL: **1. Abilities;** In general ability, two grade as somewhat supernormal, three as good average, (C) has very good mechanical ability, (D) is also considerably above the average in this and has specially good powers of visual representation. (E) shows good motor but no mechanical dexterity. None has any marked disability. **2. Balance;** (F) is psychotic, in the others there is no indication of mental disease or imbalance. **3. Personality;** They vary somewhat, but all except (F) are boyish or young adolescent, not at all in accord with their premature physical development. (B) (C) (E) are rather fond of easy-going pleasure, taking their delinquencies rather lightly, affectionate at home, yet not concerned with worry caused their families. (D) seeks easy pleasures at times, at others seeks a hard life. (F) seeks coarse satifactions in work and play. All are normally gregarious. All show some adolescent self-assertion. Only (D) is markedly adventuresome, yet all are somewhat restless, dislike monotony (as in school life) and rebel at school and social conformity. (F)'s personality traits (temper, grudges, desire for revenge) are related to his psychosis.

BACKGROUND: **(a) Heredity:** (C) (D) (E) negative; (B) alcoholism, bad temper and poor morals on the paternal side; (F) father unstable, truant as a boy, and later periodic alcoholic, some alcoholism and diabetes in his family. Maternal grandfather bad-tempered and suggested mental peculiarity. No criminalism in any of the families, including the siblings.

(b) Developmental: All negative except that (B) had otorrhea at 13 and (E) was a mouth breather until tonsils and adenoids were removed at 8 years, (F) suffered from a head injury twice, once followed by convulsions, once by unconciousness, unconscious two other times, was once poisoned. In all of the five cases there was excessive growth at 12 or 13.

(c) Home Conditions: Physically, good in all cases, although in the case of (F) only until he was 14. With this exception, adequate income, and in two cases some wealth. In case of (F) actual financial stress following father's death. Influences in the home have been good in all cases. (B) had inadequate supervision, possibly (E) and certainly (F) when, after the father's death, the mother was compelled to work away from home.

(d) Habits: Eating and sleeping habits, normal in all cases. One boy did not smoke at all, one slightly, one moderately, over a period of years, and two excessively at 14. Only (F) drank at all. Masturbation was slight or moderate in three cases; in only one was it excessive or long continued.

POSSIBLE DIRECT CAUSATIONS: In every case there is (1) Physical overdevelopment and sex prematurity with (2) Lack of commensurate adult stability and outlook. (3) Unsatisfactory relations to school, home and vocational life through being dealt with as young boys.

Other causes vary, the outstanding ones being: in (B) strong habit of stealing with no deterring influences of any kind, with an easy-going make-up; (C) for years, school dissatisfactions—no doubt partly based on special interest and abilities; (D) personality make-up, particularly love of adventure and independence; (E) mental conflict; (F) psychosis.

PROGNOSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS: for (B) the outlook seemed good, especially as no strong effort has ever been made to help him overcome his habits of stealing. He certainly needs much more mental and physical activity than he is having. His parents cannot afford to send him to any expensive school. Life in the far West, attending country school might offer him the activity he craves. In the long vacations he might obtain employment in the forestry service, looking forward in this and in his school work to entering this service later. Army and Navy schools cannot be considered at present because of his age, although in size and ability he seems well fitted. Any other seagoing work or rough employment offers too little educational opportunities for a boy of his capacities. Of course, friendly oversight in any case is indicated. Unless he goes away speedily, he should be taken to court and placed under probation for the sake of the deterring effect.

He should work and earn money for his own needs and should make restitution to his parents for what they advanced on account of his stealing.

(C) The outlook appears good if this boy's special needs are provided for, but otherwise, he gives promise of becoming a chronically rebellious individual, estranged from his family.

It is recommended that this overgrown fellow be no longer treated as a young boy, and that efforts to keep him in ordinary school life be discontinued. We strongly urge that he be sent to a ranch, to the active, free, outdoor life which he craves, and where he will have to mix with men. Perhaps a ranch might be found where modern machinery would give scope for his special ability for mechanical things.. He needs a great change from the effete comforts of his own home. What to do about further education, or permanent education, can be taken up after his period of adolescent instability is passed.

(D) The outlook seems good on account of the boy's reasonableness and essentially good ideals.

It is strongly urged that his best interests demand his seeking his own career, out in the world by himself. For the present, he would probably do best with least regulation and authority set over him. Let him wander, or choose himself a place of settling and get his own education. It is thoroughly permissible, because of his really good record while away—much better than at home. In forcing the situation lie possible disasters, moral at least.

(E) With good management, after this personal facing of real causes, the outlook in this case in regard to his delinquencies would seem to be very good, but his mental achievement will probably be less satisfactory.

It was recommended that ordinary academic life be discontinued and that he be given special training looking toward an agricultural career. One could think of courses in botany, zoology, chemistry, which would be good preparation, but it is a question whether these ought not to come after experience on an up-to-date, scientific farm. He would probably get more stimulation in the latter, learn to appreciate the value of education about which he is now so indifferent.. To continue along the lines of the family traditions of education seems absurd.

Through active life he stands the best chance of overcoming his bad sex habits. Special professional advice was given concerning this and his unfortunate world of ideation.

(F) The outlook in this case is exceedingly poor from the standpoint of conduct if the boy remains in ordinary community life.

He needs institutional care. Although not considered previously commitably insane, at the present time he might be so considered. To sentence him as if he were an ordinary criminal will be to accomplish little and he certainly should not be placed in a correctional school for juveniles. In a hospital for the insane he might soon appear improved and speedily be released. His case properly demands indeterminate care as a mentally abnormal delinquent, a menace to himself and to others outside controlled conditions. What institution should take him depends upon the local provisions for such cases.

Subsequent History

Winthrop was at once sent to stay with relatives in the country until his case was heard in court, when he was placed on probation. In the meantime his father was making efforts to locate a suitable place in the West for him. But Winthrop went to New York one day and there enlisted in the army for training in the airplane field service, giving his age as 19. His parents decided it was best to make no objections, and very shortly he was sent to a training field in the Southwest. He has remained in this service with various transfers and promotions during the last three years. He has stood high in his examinations and has had a splendid record for conduct. His parents tell us that when he came home last time on a furlough he was (at barely 18) almost 6 feet and weighed 175 pounds. They were very well pleased at his success. His father now says, "He is a son to be proud of."

(B) The parents of this boy put him back in school temporarily while seeking some better adjustments along the lines recommended. But the boy took affairs in his own hands and ran away to New York, taking with him a birth certificate, obtained for the occasion from an older boy friend whose family name was the same. To finance his trip he took a considerable sum from the family savings at home. He readily enlisted in the Marines as 20 years of age and has served continuously, part of the time abroad, for three and a half years with a thoroughly satisfactory record. He has grown still heavier. His father for a long time was skeptical of his success, but now is willing to concede that "he is a thoroughly reformed character."

(C) The father of this boy knew people from the West, who in turn had friends who were ranch owners. One of these proved willing to take the boy on trial, putting him at work on a cattle ranch far from any town. There he was called on for considerable exertion and long hours — about as extreme as anything could be from his mode of living at home. He proved to be thoroughly happy even when he had to do the work of the camp. There was no chance for his mechanical aptitudes, but he remained quite satisfied for about two years, when he returned home and entered business. His mother, whose despair he formerly was, has recently said, "If the others turn out as well I shall be satisfied."

(D) The events of this young man's career would furnish excellent material for short stories of adventure and character studies. In spite of what we recommended, his father immediately made him a tempting offer to stay for a time in his own establishment and then set up for himself in some other business. The trial of this scheme lasted only a couple of weeks. The boy

set out for some newly discovered ore fields in northern Canada where he maintained himself very well as a laborer and prospector. He also made a difficult cross-country trip in the Hudson Bay region and was the principal figure in a splendid rescue, thus endearing him to the people thereabouts. He moved on, but was drawn home by the letters about nights spent in crying for him. (It appears that one of the chief sources of the mother's worry was that he sometimes went without his meals.) Then followed at home a period of some months of idling, spending and speeding, some dissipation, and again family friction.

Seeing him two years after our first study, he tells us that his father says, "Make some money and travel in a Pullman"; but he'd rather see the real world, working for the privilege. Nowadays he feels contemptible on account of his own conduct. His father upbraids him for having gotten nowhere in either business or education, but he has seen mountain heights and a sunset on Hudson Bay that he will never forget. He recently spent till late one night in the Grand Central Station in New York "just to see the world moving," and he wants to see more of it in other places — "I want my bellyful of it."

(E) Affairs went poorly with this boy. His people could not give up their ideas of academic education and placed him in another secondary school, drilling away at college entrance examinations. They thought he was successful for a year — certainly there was no report of his stealing. Then he failed in his term examinations. He was idle the whole of the next summer vacation. Then he was tried in another school and began stealing. It came out that during the summer he had heard a good deal of bad sex talk and had begun his bad habits again and had stolen quite a little. He tells us that his day-dreams and sex stress have recently been as bad as earlier. And we again strongly urge farm training, preferably in a stimulating climate.

(F) In spite of the court wishing to follow recommendations, the authorities were not willing to commit him as criminal insane and the only recourse was sentence to the adult reformatory. There he had a good many demerits for sex perversion, etc., but finally was paroled with work obtained for him. He did fairly well for a little time, but acquired a venereal disease for which he received a short treatment. His whereabouts and recent record are unknown, even to his family, for six months past.

FINAL COMMENT

This group of boys has been selected for presentation because they represent very vividly a combination of conditions that makes a characteristic picture important in the study of delinquents. They are all boys in years, adolescent in interests, and in many traits, but they are men in stature, strength, and most of them, in sex development. They are delinquents by virtue of no excuse from any economic standpoint—their families are all fairly well-to-do—and they have all had average, or better than average, educational and recreational opportunities, and moral training. All of them are serious problems, some of them are quite extreme delinquents. Thus, in both personality and in external circumstances lie the similarities.

In the situation of each there is fundamentally involved the psychology of the family. Domination, common to all family life, is here a crucial matter. It is directly expressed, in some of the cases more than others, by many regulations, or attempted regulations, of the boy's life, sometimes to the extent of controlling every issue, by prescribing adjustments and enforcing conditions, and maintaining dependence. Even where there is no straightforward declaration of control, still there is the indirect, the tremendous pull of the family life; the boy himself feeling it, and not really daring to break away from it in adult fashion.

Sometimes it is the father who directs, in other cases it is the mother who tries to dominate every detail of a boy's life. Of course, this family situation is not so recognizable as disturbing where children are normally small and lacking in urge, but nevertheless it very definitely represents will-to-power on the part of parents. There is often a great unwillingness, even with such big boys, to relinquish any part of the control, maintained often through inventing excuses, consciously or unconsciously, to justify continuance of the child's dependence. We all know how far this is carried in well-to-do families. After all, children can be dominated as no one else can be.

The reaction of the overgrown boy, who feels himself in some ways a man, is often that of commensurate irritation and revolt, which frequently conditions delinquency. But, unfortunately, misconduct leads to greater oversight, control and restraint, which in turn aggravates misconduct, as is clearly shown in these cases.

The allegiance of the boy to the idea or habit of family control, and the force of his urge to independent action leads to a curious conflict; there is at times some enjoyment of the state of being dependent, of hav-

ing no responsibility, and at other times there is an effort to attain satisfaction by foolish or incomplete flights towards independence.

Another feature common to this group is the poor attitude towards school life which, on the part of several, amounts to positive hatred of school. This seems the more remarkable when we consider the distinctly good ability of these boys. Something of the same explanation, reaction to domination, is pertinent here; for, after all, school people are arbitrary dictators, and often very clearly enjoy their opportunities for power. Being thrown with children or youths of their own age, still so much smaller, leads to great dissatisfactions on the part of these big boys. Their inner reactions to school restraint and the curriculum of boys of their own age represents the natural dissatisfaction of older adolescents or young adults under such circumstances. It can be only this that accounts for their doing so poorly in learning, considering their good ability. The ordinary disciplinary methods, applied as potentially curative to school boys, brings out only stronger hatreds and more school misconduct. But, as in the family situation, there is pull toward the school through social conventions and accepted notions concerning education, so that we find some of the boys in a most unstable way breaking away from and returning to school.

The ordinary instabilities common to adolescence, familiar to students of delinquency, are exaggerated in these cases through the external circumstances of misfit situations and unfortunate efforts on the part of outsiders to control conditions.

To comment much on outcomes would be largely to exploit the obvious. But the principles underlying treatment should be clearly formulated. Radical changes are essential: cessation of family protection and too great restrictions; development of new interests in keeping with capacities; living among men, engaged in or in direct preparation for engaging in the activities of life. That these boys should get along better, as they invariably do, away from home, and with less, rather than more guidance, seems to be the point that is so difficult for their families to believe.

There are very many incidental and important points which could be commented upon, some of which have been mentioned in the discussion above. One such, vital enough to justify additional comment, is concerned with the inefficacy of the management of case (F). It appears that we have not yet grown up sufficiently to be able to handle such a situation as he presents. No solution of his dangerous possibilities and needs was found in his school days, and later there was never adequate treatment of his problem, even when he was in court. No adjustment, looking sufficiently ahead, was ever made that developed a plan of prevention.

The group is fairly representative of a type with which we have been long familiar. We could have presented more exaggerated examples, both of early overdevelopment and of more serious misconduct arising from similar combinations of conditions. We could, too, have given many more instances where there have been satisfactory outcomes following the same principles of treatment, whether it be the case of a six-foot boy of 14, who made a lasting change in behavior tendencies that began with life on a Wyoming ranch, prescribed for him twelve years ago, after he had been severely delinquent,—or the instance of an immensely overgrown boy recently seen, who, effete beyond measure in his own household, was willing and anxious to make a trial at western life, and with carfare only given him, found for himself employment entailing hard work at which he has been altogether successful.

JUDGE BAKER FOUNDATION

CASE STUDIES

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onal, vocational and rought for study by ourt, school, and all iming to make intensive and all-round studies, its staff comprises those working from the standpoint of the psychological, medical, and social sciences. It is only through the devoted service of the entire personnel that the material for the present publication is available.

Readers cannot draw conclusions for scientific purposes from statements concerning localities, names, dates, nationalities, and facts of family history as given because, in the usual professional fashion cases are reported with disguises. But the general facts, even of heredity are accurately transcribed, and no matters of importance for interpretation of causation as it bears on therapeutic possibilities in the individual case are changed or omitted.

The plan of presentation is to offer a first series of twenty studies covering a wide range of problems of interest to educators, psychologists, psychiatrists, sociologists, judges, probation officers, and all who deal with matters involving the adjustments of young people. For teaching purposes, a loose-leaf edition is available so that all pages designated with (a) may be withheld until the factual material of the first study of the case, given in the other pages, is treated by the student as a probem to be solved.

It is hoped that the publications can continue and include consideration of groups of cases representing types of problems in education, in make-up of individuals, in conduct, etc. It is planned at later dates to report on important facts of cases earlier published.

The gratitude of students who benefit by these studies is due to the Commonwealth Fund of New York, a grant from which has made this series possible.

The social treatment has been carried out through child welfare agencies of many sorts, and the spirit of their co-operation has been splendid. It would be a pleasure to give credit to the particular agency in each case, but since, for several reasons, it is inadvisable, we desire here to express our deep appreciation of their co-operation with the Judge Baker Foundation.

WILLIAM HEALY, M. D.
AUGUSTA F. BRONNER Ph. D.
Directors

Case Study No. 4

SERIES I

JUDGE BAKER FOUNDATION
40 COURT STREET
BOSTON

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Father: 67. Was born in a New England village and lived there quietly, attending grammar and high school in the town, until he went to college. After graduation he followed journalism steadily, serving his apprenticeship in Boston and then taking charge of the newspaper which he has now long edited. According to his own account he has always been very quiet, never much interested in social life or in sports. He has been a great reader and as he grew older has withdrawn more and more from contact with others until of recent years he has been somewhat of a recluse. His health history has been quite negative, and he assures us that he has never been in the least in bad habits of any kind. He did not marry until he was 46 years old. (Mr. Winson referred us to one of the best medical and neurological clinics in the country, where he had been studied two years previously. A very thoroughgoing report sent us showed that there was nothing of major significance found. Except for a slight heart murmur he appeared normal in every way.)

Father's Family: Father's parents and grandparents were quiet living, moderately cultured New Englanders. None of them were particularly prominent, but they bore good reputations in their communities. The father was one of six children, all of whom have received a good education, and several of whom have engaged in professional careers. One of his brothers is subject to some delusions. Mr. Winson says that he has been diagnosed as a case of mild paranoia, he has never been in any hospital—he gets along fairly well. The others are quite normal, but a family characteristic is reserve and lack of sociability.

Mother: Died five years ago of pneumonia at the age of 38. She had been brought up in a country town and had received a high school education. She had always been frail and neurasthenic and had had several nervous breakdowns accompanied by much worrying about petty affairs during the five years before she died.

Mother's Family: Farming people and store-keepers in country towns. All quite normal except that one of the mother's aunts had long been insane.

small size, his slow-going manner, his late marriage, his lack of social urge all might suggest to the endocrinologist dysfunctioning of the glands of internal secretion. To the trained dietitian his behavior reactions might indicate chronic improper feeding; for the psychiatrist they might mean a marked tendency to over-inhibitions. And so on.

The lack of sociability, characteristic of the father's family, only re-inforces the questions which were raised in the case of the father himself. Whether this trait rests on a biological basis or is a part of the family tradition can not be any more definitely answered. The one case of psychosis adds but slightly to the probability of inherent peculiarity in the family.

The significance of disparity between the parents' ages is no more definitely known than the significance of the age of each separately.

Neurasthenia indicates very definite psycho-biological reactions, "nervous breakdown" practically always connoting mental disturbance, whether it is due to a poorly organized nervous system or an acquired nervous disease. Of course any diagnosis given by a lay person — a member of the family — is not too reliable. And then in the light of recent discussions (see, for example, Myerson's *The Nervous Housewife)* it must be considered whether the mother's breakdown was related in any way to the family life. Her husband was considerably older and of a peculiar temperament. However, we have no knowledge of their marital relations.

The single case of insanity on the mother's side can not be given much weight for interpretation.

There is not much of significance for us in the brother's history except that he had initiative enough to find a way out when his own home offered too little satisfaction.

Sibling: George, 18. A thoroughly nice boy and a good student. Was always healthy and fond of sports. When in the third year of high school he enlisted in the Navy; said he was tired of such quiet home life.

No other pregnancies.

Developmental History

2 The father states that pregnancy and birth were quite normal, the mother being in fair health at that time. He does not remember the exact weight at birth, but is sure it was about average. Mildred was weakly both before and after she was weaned at three months, and then for a long time there was considerable nutritional difficulty. There has never been any serious illness; apparently there has been immunity even to the ordinary children's diseases. Walking and talking began at normal age. She has suffered from no convulsions or accidents. At the age of 7, tonsils and adenoids were removed on the advice of the family physician, although there had never been complaint of any throat trouble. Menstrual periods, established at 14 years, have been very irregular.

Home Conditions and Influences

3 Mildred was born and has lived all her life in the same house, an unpretentious but comfortable one in a neighborhood of attractive old homes. There are pleasant, well kept grounds, and the house itself, while simple, is clean and sunny. It is comfortably furnished and there are plenty of books and other evidences of culture. Mildred has her own library, a good though small collection of books, largely juvenile, and she has, of course, her own room.

The family has always kept much to itself; they entertained but little, earlier on account of Mrs. Winson's ill health and because she, like the father, was not on terms of intimacy with any of the neighbors. After her death, an aunt of Mr. Winson's came to take charge of the house. She is old and a rather peculiar character, quiet and very unsympathetic about the present day life of young people, which she considers too frivolous and undignified.

Mr. Winson is mainly interested in his work, and while he

2 We found this history peculiarly negative as bearing upon the poor physical appearance of the girl. We can pay little attention to early nutritional difficulty, for, strangely enough, it seems to mean little in many instances for health, size, and strength at a later age. We have come to know many very well nourished individuals who had an early bad start on account of poor nutrition, as well as those who have seemed to suffer for many years as a result of it. And another curious point is the great immunity to disease sometimes, as in this case, seen in persons who appear quite frail and who consequently suggest that they might be easy victims of infection. Irregularity of menstrual periods is very properly a matter for specific inquiry by a gynecologist, but often is the result of general poor physical condition.

3 The home influences in this case bring sharply to the fore the question: To what extent are certain personality traits, such as lack of the usual gregarious trends, innate and to what exent are they the product of methods of upbringing? Of course here the situation is exceedingly complicated. The father and mother both being so unsocial, brings up the question whether the daughter has inherited this same characteristic. Even if she were very different innately from her parents, would she not have become solitary and unsocial because of the peculiar family atmosphere and the lack of sociability in her own home? There are many points of conjecture. The father himself may have been influenced largely by his own upbringing, and one is not at all sure to what extent there is innately even in the parents a lack of normal gregariousness. If, however, this were a native trait of the daughter, the home conditions in this instance would only have accentuated rather than overcome it.

One can be sure that such are unfortunate conditions in which to bring up children. The case offers a very forceful illustration of the distinction which must always be thought of between material aspects of the home life as opposed to the intellectual and spiritual environment.

has some conception of the social needs of young people and is much concerned about his children's education, he has so long withdrawn from contact with outsiders that he feels himself incapable of changing his mode of living. Although he thinks there is real affection between him and Mildred, he frankly says that there is little outward expression of it. Nor does he think that Mrs. Winson had even been demonstrative or that Mildred had been on more affectionate or confidential terms with her mother than with him.

Mildred rarely has any friends at the house. She and her brother got on well enough together; he used to tease her a little and occasionally they romped together out-of-doors. She formed no acquaintances among his boy friends; they were too noisy to be invited to the house.

Habits and Interests

4 Mildred has very few interests indeed, and she has never shown any great or lasting enthusiam, so far as her father can remember. As a little girl she was quiet, playing normally with a few children who lived in the neighborhood. She always went faithfully to school, though never expressing any great liking for it.

In later years she has made few friends among girls and none at all among boys. Through repeating the eighth grade she lost touch with the few girls with whom she had associated somewhat throughout the early grades in grammar school, and with the new class mates she has had no personal relationships. She has never had a girl chum. In high school, she takes some part in the afternoon social affairs, but has never shown any desire to attend dances, either at school or elsewhere, or to go to the theatre. Ever since she was a little girl she has attended Sunday School regularly and has taken a minor part in the social activities there.

At one time she took music lessons, but showed so little interest that it was thought wise to discontinue them. Very occasionally she goes to a moving picture show, where she likes best rather simple stories; recently "Little Lord Fauntleroy" pleased her greatly. She reads a good deal, choosing books young for her age—typical girl stories. She is fairly good at sewing and shows enough interest in this

4 Are lack of enthusiasm and apparent lack of desire or inability to form normal friendships the result of the peculiar features of home life, just previously discussed? Or is it fair to believe that in spite of all else Mildred, if she were a normal personality, might be expected to form school friendships in a normal way, or even, that just because of the lack of friendliness found among her own family, she might compensate by intense friendships among school friends? That she takes no interest in group activities is, at her age, very significant, whereas her general absence of enthusiasm for any one thing would seem to indicate a lack in dynamic qualities, the basis of which must be sought as the study of the case progresses.

Although from her chronological age one would expect her to be well along in adolescence, her interests are not at all in keeping with this period of life. This is seen not only in the books read and the plays enjoyed, but even more strikingly in the fact that she is so uninterested in matters of personal appearance. While in her own home there would be little chance for developing standards of taste, still her school associations would normally be expected to cultivate this. We may infer from the fact that she attended high school in a residential town that she had classmates who dressed well and it would seem as if she would wish to imitate them.

Mildred's lack of ability to command friendship, her indifference to boys, and the traits commented on above all go to make up a picture of mental life that would seem to have a deep lying basis, perhaps in her physical structure itself.

to keep her own clothes mended, but has never done any dress-making. Mildred dislikes housework and rarely takes any part in this, though they have a maid who would gladly teach her.

She is fondest of out-door life and often takes long walks. Through this and through a course given in nature study she has acquired some knowledge of birds and flowers.

Mildred is not greatly interested in dress and asks for little; indeed her father thinks she does not show any concern about her personal appearance, not even as much as he considers normal for a girl of her age.

She is a hearty eater and sleeps quietly long hours. In the mornings she likes to lie in bed after she is awake and is rather slow about dressing. There has never been any indication of bad sex habits, so far as her father knows.

School History

5 Mildred began kindergarten at 5 years and entered the first grade at 6. She had, according to her father, an uneventful record until the last year of grammar school. He does not remember her exact school grades, but he knows they were rather mediocre. Then in the eighth grade, because of difficulty with her studies, she was not promoted. Her teachers at that time reported to the father that they considered her slow in development, but saw no reason to doubt that she would eventually prove a good student. She entered high school at 15, choosing the college preparatory course. At the end of the first half year she had failed badly in algebra and Latin and had done well in no subject. Following a conference between the father and the school principal she was transferred to the commercial course, where she did very poorly the next term, but she was allowed to continue the second year. At the end of that year her report showed failure in biology, typewriting and filing, and barely passing grades in English, elementary science, penmanship, and bookkeeping. She has rarely been absent and she faithfully prepares her home-work; so neither lack of co-operation on her part nor missing work can account for her failure. She does not allege any unfairness or unkindness on the part of any of her teachers.

5 One wonders if there was any rational basis for the statement that failure in the eighth grade was due to slow development and that Mildred would eventually prove a good student. Since she had begun to fail, the logical deduction would seem to be that as the work became harder she would be even more likely to fail.

Apparently there was no attempt here, as is true in the majority of schools, to analyze the reasons for failure; but certainly something could have been done towards determining whether it was due to general incapacity or to some special defect, or to the rôle that personality plays, or to the influence of outside conditions. If educational problems of children are to be solved, must it not be a function of the school to know the influencing features of the individual's life? This is considered essential by all other social agencies whether they have to do with medical service, relief, or various phases of child welfare. Here is an agency that has the child present day after day perhaps for twelve years, and it would seem as if there should be the acquirement of information upon which to base judgments, better than mere conjectures, for the solving of the individual's problems.

There is talk of the place in ordinary school education of personality and character development; but such a case as this, not at all uncommon in our experience, shows that there is really very little genuine endeavor to understand the background of personality and to develop better potentialities. One asks how early an estimate could have been formed of Mildred's capacities and personality traits. One fancies that already in the kindergarten it might have been possible to know much about her. It might have been seen whether she was normally social, whether she had ordinary appreciations, whether she showed imagination, whether she responded to story telling, what she showed in the way of native interests. Then, upon these observations might have been based practical, helpful procedure. For her diffidence she might have been given responsibility in class. To overcome her lack of interest in ordinary school subjects her particular talents, whatever they might have been, could have been directly or indirectly utilized.

Another point is concerned with the selection of Mildred's high school course. In the light of her having to repeat the eighth grade, should she have been permitted to select the college preparatory course? Where was educational guidance in this instance? And then later when she was a failure in high school, what was the basis for transfer to a different course? It is clear that merely a trial and error method was used. No explanation was sought for her failure in the classical course, nor had any special capacity for the commercial course been discovered. There have recently been some studies looking forward to determination of the degree of general intelligence or to the special capacities which different courses require. Concerning educational guidance, we find in so recent a book as *The Trend in American Education* by so well known a leader as James Earl Russell, a discussion of the value of a varied curriculum and the statement: "Choices must be made, and fortunate

Study of the Individual

Physical

6 Mildred is unprepossessing in appearance, partly because of rather sharp features, a very long nose, and peculiarly retracted upper lip when she smiles, and partly because she is very unbecomingly dressed in clothes inappropriately childish in style and ill-fitting. Of medium light complexion, her skin is poorly kept but shows no abnormalities other than scars of acne and some growth of coarse hairs on her face. Her head is small but fairly well shaped, the scalp unclean, and her hair, normal in quantity and texture, is drawn back rather tightly, dressed without any attempt at style. Mildred's expression is responsive, her manner pleasant. She carries herself fairly erect, but speaks in an unpleasantly thin and nasal voice. She looks rather tired about the eyes.

Weight 96½ lbs. Height 5ft. 2 in. Color and strength fairly good. Spare figure, normally proportioned. Chest normally shaped, fair expansion. Reflexes normal, but knee jerks lively. Co-ordinations of upper and lower extremities normal. No tremors. Hands not cyanotic. Eye movements and reactions normal. No defects of eyes or ears by ordinary tests. Signs of slight chronic inflammation of the throat. Tonsils removed. Teeth well cared for; not crowded but somewhat irregular in lower jaw. No complaint of headaches or vertigo. No enlargement of thyroid. No adenopathy. No other findings of significance.

Mental

7 (1) *Results on Psychological Examination:*

(Mildred's attitude was very good. She worked very willingly and with considerable interest, showing distinct capacity for sustained attention and persistence. There was no evidence of fatigue in any of the several test periods.)

The wide range of tests given, when arranged according to the scores achieved, showed the following differences in capacities:

is the man or woman who chooses wisely. All that the school can do is to offer the widest possible range of choices." *Is it?*

In such a case as Mildred's the school people should know whether she is a high grade defective who has reached the limit of her attainments, whether she has some special abilities which have enabled her to progress satisfactorily as far as the eighth grade, whether she has some special disabilities which interfere with further progress, or whether the question is largely one of dynamics, of personality, or of physical disabilities, or of inhibitions, due to adolescent disturbances or other causes, interfering with possible accomplishment. Already we may rule out the possibility of failure due to competing interests or neglect of school studies.

6 Although unattractive in appearance, Mildred can hardly be considered markedly stigmatized. She is 18 lbs. underweight for her height. When the slight abnormalities of hair on the face, thin voice, irregularity of features and teeth are considered, they make no typical picture of developmental anomaly. Perhaps the most significant findings are those which point to her lack of normal interest in her appearance.

7 At once it is clear that test results are reliable — attitude and interest being distinctly favorable. An I. Q. of 105 at Mildred's age indicates that she grades slightly above average adult intelligence. The next important point is the extreme difference in capacities. A number of abilities are good or average, and in these two groups fall auditory and visual memory, information, and comprehension of reading — all of which would ordinarily be considered significant in relation to school work. Language ability, while rather below average and here classed as *poor* is not so far below what might be expected of her school grade that one could consider it a specialized defect. Perhaps the most significant finding under the group *poor* is slowness of both physical and mental reactions. It may well be that as the individual reaches higher grades in school he must be able to work more and more rapidly, otherwise he becomes quite behind the class, even though fairly capable and accurate.

Average:

Auditory span for digits.

Apperceptions with pictorial material.

Generalizations—finding the principle in a simple arithmetical series and the abstract ideas in verbal passages and applying them.

Common sense information.

Spelling.

Writing original composition.

Good:

General intelligence as estimated on so-called age-level tests (Stanford-Binet I. Q. 105).

Mental control as shown on a number of tests.

Visual memory as shown by reproducing a series of figures increasing in difficulty (some geometric and some not, and each exposed for five seconds).

Ability to handle constructively simple problems with concrete material involving planfulness and perception of spacial relationships. (Of 4 tests given, one was done no better than average.)

Comprehension of reading.

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[1] Stanford-Binet I. Q. 105; passes all 14-year, (2, 3, 4, 5, 6,) of the 16-year, and (2, 5) of the 18-year tests.

Auditory memory span, 7 digits (7 digits backwards).

Visual memory; Binet designs, 100%; Healy design, 100%, Ellis designs, 6 of 10 correct, 3 half-correct.

Tapping test; 67, no error—median for 12 yrs.

Association Tests: Easy Opposites, average time 1.7", no errors or failures; Part-whole series, 2', I error; Mixed relations series, 2' 35", I error.

Kraepelin Continuous Subtraction; taking 7's from 100, no error; alternately taking 2 and 1 from 100, no errors.

Pictorial Completion II; 68.5—median adult score.

Trabue Language Scale: B, score 15—median for grade VIII; K, score 6—median for grade VII.

Kansas Silent Reading: Test II, score 19.7—median for grade VIII; Test III, score 29.9—median for grade XII.

Woodworth-Wells Easy Directions, 2' 45", no errors; Hard Directions, 4' 1", no errors.

Cancellation Test, 3' 4". 1 error—below 25 percentile for 15 yr. old girls.

Number generalization. 66% correct.

Construction A, 58" 11 moves; 2nd trial, 7", 5 moves.

Construction B, 35", 11 moves.

Dearborn Form Board No. 3: A, 98", 5 moves; B, 49", 7 moves; C, 40", 8 moves; D, 81", 15 moves.

Knox-Pintner Cube Test, all correct except line (2).

Visual mental representation: Clock hands, enclosed boxes, code, and paper cutting (including in latter much more difficult tests than the Terman) correct; Ellis Inverted Figures, 82% correct; McCallie Cube Test, 2' 28" (builds up the cube with materials in 4' 25"); Thurstone Hand Test, 94% correct; draws correctly floor plan of suite consisting of 6 rooms after once walking through them, placing doors and windows; draws correctly from memory floor plan of own house.

Recognition memory, 10 pictures. correct.

Courtis Arithmetic, Test No. 7, 8 attempted, 6 correct—grade VI performance.

Writing, quality 14, Thorndike Scale.

Composition, quality 70, Hillegas-Thorndike Scale.

Thurstone's Clerical Examination, accuracy rank, 10%; speed rank, 1%; combined rank 2%.

But the most striking findings on the wide range of tests are noted when we compare the groups *very good* and *very poor*. The fact that Mildred was transferred to a clerical course and yet obtained a score of only 2% on the clerical examination, doing nothing else so poorly as this test, is certainly remarkable. Important as bearing on this selection of training for her, too, are the findings on the Courtis Test. The poor record for speed on other tests, already commented on, has an important relationship also to commercial work.

From the standpoint of constructive measures, it is equally as important to note the remarkably good ability along a highly specialized line. Her powers of visual mental representation are extraordinarily good. This fact is the most *positive* contribution which the testing offers. To what extent this capacity has been or has not been utilized incidentally in methods of teaching and study we do not know, but we may reasonably infer that consciously it has been used very little. That it might have been utilized is certain, as well as that it might have formed the basis of educational and vocational guidance and training. Whatever opinion may be held concerning the relative importance of endeavoring to develop disabilities and weaknesses as compared with the utilization of special capacities and strength, there is little doubt that special abilities offer the best clue to the field in which the individual is most likely to meet success.

From the test findings as a whole it is clear that Mildred's school failure is not due to lack of general intelligence — that is, she can not be regarded as defective in any degree. It is true, also, that there is no difficulty with control of mental processes and ability to maintain attention. Furthermore the only specialized defect indicated is in speed of reactions. On the tests for school acquirement given, she shows that she has mastered the fundamental school subjects, having no difficulty in reading, comprehending what she reads, spelling, or in the four processes of arithmetic. Obviously these abilities are not so poor that they account for her failure either in her courses or on such a test for working capacity as the clerical test involves.

The case illustrates a vital point for psychological examiners, namely that a psychological examination confined to establishing an intelligence quotient very frequently does not and can not reveal aptitudes that are of the greatest importance for the individual's welfare.

Poor:

Language ability, as shown on so-called language scales and by meagre vocabulary.

Reaction time, which, on special tests, as well as incidentally shown on other performances, is distinctly slow.

Motor control, which, although accurate, scores as poor because of slowness.

Rate of visual perceptions—where again accuracy is good, but final results grade as poor when an index for speed and accuracy combined is obtained.

Very Good:

Ability to carry in mind and mentally work with visual representations—this is indicated by a wide range of tests, some difficult even for adults of superior abilities.[1]

Recognition memory for visual material.

Very Poor:

Ability to do rote arithmetic involving the four fundamental processes.

Clerical ability, as shown on the Thurstone Clerical Examination (a test composed of eight parts and widely used in business houses) where her score for speed and accuracy combined was only 2%.

VERY POOR	POOR	AVERAGE	GOOD	VERY GOOD
Rote arithmetic	Language ability	Auditory span for digits	General intelligence (I. Q. 105)	Visual representations
Clerical ability	Reaction time	Apperceptions with pictorial material	Mental control	Recognition memory for visual material
	Motor control for speed	Generalizations	Visual memory	
	Rate of visual perceptions	Commonsense information	Work with construction tests	
		Spelling	Comprehension of reading	
		Writing original composition		

[1] These included several of the tests used for estimating capacities of engineering-students in technical colleges, and drawing a floor plan after once walking through a suite of rooms, etc. This girl rapidly and with ease solved correctly the McCallie Cube Test, usually found difficult, where the directions are as follows: Imagine a three inch cube painted red on all of the outer surfaces. Now imagine this cube cut into inch cubes. How many of the one inch cubes would be painted red on three surfaces, how many on two, on one, and on no surfaces?

8 (2) *Mental Balance:* As shown during examination, Mildred proves herself to be thoroughly well oriented; judgment and will are apparently quite normal. The results on tests for mental control give no evidence of imbalance.

9 (3) *Personality Traits:* Mildred, according to her father is not at all moody, has no outbursts of temper, no times of depression or elation. Her general tone is one of passive cheerfulness and ordinarily she is rather docile. She seems to him mentally lethargic; her teachers report her as dreamy at school. She has some little ambition; at lease she wishes to learn something which will enable her to be self-supporting. But she shows little imagination about anything and in everything she does she is exceedingly slow. Any attempt at hurrying her is the one thing which she resents and which tends to make her irritable. She is somewhat bashful among strangers, is entirely lacking in aggressiveness, and rarely stands up for herself; she never seeks to make friends. She is truthful, conscientious, thoroughly reliable, quite frugal about money, and has a considerable practical philosophy, childish as it is. She is quite firm in adherence to this, showing in this way considerable non-suggestibility. She romps occasionally with the younger children in the neighborhood, but in the house is usually quiet. She is not talkative, though responsive enough, and her father regards her as normally affectionate.

At school she has always been regarded as a well-behaved, plodding student. Though never showing enthusiasm there for any of her work, her lessons are prepared faithfully, apparently with every effort made to do as well as she can. Her classmates are indifferent to her—they are not attracted to her, though they show no active dislike. She has never been teased and does not herself resent the lack of active friendliness shown her. Outwardly, at least, there is no indication of sensitiveness to this situation.

As observed by us, Mildred is a pleasant, friendly, cooperative girl, rather quiet, and yet almost naïvely frank in expressing her own ideas. She is rather colorless, having very few preferences about anything; she lacks emotional tone. She shows a distinct feeling of inadequacy, particularly about social situations. Though really craving friend-

8 The findings concerning mental balance are quite clear and there seems not the slightest indication of any psychotic trends.

9 Lack of moodiness or temper spells, depression or elation, all corroborate the negative findings as far as any aberrational tendencies go. The character traits in and of themselves are good. The most striking and probably the most important features concern themselves with the strongly adynamic makeup. Passivity to a marked extent is the key-note of her personality, shown in lethargy, slowness, non-aggressiveness, as well as in the lack of interest and enthusiasm mentioned earlier. The other important characteristic is general immaturity.

This lack of normal dynamic qualities, inadequate urge to action, and immaturity as a feature of personality, bring us back to the question which occurs so often in the study of this case. Whether they rest upon a physical or a psycho-physical or a psycho-biological basis is academically, at least, very interesting. The extent to which they are modifiable is a matter of more practical concern. Would Mildred have been different had she lived in a jolly household? Could intelligent efforts toward developing other traits have met with success? Even more vital, can efforts begun at this time of her life accomplish anything? To the first two questions perhaps no reply is possible. Concerning the last, experimentation is worth while.

Of course there is little doubt that Mildred's personality traits were quite a factor in her school failure, both scholastic and social, not only as related to her slowness, but also because they kept her so largely in the background and made her so timid and unaggressive in meeting the school situation. With her particular traits she undoubtedly needed a great deal of encouragement, and her lack of initiative demanded that opportunities be created for her in which she could be shown to herself and to her class as a success. Recognition of her special abilities was, because of this, all the more essential. She is an example of the kind of student who doesn't do herself justice and who needs to be pushed forward and made to recognize, as well as to make others recognize, some special ability.

Several of Mildred's personality traits together with certain physical findings lead one to feel that she represents a case of mild constitutional inferiority. (This whole subject will be taken up in a later case study.)

Mildred is not without traits that are assets. Her conscientious industry speaks well for her future, if she is in a situation where her special abilities can be utilized in any way.

Her lack of dissatisfaction, even when circumstances are not particularly favorable for her, will tend to make her satisfied with any work that is within the scope of her capacities.

Day-dreaming will be discussed later.

ship and affection, she is too non-aggressive to meet people even half way. Nor does she show resentment toward her family for their neglect of her, or self-reproach for her school failure, or self-pity because of her solitary, lonely life. She is a great day-dreamer. In her test work she is extremely conscientious and painstaking, though her general attitude and outlook on life are extremely immature. She lacks force even in her manner of speech, which is weak and childish.

Girl's Own Story

10 In response to questions, Mildred speaks of her school and home life in a quiet way without rancor or emotional coloring. She says she likes school and her school work well enough, but she doesn't get along if there is a cross teacher. She doesn't know herself why she has done so poorly. She studies her lessons and thinks she understands them, but then her reports are poor. She does feel unhappy about her failure. Once in a while she goes to school parties in the afternoon, but she doesn't belong to any clubs, although there are several in the school. They have a school orchestra and evening dances occasionally, but she never goes. She says she has never been invited, but adds that she doesn't blame anybody for this because she knows she isn't good in anything.

She thinks she used to play with two little girls when she was 5 years old, but she has had no chums since. She knows girls, of course, at school, but she isn't intimate with any of them. They are all from nice families and are themselves all right. They dress well and seem to have a good time. She doesn't feel envious of them. Her father doesn't deny her anything she asks, but she doesn't like to spend much.

At home she is usually happy. She has always thought, however, that her parents were more fond of her brother than of her; she thinks she was a little jealous "because he got more huggings." She used to have more confidences with her mother than with her father, but thinks she really has always admired her father more—"He is so just about everything." For a time she was rather unhappy after her mother died, but she doesn't worry about this any longer. Once in a while now she is somewhat disturbed when she thinks about the future and how she is going to get along.

10 It seems quite evident that there are in Mildred's case no strong emotional disturbances which lead to inhibitions or evasions — nothing that indicates in the slightest a conflict. That she meets the questions asked her frankly and discusses freely her inner mental life is an indication that there is little in the way of extreme repression. There is clearly the element of self-deprecation and a feeling of inadequacy, but the emotional reaction to this is not at all extreme and has led apparently to no morbid introspections.

Most interesting and important is the day dreaming, of which Mildred gives some details. The desire for affection and friendliness which it so clearly indicates is evidence that she is not entirely lacking in emotions, and that she wants in a very normal way certain satisfactions. These she is not receiving, because of a number of the features of her life already discussed — particularly her family relationships and her lack of school success — except by withdrawing from reality into the world of her imagination. Up to the present, however, there is no indication that this has developed to such an extent that it is altogether abnormal in the sense of dividing life into two unrelated parts. On the other hand, already it is interfering to some extent with her school work. Her teachers speak of her as dreamy, and she herself recognizes that it is at least partially the cause of her failure in school. (For an interesting discussion of day-dreaming among young people, see Green, *Psychoanalysis in the Class Room.)*

The peculiar lack of cordial relationships that exist in the family, not only between Mildred and her father but between Mildred and her other relatives, has already been discussed and needs no further comment. There were very important results, not so much in emotional reactions, which might have led to a conflict, but socially, they augmented her personality traits and made her physically (and in other matters, perhaps seemingly small but really important socially) less attractive than she needed to be.

Ever since she was little she has had imaginary playmates. When she was about 9 or 10 she liked to dress up and play makebelieve. Now frequently she imagines that there is some boy or man who is interested in her, but she really doesn't want boy friends. She doesn't think she would know how to act with them; she doesn't feel comfortable with them; she doesn't know the right thing to do or say.

She knows little about sex life; was told by the aunt who lives with them about babies being born. She has never had any shock in connection with this, has had no worry or bad sex experiences, nor indulged in sex habits, although she heard about this from other girls when she was about 12.

She gets along all right with every one at home; her aunt is kind, but they never talk together much.

Mildred reiterates frequently that her greatest pleasures come from day-dreaming. She lives over the things that have happened and makes up many things which have never occurred. When she goes out walking, or even when she is sitting at home, she often has an imaginary companion. She sometimes imagines herself a heroine, modelling herself after the books she reads. She imagines herself having various experiences, thinking them out in the minutest detail. At a dance she has many partners. She gets married over and over again to different men—to men she pretends she has met and liked. Since she knew two girls who were scolded by their mothers for being "indiscreet" because they stayed with boys till late at night on a canoeing trip, she has been imagining herself as indiscreet under like circumstances, though she does not know at all what the girls did or what the word was meant to imply. Sometimes her day-dreams form a continuous story. She frankly says that she craves affection, but of course doesn't expect her father or her aunt to be more demonstrative. Sometimes in bed she has hugged the pillow pretending it was some person. She much enjoys this fantasy life before going to sleep. She says she doesn't think it has any bad effect on her. In school she gets to day-dreaming, and she thinks perhaps this is the reason why she is slow about doing things. Her memory is as good as it used to be. Once asleep, she sleeps very soundly and does not dream then.

She always got along with her brother, and although he

used to tease her somewhat when she was little, they used to play together; but after he grew older he had his own friends and she did not go with them. She has other relatives whom she has visited and who have visited at her home, but none of them has been particularly friendly with her and she does not feel particularly friendly toward them. When she goes out she always goes alone. She does her own shopping, going to the same store and the same saleswoman in the juvenile department where she has bought her clothes since she was little.

She hasn't made any plans for the future; she thought earlier that she would be a teacher and then later when the principal talked to her, he suggested stenography. She had no idea that she could picture things to herself better than most people can. Of course if this is so, she would be glad to make use of it if she is told how to do so.

At this point SUMMARY OF CASE and SUBSEQUENT HISTORY follow.

SUMMARY OF STAFF CONFERENCE

PROBLEM: Educational and vocational advice because for the past three years failing in school.

PHYSICAL: Fair development. Poor nutrition. Strength only fair. Slight chronic inflammation of throat. Irregular menstruation. Spare figure. Peculiar features.

MENTAL: (1) **Abilities:** Good general ability. Important extreme irregularities in capacities. (See details.) A careful but exceedingly slow worker. Has few interests normal for her age. (2) **Mental Balance:** Not the slightest evidence of imbalance. (3) **Personality:** Truthful, conscientious, frugal. Remarkably lacking in dynamic qualities, in initiative, and in emotional tone. Immature in outlook. (Altogether from physical and mental findings there is evidence of mild constitutional inferiority.)

BACKGROUND: (a) **Heredity:** Paternal uncle mildly insane; otherwise father and his family negative except for peculiar personality traits. Mother chronic neurasthenic. Her family negative. (b) **Developmental:** Early nutritional difficulty; otherwise negative. (c) **Home Conditions:** Material aspects good. Mother died five years ago. Great aunt since in charge of house. Peculiarly quiet home life, almost asocial. (d) **Habits:** Excessive day-dreaming; otherwise negative. (e) **School maladjustments.**

PROGNOSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS: A report of very specific details should be made to the father covering the following groups of needs.

(1) **Physical:** An attempt should be made at general upbuilding, since she is neither as well nourished nor as strong as she should be. To improve feeling tone, gymnastics and deep breathing should be tried. If she indulged in some vigorous exercise out of doors, such as gardening, this might be just as good. On account of underweight and evidence of inadequate energy, the question of diet should be considered and also, possibly, glandular treatment. Slight chronic inflammation of the throat, together with the nasal voice, leads us to believe that it would be wise for a throat specialist to pass judgment as to whether there is need for any special treatment. A gynecologist should be consulted concerning the irregular menstruation. She would also profit much by training in the use of the speaking voice.

(2) **Social adjustments:** These are very important for general happiness. Coming first are matters of physical appearance. Some

sympathetic older woman should take her in hand and show her how to care for her hair and scalp and how to dress her hair more becomingly. The growth of coarse hairs on her face should be taken care of either by electrolysis or, from time to time, by other methods. She needs a guiding hand in the selection of clothes more becoming and suitable for a girl of her age. All these are important in connection with attaining more self-respect and ease among other people and they will help her to gain the companionship which she ought to have.

Some plan must be devised for bringing her into more normal social relationships with young people of her age. Either the family must take the initiative by inviting young people to the house or by having a younger house-keeper who will take a personal interest, or some relative outside the home should be induced to give Mildred the sympathetic attention she needs and provide opportunity for a normal association with young people. Of course certain girls' schools might offer the kind of companionship that she needs, and such a change might be wise if the family can afford it.

(3) **Mental Hygiene:** In order to prevent greater withdrawal from reality there should be vigorous measures for attempting to help her control her day-dreaming in which she indulges to a rather harmful extent. Of course there is no use in directly combatting this by endeavoring to repress it. The best results would be obtained by substituting better mental interests and better social and vocational satisfactions. The family should attempt to give more outward expression of affection, since she craves this and is conscious of the lack of it. Particularly is she really devoted to her father and there should be, if possible, a closer relationship between them.

(4) **Vocational Training:** Much of the above bears upon ultimate vocational success, but there are other points that are important from the standpoint of educational and vocational guidance. There is no value in any further preparation for ordinary clerical work, since this is not at all in keeping with her capacities. At the opposite scale of performance are extraordinarily good powers of visualization which should be utilized. These capacities would fit her admirably for training in draftsmanship, which she might later use in working for architects, contractors, engineers, or others who require such services. Many women are already engaged in such occupations. Specifically she should have the best obtainable training in mechanical drawing. We do not mean free-hand drawing, where creative abilities are required. The fact that she is a persistent worker and that up to the limit of her general physical strength she is not readily fatiguable are assets.

SUBSEQUENT HISTORY

The father, after talking over with us Mildred's needs, attempted at once to have some of the physical features attended to, sending her to a throat specialist and to a woman physician, who reported no evidence of pelvic disease, and then for treatment of the scalp. He promised also to consult a skin specialist and to see what could be done about enrolling her in a class in gymnastics. In the meantime he would make inquiries about the possibility of finding special courses in mechanical drawing or draftsmanship. Unfortunately he knew of no member of the family who would take a more personal interest in the girl, nor had he any women friends upon whose kindness he could count. In consequence it was arranged from our office to have some one accompany Mildred on a shopping expedition.

Some weeks later Mr. Winson reported to us that he had learned that the town high school offered a course in mechanical drawing ordinarily taken only by boys, but that Mildred would be allowed to enter. She would return to her former school specializing in this course and adding a few of the more cultural subjects. Mr. Winson had still not made any further plans for physical care, but had them nevertheless in mind.

At intervals during the year we heard from either Mildred or her father that things at school were going very well indeed, and the following summer, when school closed, Mildred came to see us, bringing samples of her work. These we submitted to an architect, who stated that they showed clearly undoubted capacity and that even without further training there was quite a likelihood that employment could be obtained, although another year of training was advisable. Mildred said that she had never been as happy in school as during the past year, even though she had not made any special friends and though in general life was going on much as it had earlier. We noted no great improvement in her appearance. She had never taken the gymnastic or vocal exercises, as had been urged, and the family had made no change in their mode of living.

This was partly due to the fact that Mr. Winson was really ill. During the summer his health became worse, and Mildred, fearing for the future, endeavored to get a position. Several architects whom she interviewed said that they would have taken her except that conditions in their line were so dull following the war that it was at that time impossible. Then, shortly, the father died. Because of financial reasons it was necessary to sell the home. Mildred was now forced to find a home with relatives in a small town where there were no facilities for obtaining either employment or further training. We endeavored to influence the family to permit Mildred to find, through some agency, a home where she could still attend the high school by earning her way. This they refused, considering it an indignity to allow a public or even a private agency to help.

Mildred comes to see us frequently. She is not actually unhappy,

but she says that she would like very much to go on with her mechanical drawing. She has not enough initiative, however, to find a correspondence course, nor has she the courage to break away and find a home for herself. Her brother is still in the Navy. She has formed no friendships. As we have come to know her more intimately we have more and more felt that she is very immature, lacking in initiative, easily imposed upon, rather childish, still unattractive in appearance. Her poor taste in dressing persists. She claims that she indulges less in day-dreams, although she still has no commanding mental interests. She still has never found any woman who would give her the intimate friendliness that all girls need and desire.

FINAL COMMENT

Mildred's case involves biological and social problems of considerable importance, but since there is not sufficient scientific knowledge at present to solve them with any degree of certainty, it is foolhardy to discuss them at great length. It will require considerable experimenting, together with good observation and recording of results to answer such intricate questions concerning whether personality traits are modifiable and to determine to what degree physical structure, organic functioning, environmental influences or inner mental attitudes are responsible.

This case has been presented primarily to illustrate a school situation that is not infrequent—a situation where an individual has been carried along in a school system, a failure first in one course and then in another, both the student and the teacher striving but with little accomplishment. Mildred's case shows that the cause of failure is not always obvious, and yet, in spite of the waste of effort that haphazard readjustments entail, no rational attempt is made to study the entire situation and, in the light of this, to determine the cause of failure and evolve a better plan.

This case illustrates, too, that considerable data are necessary to reach any satisfactory solution and that a school problem requires a knowledge of many facts which lie outside of the realm of the school itself, but which nevertheless, affect in vital ways the task which the school is striving to accomplish.

Educational and vocational guidance has been established in some school systems. In most cases the advice given is based on a very meagre amount of data. Would an intelligence quotient have helped one smallest bit in the case of Mildred? It would have made her failure perhaps more baffling. Little light would have been thrown on the reasons for failure; less light still, on the constructive steps to be taken. A wider study of capacities alone can give indication of abilities or aptitudes that may have the very greatest significance—significance not only for school and vocational success, but equally as great for general social conduct. For, though ability to do something well is exceedingly important in order to insure adequate economic returns, the satisfactions of successful achievements are among the most important therapeutic agents socially as they bear on contentment and happiness.

With an ever widening curriculum, must there not be some better method of wisely guiding choice of studies. This would seem not altogether impossible, even though the ideal of intensive individual study

cannot be reached as yet. Great advances can be made by gathering data year by year, through giving well selected group-tests and then through intelligent collating and analyzing of this material. Until something of this sort is done we shall continue to have inefficiencies and disappointments in education that any good business management would make every effort to prevent.

JUDGE BAKER FOUNDATION

CASE STUDIES

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ional, vocational and rought for study by ourt, school, and all iming to make intensive and all-round studies, its staff comprises those working from the standpoint of the psychological, medical, and social sciences. It is only through the devoted service of the entire personnel that the material for the present publication is available.

Readers cannot draw conclusions for scientific purposes from statements concerning localities, names, dates, nationalities, and facts of family history as given because, in the usual professional fashion cases are reported with disguises. But the general facts, even of heredity are accurately transcribed, and no matters of importance for interpretation of causation as it bears on therapeutic possibilities in the individual case are changed or omitted.

The plan of presentation is to offer a first series of twenty studies covering a wide range of problems of interest to educators, psychologists, psychiatrists, sociologists, judges, probation officers, and all who deal with matters involving the adjustments of young people. For teaching purposes, a loose-leaf edition is available so that all pages designated with (a) may be withheld until the factual material of the first study of the case, given in the other pages, is treated by the student as a probem to be solved.

It is hoped that the publications can continue and include consideration of groups of cases representing types of problems in education, in make-up of individuals, in conduct, etc. It is planned at later dates to report on important facts of cases earlier published.

The gratitude of students who benefit by these studies is due to the Commonwealth Fund of New York, a grant from which has made this series possible.

The social treatment has been carried out through child welfare agencies of many sorts, and the spirit of their co-operation has been splendid. It would be a pleasure to give credit to the particular agency in each case, but since, for several reasons, it is inadvisable, we desire here to express our deep appreciation of their co-operation with the Judge Baker Foundation.

WILLIAM HEALY, M. D.
AUGUSTA F. BRONNER Ph. D.
Directors.

Case Study No. 5

SERIES I

JUDGE BAKER FOUNDATION
40 COURT STREET
BOSTON

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October, 1922

CASE FIVE

Douglas Darrant: just 12 years old; father born in Scotland; mother American of Scotch descent.

Introductory Statement

1 In October 1919 a clean-cut, strong-looking boy, giving the name of John Lynch, appeared in a village in central Massachusetts and applied for work at the general store. He said he was 16 years old, had recently lost his father with whom he lived in Albany, and wanted to work in the country for a time. He made a good impression; he seemed to be about the age that he gave, and he spoke with ease and confidence in a straightforward manner. The head of the store was short-handed at his home farm nearby and sent the boy there to help with the chores. He worked for the day, but was considered too light, and the next morning was told he would not do. He then went to the railroad station, and while waiting for a train was arrested because the people at the farm missed a watch. At the village lock-up the watch and other things belonging to the people were found in his pockets. The boy then gave his right name and address. His parents were telegraphed to and a child welfare agency with a state-wide service was drawn into the case. When the refined-looking and apparently much concerned mother arrived, she said that the boy had a strange "mania for stealing." She felt that she did not understand it at all. The agency visitor suggested a scientific study of the case and the mother said that she would gladly avail herself of any such opportunity for this. The village constable and the people from whom the boy had stolen agreed not to press the case if the agency would interest itself in him. An appointment was made by telephone. In the interim the boy was allowed to go home with his mother.

Study of the Background

Family

2 (Most of our knowledge of the background was obtained from the mother, a tastefully dressed, pleasant, refined, rather vivacious woman. We judged her account very

To anyone it must be immediately striking in this case that so young a boy could have it accepted without question that he was so much older; the difference between 12 and 16 years is very great, as far as appearance and poise is concerned. One knows from the start that one has to deal with an unusual personality.

It has been very interesting to note within the last few years the growth of the idea of the study of delinquents. Here was an agency with state-wide service not merely confining itself to the older conceptions of prosecution and child protection, but also advocating the gaining of some sort of fundamental knowledge of what the trouble in this instance might really be and willing to help practically in the study of the case. It is clear that the local visitor or agent had an intelligent appreciation of the value of knowing causations and of scientifically searching for them. And some tribute is due to the mother who has already felt the necessity for understanding. She showed a rational approach to the problem that is all too lacking in very many of those who deal with delinquents.

2 Of course any scientific inquiry begins with evaluation of the source of its data that are not matters of direct observation. Only too often in case work information is accredited that is not reliable because of the inaccuracies of the informant. It may be argued that evaluation

reliable because of her apparent open-mindedness and frank co-operation. She evidently was thoroughly genuine in wanting to have her boy understood and helped. Such information as the agency visitor obtained during her investigation corroborated in several points what the mother and, for that matter, what the boy said. The father has been seen since and his statements were in accord.)

Father: 42 years old; born in Scotland; brought to the United States as a young boy by his parents. He had a grammar school education and then went to work for a concern which has branch stores in various states. He was with them steadily until six years ago when he opened a hardware store for himself in X. The venture has proved just moderately successful. He has been overworked and in recent years has been irritable and quick-tempered, frequently under the doctor's care for "nervous dyspepsia." He is extremely conscientious and worries much. He enjoys outdoor life whenever he has time for it and also is fond of social life and has been active in several fraternal organizations. As a well known man in his home town he has felt the humiliation of his boy's behavior very keenly and has had some unreasonable outbreaks concerning it, as he has had concerning other affairs when he has been worn out. He is a man of thoroughly good standards and habits.

Father's Family: In general a long-lived family, much respected in the community. Paternal grandfather was earlier superintendent in a small factory, but later opened a general store for himself in a country town. He was ordinarily intelligent and a good man. Paternal grandmother died at advanced age. She was always a domineering woman, a good housekeeper, but fault-finding. Seven of her ten children grew up, and all have been moderately successful. None of them are known to have been brilliant, but several of their children have unusual school records for rapid advancement.

Mother: 38; born in the United States. She is an energetic, healthy woman, but says that when young she was considered quite delicate. She graduated from grammar school, and from that time until her marriage she worked as a clerk in a store in the small town where she lived. She has been gener-

of the source is a subjective affair on the part of the student, but at least it betokens a critical attitude and is far better than the passing of no judgment in the situation. Better than anything, naturally, is the atttempt to get corroboration, such as was possible in this case—although the very first judgment was that we obtained a trustworthy story of the case from the apparently clear-headed and conscientious mother.

Heredity seems to be practically negative so far as it has any bearing on this boy's achievement in life. His inheritance seems quite favorable. An alcoholic grandfather whose children were all normal can not be considered much of an eugenic burden.

ally well except during her pregnancies, and has devoted herself to her children. During recent years she has taken an active part in community affairs, besides frequently assisting her husband in his store.

Mother's Family: Maternal grandfather, a farmer, was a very healthy man who came of a good family. He was alcoholic and died of some trouble brought on by over-drinking when his four children were quite young. Maternal grandmother is still living at an advanced age. Her other children are all normal; country people living in small towns or on farms.

Children: (1) Douglas. (2) Ethel, 8. A healthy, normal child; in third grade. (3) Sybil, 6. Had convulsions for a time during infancy, probably due to faulty feeding; quite healthy ever since; appears quite normal in every way.

Developmental History

3 The father was healthy at the time of conception, but the mother was not in very good condition owing to a good deal of stress on account of her mother's illness. She was decidedly sickly during pregnancy with extreme nausea for several months and was in bed for some time. It was a very long labor with much pressure on the head, but no instruments were used. Weight 10 lbs. The head was very large and somewhat misshapen at birth. The baby was breast fed and gained very well indeed. He walked at 13 months and started to talk at 11 months. At 18 months he could say nursery rhymes and, of course, was considered unusually precocious. He was healthy until he was 4 years old, when he had whooping cough very severely, after which he suffered at times from a high fever, the cause being unknown. Then he developed a severe illness; was dangerously ill for several days and, indeed, very sick for several months. So far as the mother knows, the case was never positively diagnosed, but the doctor said that it probably was "brain fever." He never seemed really strong after this until he was 8 or 9 years old. Since then he has been healthy, and he has grown much in the last year. In the last three months he has developed remarkably, becoming broader-shouldered and more mature in

3 It is very difficult to interpret the significance of this mother's condition during pregnancy. We have record of many instances where a large, strong, healthy baby was born after a sickly pregnancy. Here we have a case in point. It is mentioned as if it were advantageous that no instruments were used, even though it was a long labor. Now, the fact is that frequently an instrumental delivery saves a prolonged strain and much pressure on the baby that is by far more likely to be injurious to the child.

We have in this case the history of a marked mental precocity which, contrary to some older notions, nearly always means unusually good quality of brain and mind.

The severe illness at 4 years that was but vaguely diagnosed we can not estimate the importance of unless we find sequelae (after-effects) by physical examination, although the frailty for several years following may certainly be interpreted as indicating the severity of the illness.

The great growth toward maturity just before 12 years is again an evidence of precocity, now physical.

That enuresis should appear after years of cessation is a matter for careful inquiry. Very frequently it betokens a loss of tone of the nervous system, locally at least, a loss of self control that is brought about by the practice of sex habits. But, of course, this is not the only cause.

features. A year ago he had enuresis for a period. A few months ago he complained of headaches somewhat, but not bad ones. He never had convulstions or injuries of any kind.

Home and Neighborhood Conditions and Influences

4 The family have had to move from town to town in New York state, following the requirements of the father's employers, until seven years ago when they moved to X., a very attractive small town in the hills. A good many summer visitors of a nice class come to places about there, but for the most part the business of the town is self-sustaining. It is a thoroughly American community, many of the old residents being of Dutch descent, others of English and Scotch extraction. There are very few foreigners. The town is composed of a small business street surrounded by pretty homes which show evidences of care and thrift. There are movies twice a week. The only other amusements are connected with the church. The young people are apt to meet a good deal about on the street or in the stores, but they are fond of outdoor life and they have many healthy times together on picnics and in winter sports.

The Darrant home is a pleasant cottage near the center of the town with about an acre of ground on which there is a garden with fruit trees. They have modern conveniences and electric lights, and the house is comfortably furnished. Douglas has a room with his own books and playthings, and in the parlor there is a piano and a Victrola. The visitor reports that the home is very neatly kept.

The mother has given much time to the oversight of her children and her home. She has had fine ambitions for Douglas and, as far as she could afford them, has fostered his best interests in every way. The father's irritability has shown itself in his home behavior and he has not always been companionable, but on a number of occasions he has taken Douglas with him on excursions.

Douglas has never needed any harsh discipline and it has never been given except once recently when his father, terribly irritated because of the stealing, severely whipped him. But the boy's mood following this was so strange that they felt they could not be so severe again. At other times

4 From the report given, the conditions of the town and the home sound very good, but we know only too well that while small towns offer much that is wholesome, still some of them afford chances for moral contamination that are very great. Just because the place is small and everybody knows everybody else it is very difficult to escape being influenced. It seems worse in this respect than is city life, where there are so many opportunities for a wide variety of social contacts. Having learned by experience, we have come never to be satisfied with a superficial picture of conditions, even when it seems as pleasant as this story of community life.

The home itself is so normal that it needs no comment, and the influences here would seem to be thoroughly good; but again, we always realize the necessity of getting the child's point of view.

It is not at all an unusual situation that, even though a parent is as interested in the welfare of the children and is as intelligent in the management as this mother, still complete confidence is not won. In many cases, for widely varying causes, such confidence is very difficult to establish, and requires, indeed, an understanding and technic that parents are not trained to have.

they have scolded him, and then he has promised to do better.

In general the father's attitude about discipline it that the mother should have charge of it. The mother says he has never made the slightest attempt to really understand what was going wrong with the boy, whereas she has tried, but realizes that she has failed.

Habits

5 Up to three years of age Douglas sucked his thumb much of the time. His mother felt that radical measures had to be taken to break him of the habit, and he was told that he could not have his play animals if he did not stop. She took them away from him merely once, and then whenever she saw the finger going up to his mouth she only had to say, "What about your bunny!" and he would stop. He quickly broke himself of the habit. He was rather fussy about his food when little, but has not been so recently. He has a very good appetite and craves candy, but perhaps not to any abnormal extent. He drinks no tea or coffee. His mother has never caught him smoking, but she has found cigarettes carefully concealed two or three times. She thinks he has done this more to appear manly than because he cares about smoking.

For years Douglas has slept upstairs by himself. Formerly he slept fairly well, but recently, at least for a year or more (the mother doesn't know exactly how long), he has tossed about much and has talked in his sleep. He has several times said that he was awake all night, and she thinks very possibly that is true. He does not go to bed exceptionally early, so that is no excuse for his lying awake. As a little boy he was never subject to night terrrors, nor does he complain of any dreams or fears nowadays.

Concerning sex habits, his mother does know that a little boy engaged in masturbation with him two or three times when he was about 5 years old, but nothing of the sort has occurred to her knowledge since until just recently when she thought she caught him doing something of the sort one night when he was lying on the couch. He was warned against this habit by his father some three years ago and the

5 Thumbsucking is a common phenomenon and belongs to that time of life which psychoanalysts have designated the autoerotic period, when everything, including the individual's own body is regarded simply as a source of self gratification. Unless such a habit is unduly prolonged, it has minimum significance. It should, in the course of normal development, give way to other interests and satisfactions, which deal with objects and persons other than the self.

It is evident if we compare children, for instance, Douglas with (E)in Case Study 2 and 3, that there are large individual differences in the ease with which old habits are broken up and new habits are established. Whether this is due to peculiarities of cerebral structure, so that new associations are readily formed, or to functional differences upon an unknown basis is impossible to say. And equally it is uncertain whether the variations represent merely personality differences in capacities, such as in learning ability. Some indication of the latter may possibly be obtained through tests—and it may be an interesting field for future research. The practical point is that such differences do exist and have to be reckoned with. Of course we wonder whether this early facility for conquering a habit may not be important prognostically in his present situation.

For a young growing boy to be sleepless is most unusual, and the fact ought to make one suspect that there is some mental disturbance, conscious or unconscious.

Concerning teaching of boys about sex affairs, we may say that warning against bad habits, as by the father in this case, does not at all mean that there are built up the confidences which are the best safeguards.

origin of human life was explained to him. He seemed interested to learn about this in a nice way and has always seemed a thoroughly clean-minded boy.

Interests and Companions

6 Douglas has had a great many interests at different times, all of them normal and wholesome. He has been all along perhaps most fond of staying at home and reading. He has taken boys' magazines and has read many books of adventure. His reading has been well supervised. He read a great deal about the war, and even older men liked to talk to him because he had such clear ideas about what was taking place.

Already he has become somewhat argumentative and fond of challenging the statements of others. He is a natural debater, showing in this real talent, his mother thinks. In school he has been marked as an orator; he has done particularly well in oral themes. Without much preparation he has been able to develop a subject in a very dramatic way, giving a vivid picture and leading up to his point very well. On one occasion he began quite extemporaneously by saying, "Friends, let us go back for a few minutes to the times of Benjamin Franklin," and then he outlined conditions of that day most admirably. He made quite an impression upon some older people who happened to be present.

Douglas has also written a number of stories—mostly of boyish adventure—and at one time tried to get them published.

He can hardly be said to be very fond of sports, except skating, but he is very normally gregarious and likes to engage in fun with others, and this frequently leads him into outdoor sports. He loves farm life and is a good worker; he is very fond of animals. Douglas shows quite a little musical ability and by himself has learned to play the piano fairly well—indeed, well enough so that he sometimes plays when the other boys and girls sing.

In spite of his maturity in some ways, many of his interests are still those of a young boy. For example, he very contentedly builds card houses for his little sisters or cuts out pictures and makes scrap books.

Douglas has always played in a normal way with the boys about town. He has several close friendships, some with boys

Concerning the boy's interests, the facts speak for themselves. They not only show a wider range than many ordinary boys have, but they make clear his unusual versatility of talents.

of his own age and once or twice with boys several years older. His parents thought the latter instances merely showed his maturity and considered all the boys good companions, except that within the last few months the father has suspected that several of them tended toward sex immorality. He was not quite sure of this; all he knew was based on rumor and on an instance when one of the boys told a bad story in his store. He immediately forbade Douglas to associate with this boy and warned him about others. Douglas has played in a boyish way with girls and now has quite a friendship with two very nice girls of 13 or 14 who live just outside town.

School History

7 Douglas started school when almost 7 years old and has continuously attended the town school. It is organized along progressive lines with six grammar grades followed by three years of junior high school. The latter is housed together with the senior high school in a modern building. There is a headmaster, six women teachers, and a moderate amount of specialization in teaching courses. The classes average twenty to twenty-five pupils. Douglas has had a consistently good record and has twice received double promotions. He could have finished the eighth grade at the end of the school year last June, but the principal did not want to push him. He will be allowed to enter high school in the middle of the coming winter term. Until recently he has always been ambitious about his school work, but has done it very easily. There have been some complaints about his behavior, but he has never been truant. His misbehavior has been mischief; the boy was popular and liked to show off; one teacher was much annoyed because he was doing "Charlie Chaplin stunts." About two weeks ago another reported that the boy was attracting the attention of the girls all the time and laughing at them, and in that way was a disturbing influence. The principal has been much concerned recently because the boy's marks have been showing deterioration. Whereas last year he was getting mostly A's, recently his marks have been mostly B's with some C's. To the usual term report the prrincipal added the statement, "Douglas is not doing the work he is capable of doing."

7 It is evident that this town has desired to keep abreast of the times in its educational organization; but only six teachers to cover all the subjects in the six years of junior and senior high school must mean that each teacher has to be responsible for many more subjects than he can be expert in. It is our experience that frequently there are certain advantages in the small groups with the consequent possibility of individual attention in schools of small towns or even of country districts. But when it comes to the high school, any advantages are more than offset by the inability to have competent teachers for the special subjects. This problem has been recognized and there is a considerable literature about rural education. Various plans have been suggested to overcome the difficulty, such as a central high school for several towns, thus permitting a larger and better trained staff.

An important question with bright children is how rapidly they should be promoted, particularly at what age they should be allowed to enter high school. Agreeing that there are certain cases in which the social disadvantages of early entrance is great and that there is a question whether mental immaturity may prevent appreciation of what the high school has to offer, still every case has to be considered in the light of study of the individual. In this instance, Douglas shows maturity, physical, mental, and social that is unusual, equal at least to that of most high school students. "To push him" could hardly have done any harm and might have done some good through keeping him mentally occupied. Poor school marks, especially in the case of a bright student, may connote that work is too easy, as well as that it is too hard.

Delinquencies

8 Stealing started two years ago. Up to that time there had been no delinquencies of any kind. At first Douglas merely took five or ten cents occasionally, so far as the mother came to know later. Then afterwards he occasionally took larger sums. At one time he ransacked his parents' room, taking fifteen dollars and making the room look as if it had been burglarized. Altogether he has stolen a good many times from home. Once he opened the safe in his father's store, taking part of a roll of bills. A neighbor complained that she had given him two dollars with which to buy some things for her and he had kept the money and charged the articles. He has never shown any inclination to run away until his recent escapade. From the farm where he went to get work, he took a watch and some small articles. He has exhibited considerable deceit and untruthfulness recently.

Study of the Individual

Physical

9 For his age Douglas is rather remarkably broad shouldered and strong in posture. His profile is notably strong with a rather sharp chin. His features are unusually mature for a young boy, but very pleasant, responsive, and open. He is neatly dressed. There is slight asymmetry of his rather prominent frontal bosses, but otherwise his head is well shaped and rather large. He has a slight nasal eyebrow and a moustache is plainly discernible. He is of medium complexion.

Weight 104 lbs. Height 5ft. 1 in. Thorax decidedly well developed and strength very good indeed for his years. Both his skin and mucous membranes are of good color. Teeth not abnormal in any way and well cared for. No defect of eyes or ears by ordinary tests. Movements and reflexes of eyes normal. Arm and knee jerks quite lively. Tremor of outstretched hands. (Boy says his hands always tremble when he holds them out.) Co-ordinations normal by ordinary tests. Tonsils slightly ragged. Pubertal development: small amount of pigmented pubescence and development markedly plus for age. Heart sounds normal. All other

It is most significant in the history of these delinquencies that the beginning can be definitely placed. This is a point always to look for and about which to center the most important inquiries. What were the influences or the change in personality, or what were the new experiences of that period?

And then the character of the delinquency may be important—in this case always only stealing, except for the recent running away. Knowledge of the exact kind of misconduct offers clues to follow in the study of causations, looking forward, of course, towards cure. Always in study of this feature we must remember for practical ends the fact that the delinquent is prone to be a specialist in some one form of delinquency, and that he not only usually confines himself to this one form, but he indulges in certain phases of it to the exclusion of others. Thus it might be easier for this boy to steal from shops, if it is stealing in general that he has in mind, but he confines himself merely to stealing from his parents.

It is evident that it is this boy's features and general build and carriage rather than his actual height and weight that enabled him to pass for 16 years old. For his age he is 4 in. and 21 lbs. above the median. Of course, the median for 16 years is much in excess of this, being 5 ft., 7 in. and 133 lbs. Other points to note are his increased reflexes and tremor (not necessarily betokening any nervous disease, they nevertheless suggest the after-effects of the illness at 4 years), the precocity of primary and secondary sex characteristics, and the headaches, which we learned from the history are only of recent origin.

In cases of tremor, of course one thinks of excessive use of stimulants, tea and coffee, or smoking as one possible cause. But in this instance all this could readily be ruled out.

examination negative. Complaint of occasional frontal head aches, a feeling of pressure in his head, lasting for a half hour or so perhaps once in two or three weeks.

Mental

10 (1) *Results on Psychological Examination:*[1]

(Attitude during examination exceedingly good, very intelligent appreciations. Shows desire to do well. Has wonderfully good powers of concentration.)

According to age-level tests Douglas grades as highly supernormal. Intelligence Quotient 138.

Both auditory and visual memory powers very good.

Motor and mental control excellent.

Powers of mental representation remarkably good.

Apperceptive ability both with language and pictorial material most excellent.

Language ability extremely good considering his merely ordinary opportunities.

Work with constructive concrete material very well done.

Learning ability extremely good for various types of associations.

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[1] Stanford Binet I. Q. 138; passes all the 14 and all the 16-year tests, except (5). Also passes test (4) of the 18-year tests.

Visual Memory: Binet geometrical forms, score 100%; Healy form, score 100%.

Auditory Memory Span: 7 digits (backwards 5 digits).

Trabue Language Scale B: score 16—equals median for grade X.

Vocabulary Definitions: Terman, 16-year norm, but gets 70 words—within 5 of the 18-year score.

Pictorial Completion Test II: score 100—a most unusual performance even for talented adults—all reasons for choices given clearly.

Tapping Test: score 89 squares, no errors—median for 16 years.

Easy Opposites (W-W): score, average time 1.1", no errors.

Mental Representations; code test, 2 errors; clock hands and enclosed boxes solved very readily.

Construction Test A: score 10", 7 moves.

Construction Test B: score 35", 12 moves.

Healy-Bronner Learning Tests:

A,	first	trial	10;	second	trial	12.
B,	"	"	0;	"	"	5.
C,	"	"	7;			
D, (a)	"	"	10;			
(b)	"	"	10;			

Reading: Thorndike scale high school passage 5b, very well read and all questions answered correctly.

Writing: Judged by Thorndike scale for handwriting, quality 9—just below 5th grade.

Spelling: Ayres scale, 8th grade correct.

Arithmetic: Does the 4 fundamental processes correctly.

Composition: "The Autobiography of a Frog." Merits: good arrangement, fertile imagination, good use of connectives, good sentence structure. Defects: omissions in punctuation and one misspelled word. Equals quality between 47 and 50, Thorndike scale.

The classification according to this revision of the Binet tests (see Terman, *The Measurement of Intelligence*) designates as supernormal those who have an I. Q. of 110 or above, as highly supernormal an I. Q. between 120 and 140, while an I. Q. above this is considered evidence of genius.

If we state the rating of Douglas in terms of mental age it is 16 years, 7 months. This is especially interesting in relation to his school standing. Perhaps if the school authorities had realized this they would not have been so hesitant about advancing him rapidly.

Another point of great significance is the evenness of his performance. Not only on the age-level scale but on practically all the tests given, except school work, he grades highly above his chronological age. All this betokens remarkably well rounded mental ability — he is no one-sided genius — and it also incidentally tends to throw light on the problem of mental balance, for we know that individuals who tend to be psychotic, that is, to be even mildly aberrational, nearly all do unevenly when a wide range of tests is given.

Perhaps his poor handwriting is due to the lack of control which his tremor of the hands and his lively reflexes would lead one rather to expect. It is interesting how well this boy can control his somewhat tremulous hand by voluntary attention, as in the tapping test, where he made a good, though not extraordinary record.

School work:

Reads difficult high school passage with good expression and comprehends readily.

Spelling good.

Arithmetic, an average performance.

Writing, very poor.

(2) *Mental Balance:* From observations and test results Douglas shows every evidence of good mental balance.

11 (3) *Personality Traits:* "It was really a happy experience to bring him up. Most of the time he has been so manly and truthful, and so interesting and reasonable." Earlier he was very amenable and obedient, but lately he has been very stubborn. Following his one severe whipping he was glum and vindictive. At other times, particularly after scoldings, he does show penitence and has seemed to really want to do differently. His parents feel that his character has changed very greatly. "Up to two years ago he was unusually truthful. Since then he has altogether changed. He generally lies now when we ask him about what he has done that's wrong." They know that for some time he has deceived them in little ways, for instance, about where he has been playing. His whole attitude in life has changed, but he has had sudden periods of contrite feeling, which have been exhibited in curious ways. With some of the money that he had stolen he bought some little things of boyish interest and hid them. One day he ran into the yard and dug them up, and brought them to his mother. When she asked him what they meant he said, "I thought I would give these to you and they would make up for some of the things I have taken." For long he has shown in various ways that something is on his mind.

He used to be very helpful and affectionate, but has changed much in these respects also. He is no longer at all demonstrative with his mother, although he has shown a peculiar craving for affectionate attention from his father, who has never been accustomed to making any demonstration of tenderness. The mother has been much puzzled by this. She has not known what he has been moody about, but thought it was his school marks, over which he seemed to brood a good deal. He has never been inclined to ask for much spending money or any special privileges. He has

11 There is much that challenges interest in the story of this boy's personality and its changes. First we are struck by the change that began at so definite a period. Here was a boy of admirable traits who showed reversal of many of his good qualities at 10 years, before the normal period of adolescent change. There are many indications of struggle; "he seemed to have something on his mind," there were periods of contrition, he desired so early to join the church, he began to sleep poorly, he has been moody.

Secondly, as one learns through the boy's own story his experiences and how they affected him, one wonders what manner of individual this was who evidently reacted so differently from his companions, even to the point of trying to run away from his temptations and himself. One thinks particularly of his sensitive nature, exhibited so strongly when he was younger, and of his superior intelligence. (We have come to learn, too, that those who suffer from mental conflict are as a group of more than average intelligence.) The boy does not seem to show the characteristics of an introvert — he is healthy minded in many ways.

The little burst of affection for his father we hardly know how to interpret, but evidently it was not lasting and was not important except as it might, through analysis, have proved an indicator of the nature of his internal disturbance.

always said that he didn't like to ask, and that he didn't need things. And he said this very definitely after he began his stealing when his parents talked to him seriously, saying that if he felt a desire for any special things he must ask them frankly for what he wanted. They felt that he has all along been reserved about his desires as he has been about his companions.

This trait of being close-mouthed about his friends he has had for many years. He used to whisper secrets with them a great deal when he was a little boy and would never tell what they said.

Ever since he was little he has shown much imagination. For long he played with imaginary companions and would cry as if his heart would break if anything in the room happened that hurt them where he pretended they were sitting. He loved to take his animals to bed with him, and in his imaginary life they, too, played a large part. The little stories that he has written have been about quite impossible situations, such as catching animals in the wilds from an airplane.

As a little child he was extremely sensitive and cried easily if reproached. He has grown beyond that now, but feels things keenly. He has been much disturbed a number of times when some of his companions have shown unfairness. He has a keen sense of humor and a remarkable memory for stories with which he loves to entertain people. He is fond of children and has always been extremely generous. Many times he has shown that he is a thorough hero-worshipper by his love for some of the characters in history and his admiration for some men who have seemed particularly manly and fine. A year and a half ago Douglas had a period of being intensely religious. He begged to join the church, but his family thought that he was too young and did not encourage it. He was quite serious about it, however, and the service when he took communion seemed to impress him. Since then he has been to church regularly.

Boy's Own Story

12 (The mother's detailed statement of her son's delinquencies, as given above, and of his characteristics was obtained while Douglas was being given the psychological examina-

tion. The remarkably fine results of this examination were briefly gone over before he was interviewed, and it was especially noted that the boy's attitude was serious and cooperative. The interview really began during the psychological and physical examination, which gave opportunity for establishing a friendly contact through a natural inquiry into some of his interests, such as school life and athletics, his health and physical development.

Douglas tells us[1] that he likes outdoor games pretty well. He can swim a mile. He goes hunting a little sometimes with his father. He particularly likes the winter—the skating and coasting. He has made himself strong by working for two summers on his grandmother's farm, which his uncle manages for her.

Then seated comfortably in a quiet room, the interview is continued by first asking Douglas if he has been happy of late. With a very serious expression he directly responds that he has not been. (What was he unhappy about?) He says it is about what he has been doing.

It being apparent that the boy is not only very bright, but also serious and remarkably direct, the interviewer feels that it is perhaps possible to carry the interview at once to the heart of the matter. Douglas is immediately told that the purpose of the questioning is not curiosity on our part; we do not care to hear what he has done except as it will make clear to us and to him why he has done it. And if he does really wish to save himself from getting into trouble in the future, the best way is to understand himself and the whole situation. We also tell him that sometimes boys in trouble have to be questioned at great length before they can bring out the trouble, but we think that with his intelligence he ought to be able to face the matter directly and try to think it out for himself on the spot; that if he really puts his mind hard on the subject he can do this. Besides, his mother has come all this way with him to try to help him (they arrived the night before in order to meet the early morning appointment) and she can ill afford the expense of staying longer in the city and of being away from their store. So if he works

[1] This whole story is taken directly from our record which, immediately after the interview, was dictated from notes made while talking to the boy. For the sake of students of children, and particularly because of frequent serious inquiry concerning this matter, we offer some indications of the technic in this analysis.

hard with us perhaps we can get through today. The boy said he would try.

(Then think hard—try to remember back and tell me what was the very first that you ever knew about stealing.) "Well, I don't remember about that Smith boy who stole an orange with me; I was a little boy then; my mother told me about that, but I never could remember it." (So that we can place things better, tell where you have lived at different times.) "We've lived seven years in X., and before that we lived for about a year in N., and before that in S. for four years." (Who was the first person you really knew who ever stole anything?) "I can remember that all right. I was with Bob Curtts. It was in his father's office in the mill. He stole from his father's cash drawer." (When was that?) "About two years ago." (Anybody else?) "There was Jim Beaker, he used to take things; he was a friend of Bob's. And Harry Reaper, I know he used to steal too, and other boys in our town have taken things." (Was Bob Curtts bad in other ways?) "He was a tough." (In what way?) "He used to talk bad—swear a lot. He talked about girls in bad ways."

In response to further simple questioning we get the following picture of the situation. A lot of the boys in X. talk in bad ways about girls. He hears it particularly from Bob and also from the Jones boy and Sheridan. There are several bad girls around there, but Douglas never talks to them. Bob is nearly four years older. Douglas doesn't know that he himself has thought much about these matters, that he has thought more about what one boy has said than another. It is not what any particular boy has said, but these things have bothered him a good deal. He began to think about them with this whole crowd. (Did they do bad things with each other?) He believes that they did. He never saw them, but they said that they did, all of them. He doesn't even know where they went to do it; they didn't tell him. (When was it that he learend about these things first?) Just about the same time that he first knew about stealing. (How is it that he remembers this?) "Because it was in the flour mill office. These fellows used to stay in there when Bob's father had gone out and talk over things with each other and they would talk about the girls. It was there the start of it

all was, I know that." (Is this all very clear in your mind?) "Yes. It was there that Bob opened the cash drawer and the fellows were standing around talking."

This intelligent boy is very mild in all of his statements, and he evidently tries hard to be accurate. Sometimes in speaking of somehing he will say that he is not sure whether it occurred in this way or in that way, evidently endeavoring to be quite honest, even with himself.

Douglas says that he doesn't think that he has ever stolen except when he has been alone. When the other boys have done anything of this sort he has not engaged in it. Sometimes he has done a little planning about his stealing. This planning has generally been done in bed. In answer to our inquiry about what else he thinks of in bed, he says that he remembers that it was at these times that he had been thinking about what he learned of sex affairs. He does not think that it has ever made him feel nervous in any way.

Then we went into the question with him of why he ran away. Well, it seemed to him that he wanted to take too many things. It was almost as if everything he saw he wanted to take. "Lots of times I took things that were useless to me." He instances money which he took from a pocket in a desk drawer when he already had spending money of his own. "I knew it was there, and after I took it, I wished I hadn't. Lots of times I would wish I hadn't taken something that I took. I thought I would go and work in the country somewhere and see if I couldn't get over it. We went through that town one time and I thought maybe the man in the store there would get me a job. I got up there at two o'clock at night. There wasn't anybody awake around the town and I waited until the store was open. The next morning he said I wasn't heavy enough and gave me two dollars and told me I had better go home." (Tell me about taking the things there.) "Well, I saw a wrist watch up there and I took it. I don't know why. I took four or five other little things. I took a tape measure and a pair of pincers and some other things. I went down to the station and the man came down and had me arrested."

The boy insists that he never stole a thing before he went with Bob Curtts and that crowd—not until sometime after that. "The first dishonest thing I did was to take money

from papers I had sold and I told my mother I had lost it. That was two years ago. I spent it on candy."

(You say that you are not happy. What bothers you most?) "It is about both those things." (About both what things?) "About girls and stuff like that and stealing."

In response to questions about the way he is treated at home, he says that his father and mother and the whole family are very good to him. He likes it at school; he has never had any trouble there. He has especially good times at his grandmother's farm in the summer. He goes to Sunday School. He did not talk to the minister or to the teacher about what was going on among the boys. "I'd have hated to have gone to them." And he never told his parents; they never mentioned such things to him.[1]

Concerning his sleeping habits, the boy insists that he sometimes stays awake all night long, and other times he doesn't go to sleep until two or three in the morning. He just can't go to sleep. He tries to think of how he could go. He has no headaches then, nor is he worrying particularly. He says that he thinks he lies awake all night perhaps once in two or three months. It is not at these times that he is thinking particularly about the bad things that worry him, at least certainly not for long in the night. He doesn't think that's the matter then; he doesn't feel certain about what is the reason. He hardly ever drinks tea and coffee and certainly never at night. He has smoked only a few times.

At this point we asked Douglas to be quite frank about everything because we wanted so much to help him. Then we asked him about sex habits. He says that he began touching himself in sex ways after he had heard Bob Curtts and the other boys talking about it, about two years ago—he doesn't know exactly when. And this grew on him so that "Lots of times I have temptation to do it before I go to sleep. I lie awake for fifteen or twenty minutes always." Recently he thinks he has done it about every other night, certainly not every night; but at times in the past it might have been every night. It never has been in the day time.

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[1] In one of the intervals between the parts of this interview, the mother was seen and maintained that she and the father had informed him about sex things; but it evidently was in general rather than in any specific way, although she said that they had warned him against masturbation. At least they had never been really confidential with the boy on this subject.

The boy suddenly bursts out, "It's that starts me thinking of stealing."

Douglas says that his marks in school have gone down because he hasn't done his home work and because he hasn't made out his note books properly. He thinks he can study just as well as he used to.

We thought that, with this highly intelligent boy there would be an extraordinary opportunity for ascertaining what type of imagery he might have in connection with his difficulties; it would be especially valuable in the therapy to know what might be the immediate mental sources of his temptations. The inquiry proved to be most fruitful. As he lies awake at night he says he can see all sorts of things, beautiful scenes at the lake where he has been or the hills at his grandmother's farm and pictures. He says he is really fond of pictures. He likes the wonderful things of nature in particular. He speaks of liking beautiful mountain pictures and colored pictures of the terraces in the Rocky Mountains and the geysers in Yellowstone Park. In answer to the question as to whether any sorts of pictures bother him, he flushes up and says that there are. After some further questioning he says that it is the pictures in magazines about girls; some of the ordinary illustrations and some of the advertisements—pictures about underwear and stockings. The only two magazines that they take in his home are the *Ladies' Home Journal* and *Good Housekeeping* and some of these advertisements are in them. He has never cut out any of these pictures and has never carried them, he says. He has not been very much to the movies; and the only scenes that have any meaning of this kind for him are some of the love scenes in a picture of Theda Bara. Sometimes some bad poetry comes up in his mind that the boys have told him and bits of some of their stories, but not any one in particular. Nor does any one of the pictures come up especially, never any one thing to the exclusion of others. It is always when he first goes to bed. He insists on this point very strongly. It is never before he gets up and never if he wakes up at night and never in the daytime. He doesn't think he has any day dreams. He does sometimes definitely look for these pictures in magazines wherever he may be.

Douglas gave all the above without any apparent attempt at equivocation, but he was asked if there was anything more

that bothered him at all or tempted him in what came up in his mind. He said he sometimes remembered, but not often, about a girl up on the farm,—a little girl with whom two summers ago, he had an affair of the sort that the boys had told him about. She seemed to want him to touch her, though she didn't ask him to, and she never told anybody. It was a little girl about his own age.

Going back in our question to what starts these matters going in his mind at night Douglas says that sometimes it starts with one thing, sometimes with the other. Sometimes he thinks of the stealing first and that leads to the thoughts about what the boys told him and about the pictures. Sometimes it is the other way round.

Then we were interested to try to find out how this bright boy got any such notion about these pictures having any such meaning. He then goes back to the office in the flour mill. The first boy that ever mentioned anything to him about this sort of thing was Bob Curtts, and he talked about girls' legs. Bob never showed him any such pictures, he said that if he looked in the magazines he could see plenty of them. "That started me looking in magazines." "Bob was the first boy I ever heard say anything of that sort. Looking at magazines would make me sometimes think of Bob." (Do your temptations to steal come at those times?) "I might possibly think about stealing then, I am not sure. Possibly they do. We always have those magazines around the house." (Would it be better for you if your mother didn't take them?) "It might be better."

Inquiring a little further from a more technical psychological standpoint concerning his imagery, it appears that it is not of one kind. He can hear as well as see things in his mind, but sometimes things do come up very clearly as in pictures, and this is especially so about these advertisements and about the girls' legs, etc. in them. But then, as we have said before, he does like to think of outdoor scenes and of how it was when he was skating or swimming.

The curious stealing for which he was arrested was dwelt on a long time because of its strangeness. He denies that he had the slightest thought of stealing and he doesn't know why he did it. "I just suddenly saw those things." The

people had treated him very well; he hadn't the slightest feeling of grudge against them.

After a period of rest, this matter was taken up again. The stealing had occurred only a week or so earlier and Douglas said that he thought he could recollect all that happened at the farm if he tried. Persistently and step by step we tried to go over every item of importance. At night he went to sleep quickly—he was thoroughly tired out. He is certain he had no sex feelings or temptations then, nor did he have any during the daytime. There was no bad language there and there were no young people. He had no sex thoughts about the woman—he has never had any about any woman. He answered in the negative about many other points that we brought up concerning his treatment there and what he had seen. That first morning he worked for two or three hours at the chores and then came in and was in the sitting room waiting for dinner. The people in the house were elsewhere. As he sat there he looked down on a window sill and saw a tape measure and a pair of pincers and he put them in his pocket. He hadn't any use for them; he isn't fond of tools. He was quite unconcerned about it. When he went to bed that night he looked around the room and saw on the shelf in the closet a little book with a page for each day and a Bible verse. He took this. It was the next morning that he was given the two dollars and as he was walking out through the sitting room he saw the wrist watch on the table and put it in his pocket.

After much inquiry as to just what there might have been that led up to any of this, it appeared that when he came in that morning and was waiting in the sitting room for dinner he picked up a magazine as he sat there. He thinks he must have had it in his hand when he looked over and saw those things on the window sill. He remembers that he was looking through this magazine in the way that he has done with others, namely, looking for pictures of girls. However, the magazine was about automobiles and he saw nothing in it of that sort. He can not remember anything that seems to have any value for explanation in what he did or what he thought that night, but then he was very tired. The wrist watch the next morning was in the same room where he had taken the other things, he can not recollect what brought the idea of taking it suddenly into his mind.

Concerning his feelings when he takes things, he says that sometimes the impulse comes over him suddenly quite irrespective of whether he wants the thing that he sees or not. He does not feel exactly nervous, but he has a curious set of feelings. He feels that he must take the thing. He feels distinctly relieved, especially if he has been hesitant in taking it, when he puts it in his pocket. He feels quieter. He doesn't feel the least bit disturbed about it then, nervous, or alarmed. He has never taken anything and then put it back. As he describes it, there seems to be a peculiar urge at times to take things. Sometimes he has thought of some special stealing the night before, and then the impulse has come upon him strongly in the presence of the object, but sometimes he hasn't had any thought about it previously.

We asked him then about the time when he took money and trinkets from his mother's chiffonier. "That time I went upstairs for something and I happened to think of those things in her drawer. It was in the daytime, this last winter." He then took them down and hid them in the snow in the yard. After he had taken them he thinks that he felt all right. He went skating. He can not remember what preceded his going up stairs or what was in his mind just before the idea of stealing came to him.

His stealing has been almost entirely from home. Only once he was dishonest about some money a neighbor had given him with which to make some purchases. He had the things charged and kept the money. A boy persuaded him to buy some stamps for his collection, and he kept on buying until all the money was gone.

Douglas was asked what would make him stop stealing. "I don't know of anything." (What about your thoughts at night?) "Well, if one thing doesn't begin, the other does." No, he doesn't think they are always connected. He doesn't think that he can remember what was exactly the first thing that he stole from his family because he has taken things a good many times. But he remembers his first dishonesty, his keeping money from the papers, as mentioned above. He has not been truthful at home about these things, but he is truthful today and he wants to be. He wants very much to be able to do better.

We ask him about another boy that his mother had spoken

12 It can be clearly recognized by students of the subject and it should be generally known that the technic of obtaining this "own story" is by no means the technic of the psychoanalyst. The psychoanalytic group have methods which have been set forth at great length in various works. They involve very repeated interviews over a prolonged time, during which facts are elicited through bringing to light all sorts of buried memories, and through tracing associations by free or controlled association tests, or through controlled conversations, as well as by elaborate analysis of dream life and interpretation of symbolic material of dreams, drawings, and so on. The idea of this school is to get at the mental material which is deeply hidden in the subconscious mental life. In such a case as that of Douglas, on the contrary, the technic aims not so much to get deeply repressed mental material as to bring the individual consciously to formulate something which he never before has formulated and of which he has never been fully conscious — at least not conscious of its significance. For a more thorough exposition of our standpoint and of our methods of analysis of the unconscious or unformulated motivation of misconduct in children, we would refer to the opening chapters of *Mental Conflict and Misconduct* by Healy. Very seldom is it necessary in the work with children to employ the analysis of dream life or the application of association tests (although there are instances in our experience where the dreams of children have proved astonishingly enlightening concerning deeper motivation of their conduct).

Then, too, it should be explicity understood that the details of technic employed in this case are not universally applicable. They are not offered as a model. *There is no fixed routine technic.* There must be a variety of approaches, because no one approach invariably succeeds. Not only may a good analyst develop devices and beginnings which work better for him than for others, but often he finds it necessary to vary his method with different individuals. All analysts have individual physical attitudes, gestures, intonations, facial expressions, as well as personality traits, which influence the situation. These are subtleties which can hardly be described.

Usually such a direct approach as is here used is not possible; the analysis has to be entered upon more gradually and indirectly. It is usually necessary to follow the ramifying paths of mental life from secondary facts and experiences back to the heart of the matter. One leads on step by step, the individual linking up associations until some important fact in genesis is arrived at.

For, all through, what one is seeking in this matter is beginnings, just in order that the individual may see for himself how he has developed his present impulses and trends. There is great therapeutic value in the individual's realizing the underlying relationship between his difficulty and some other experience which he has not appreciated as being causal.

In this case a large share of the success in getting at the beginnings was due to the fact that no blockings or resistances were met. Of course, Douglas had repressed much in the past and had not

to us about and who she thinks may have had a bad influence. He is not a boy who steals so far as Douglas knows. He tells bad stories about girls. He is about 17 or 18. He is into bad sex things both with girls and boys. Douglas has heard him tell about it and he tells some of the actual language that this boy uses. He used to like him, but he doesn't now. (This is the boy who the mother says told a low story in her husband's store, so low that he ordered him out and told him not to associate with Douglas.)

Attempting to go further into the matter, particularly upon the basis of the boy's renewed statement that he "wanted to get it all out of his mind," he was asked in what way these ideas came into his mind. (What would bring them up?) "Well, what I would see, principally in the magazines I would be reading." Then he goes on to tell us that he gets sex stimulation in the daytime pretty frequently, although he doesn't touch himself. He doesn't actually ever remember doing anything of that sort in the daytime; he merely has the impulse and the feeling. He is vague about what connection there may be between these thoughts and stealing in the daytime, but he is very certain there is a good deal of connection between the two ideas in bed at night. He has lots of times looked through magazines to see if there were pictures of the kind he has mentioned. These picures do look attractive to him. He is not exactly sure about any relationship of this to the arousal of the impulse to steal; he frequently says he doesn't know whether there is any such connection or not. But looking at magazines frequently makes him think of Bob. "I might possibly think about stealing then, I'm not sure." Asked then if stealing temptations come after thinking about Bob, he answered, rather curiously, "Possibly they do; we always have magazines around the house."

At a rest interval now we made inquiry from the mother about Bob Curtts. She knew little in detail about him except that about two years ago, or a little more, Douglas was going much with Bob. She had a feeling that Bob had a bad influence over him. He is a boy of about 16. She has since learned that Bob stole, and Douglas has told her recently that he saw Bob take money from his father's cash drawer. The proprietor of the general store, where young people congregate a good deal, told her that he discharged Bob for his

formulated the whole situation clearly to himself, to say nothing of not having worked it out with his parents; but at this juncture he was able to summon up rapidly all that was essential in the situation, both about his experiences and his own ideation, and was unevasive in facing it. It is very different in many other cases where the analyst meets with unfavorable responses and has to use great patience and ingenuity in following up every clue until the child reveals himself to the analyst and to himself. Even at the start, Douglas was willing to acknowledge the fact of his mental disturbance. Some young people deny their own unhappiness or worrying. Others grant this much, but for long will not give the details of disturbing experiences. Perhaps there is nothing so difficult in the whole procedure as the following up of clue after clue and association after association in order to get at the real relationship between impulses, emotions, ideas, experiences, and the overt acts of misconduct.

Easily obtained revealing responses and absence of resistances to inquiry are comparatively rarely seen. But this much-to-be-desired situation is found sometimes even after years of repression and conflict and career of misconduct. The situation with Douglas is more than paralleled by the classical case of the little girl, Case 9 in *Mental Conflict and Misconduct,* who, after years of repression stealing, quickly revealed the genesis of her whole career, the revealing of which was sufficient to effect a cure which has endured these twelve years since the case was studied. It thus is evident that when there is ease of obtaining facts and the time of study is proportionately short this does not mean lack of success for therapy, even for permanent success.

Specific data concerning experiences and mental and behavior reactions in conflict cases show tremendous variations woven into similar patterns. In the case of Douglas we get certain elements which commonly form features of the mental-conflict-misconduct pattern of reaction—two experiences dynamically associated because of emotional accompaniment, with following repressions and outbreaks represented by the facts given in this story. There was the affair in the flour mill office. Knowledge of bad sex affairs and of the possibilities of stealing were reported by the same group of boys at about the same time and formed a "psychic trauma." There was conflict at once established between elements in his mental life. This is evidenced by his unwillingness to follow the immoral leads of the boys with inability to suppress completely the thoughts and feelings induced by his experience. The latter is shown by his development of interest in suggestive pictures and his repeated impulses to give way, perhaps more or less vicariously, to what he considered was the lesser of the forms of misconduct into which he was initiated simultaneously. Because of the repressions with which he met the situation he could not recover.

The tracing of the links of association running through subconscious mental life, possible by arousing this bright boy's recollections of the recent outbreak of his misconduct, shows wonderfully

general bad sex talk and because girls had complained that he touched their legs. Earlier Bob had been allowed to come to the house, although he was so much older. His family finally sent him away, but recently he has been back and Douglas has been seeing him. She has the impression, although she doesn't know the exact facts, that Bob is simply one of a lot of young people in X. who have a good deal of a tendency toward immorality.

Once more we tried to get Douglas to remember just what he had done before he went to bed that night at the farm. He remembers now just where the book was. It was on an old trunk in the closet off the bedroom. He had just been reading the *Saturday Evening Post*. "There was nothing wrong in that." But then it came out that the boy had been looking over this magazine in his usual way for advertisements. But we could not get even this much of a clue to the possible genesis of the impulse to take the watch the next morning. "I just saw it there as I passed and I put it in my pocket." "I had left home to get away from those things." "I would like to live in a larger place; X. has got the worst lot of boys and girls that I ever heard of." He says he never knew or heard of any other boys who ran away.

In answer to direct questioning about it, Douglas tells us that he has never thought this all out before; he has had very little idea of how these things came into his mind, but he is very positive, as he thinks it over now, that these ideas of stealing and of sex things are all mixed up together in his mind. Again going into the question of nervousness with him, because his mother says she thinks that he is nervous, he says that he does feel very restless at times "and then I feel that I have got to take something, no matter what it is. I have had just that feeling sometimes." (What if you do take things then?) "Then it seems better. I can't explain about it. Before, I felt that I had to take something, and now it is all right." He was asked to put this more clearly. "It was just as if I had to take something, as if I would feel better if I did." (Is this like anything else that happens to you? Is it like any other feeling that you have?) The boy thought for a moment with a very serious expression and said, "Sure. It's just the same as when I want to touch myself, as if I did it I would feel better."

well this type of origin of delinquent impulses. Douglas could truthfully say of this affair, as many delinquents say of their misconduct, that he did not know why he stole until, through guided inquiry, the conditioning elements of the situation became clear.

Concerning certain minor details: It seems very likely, no other cause being found, that the sleeplessness of this boy may be the result of his mental disturbance or conflict. And in considering his headaches we may remember that this trouble is complained of very specifically in many instances of mental conflict. (See *Nervous Signs and Symptoms as Related to Certain Causations of Conduct Disorder*, Healy, Archives of Neurology and Psychiatry, December 1920.)

Anybody with feeling for psychological fact will be interested in what Douglas told us about pictures. There is the possible relation of his interest in them to the esthetic appreciations he shows in other ways, (magazine advertisements, of course, are often attractive in order to appeal), and certainly to his recently awakened sex feelings. And then there is the remarkable exemplification in his story of events at the farm of how the association, originally linked with magazine pictures of this kind, passed over to the ideas of stealing without actually seeing such pictures, only seeking for them.

The actual affair with the little girl we need not pay much attention to. We are not surprised that he does not think much about this, or that it never appears in his story as dynamically related to his misconduct trends. It is not an uncommon experience between children who never develop any abnormality—it seems to be much less emotion provoking than many merely mental experiences about which the student of child life comes to know.

After learning from the mother that she thought that the whole situation in X. was pretty bad, we obtained some details from Douglas which we all thought might be utilized for the betterment of the town. He gave the name of boy after boy who was considered to be immoral with girls and gave the names of some girls also. Some of them evidently were quite promiscuously immoral, according to the talk between them all. From what he has heard, most of the high school girls and the girls in the junior school are immoral. The two girls that he goes to see, whom the mother has told us about, are almost the only girls that he knows that are good. Concerning the immorality of the boys he says that so far as he knows he is the only boy down there who doesn't do it. His mother has told him to keep away from most of these boys. She thinks that Frederick R. is certainly a good boy; he is the mayor's son. But Douglas knows that Frederick is in these affairs. He talks about it and boasts of having been immoral with girls. Douglas has never told his mother about him, however.

At the end of the interview the mother was called in, and all of us, the boy included, talked over the general situation in X.

At this point SUMMARY OF CASE and SUBSEQUENT HISTORY follow.

SUMMARY OF STAFF CONFERENCE

PROBLEM: **Delinquencies:** Many times stealing money and other articles from home and stealing twice elsewhere. Recently running away from home.

PHYSICAL: Very good general development and good strength. Premature in primary and secondary sex characteristics. Some tremors and lively deep reflexes. Slightly ragged tonsils. Complaint of occasional headaches. Strong features; responsive, open expression.

MENTAL: (1) **Abilities:** Highly supernormal. Does remarkably well on all sorts of tests, except for motor control. Well advanced in school. (2) **Mental Balance:** Normal. (3) **Personality:** Many good traits; always considered until recently a model boy, active, good-tempered, manly,

BACKGROUND: (a) **Heredity:** Both parents and their families practically negative, except maternal grandfather alcoholic. (b) **Developmental:** Sickly pregnancy; difficult labor. Severe illness at 4 years. Nervous and delicate for some years after that. Enuresis for a period one year ago. Premature puberty. (c) **Home Conditions:** Decidedly good. (d) **Habits:** Considerable masturbation irregularly during last two years.

PROBABLE DIRECT CAUSATIONS: (1) Bad companions from whom Douglas learned much that is unfortunate. (2) Early sex knowledge and experiences acquired concomitantly with ideas of stealing. (3) The formation of dynamic associations between these, leading to (4) Recurrent ideation and imagery concerning them and to (5) Mental conflict. (6) Community conditions in general which have tended to keep unfortunate ideation and conflict active.

PROGNOSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS: This wonderfully bright boy should have much done for him. If community conditions cannot be radically bettered, we think he should be placed elsewhere, possibly with relatives, and where he can get the very best education. Of course, it would be difficult for the father to break up business and move to another town. Possibly, if the parents have enough vigor and can get co-operation on the part of others, such as the minister and the school superintendent, much could be done locally. But there is a considerable risk in allowing Douglas to remain where his old associations may be re-awakened.

Now that his conflict is explored, there is little likelihood of this

boy's stealing again if good re-educative measures are undertaken. We should especially insist on good interests at bedtime and on replacing his peculiar interest in a poor type of picture by the development of an interest in pictures of a better sort.

If his headaches continue, it might be wise to have a careful medical examination made.

Subsequent History

On the way home with his mother, Douglas stopped for two or three days with relatives. After his return complaint was made that a number of small articles of no great value were missed. These were found in Douglas' bag. It was not felt practical to bring him again such a long distance for study on account of this stealing.

During the three years that have elapsed, we have had very full reports concerning Douglas, all of which have been entirely satisfactory so far as his conduct is concerned. There has been no knowledge of his having misappropriated anything and he has had positions of trust and responsibility during his vacations and after school hours. He has been very industrious and saving, and his spirit toward his family has been all that they could ask for; very evidently he has felt a great deal happier. There has been a complete change in his conduct tendencies.

The moral conditions in the town have been altered, it seems, in a very interesting way. The agency made some further investigation which corroborated Douglas' statements, and informed the minister and other prominent people, who said that they had had some suspicion of these unfortunate affairs in the life of the young people, but had thought it too delicate a matter and too difficult to be approached either from the school or from the church standpoint. The judge of the district stated that he had long felt something ought to be done because of his having had to deal with two or three cases of illegitimacy. The chief of police said that it was his experience that the influential people of the town would not stand interferences in their affairs.

The story of the wonderful betterment of the moral conditions may be speedily told. The parents of Douglas communicated with other parents, who obtained corroboration of what Douglas had said from their own children, and these people formed clubs—a fathers and sons club, and a group of women who looked after the girls. These organizations have done valiant service and have thoroughly altered the moral situation through frank recognition of it and through simple personally applied common-sense measures, particularly looking after the recreational activities of the young people.

Douglas has continued in school and is steadily having good marks and giving no trouble in any way. The high school courses are exceedingly limited in this small town. For instance, although he is in the third year, he has only four subjects and he has taken no Latin, and has had no mathematics since he was in the eighth grade. He says that his work is so easy for him that he has had to do no home study. Sometimes he has been taught by nineteen-year-old teachers and has himself had evidence that they are poorly equipped. There seems to have been almost no appreciation by the school authorities of his extraordinary abilities. Vocational advice given him by one

master was that he might become a draftsman for an architect or an engineer. On account of the inadequacies of this whole situation, Douglas, at our suggestion, came to be studied again in the spring vacation of 1922. Our findings were as follows:

Physical

Now 14 yrs., 7 mos. Weight 150 lbs. Height 5 ft., 6 in. Unusually broad shoulders. Rather large bones. Well developed, symmetrical torso. Very strong, rather sharp profile, prominent chin. Complete adult sex development—shaves. Considerable tremor of outstretched hands. Arm jerks, namely supinator reflexes, very lively. Wrist taps obtained.[1] Triceps and scapular reflexes readily obtained. Patellar and other reflexes of lower extremities normal. All other examination negative. Headaches entirely disappeared.

Mental

(1) *Abilities* (estimated on a wide range of tests,[2] some of which are usually given only to persons much older): Highly supernormal.[3] Extremely good in visualizations and reasoning powers and in use of language; also very good mechanical ability. He does not do as low as an average performance for his age on any test, but relatively he does less well with auditory memory powers. In a thirty-minute general examination for college freshmen and high school seniors

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[1] There can be little doubt that these unusual findings are sequelae of the illness at about 4 years involving the nervous system. Aside from affecting good motor control, the abnormality probably has no great significance.

[2] Stanford-Binet I. Q. 130; does all tests for all years except test (5) of 18-year group.
Auditory Memory Span, 8 digits.
Recognition Memory, 10/10 of cards correct. Ellis Visual Memory, 8/10 correct.
Kelley-Trabue Language Scale, score 10.7, above 12th grade median.
Vocabulary Definitions; Terman, 75 words.
Kansas Silent Reading Test, No. 3; score 53.6, above median for 12th grade (which is 28).
Mental Representations (advanced tests): Ellis inverted figures 2/3 correct; Thurstone's Hands Test, all correct; Wheel Test, 4/6 correct; McCallie Cube Test, failed in 15′ (but built up with cubes correctly in 4′); Paper Cutting Test much more difficult than Terman 18-year test, correct.
Puzzle Box, correct 2′ 5″; put together 2′ 20″ unsually fine record.
Dearborn Form Board, No. 3, score 3, 6, 9, 10, decidedly good.
Stenquist Assembly Test, raw score 102, only 5% of army adults reached this record.
Stenquist Pictorial Mechanical Aptitude Test, 19/20 correct.
Thurstone's Engineering Aptitude Test for College Freshmen, 10 problems correct.
Thurstone's Syllogism Test A, 19/20 correct.
Thurstone's Equivalent Proverbs Test, 10/10 correct.
Trustone's Arithmetical Series, 6/6 correct.
Thurstone's Psychological Examination, Test IV, for College Freshmen, score 105, which is far above average of median performances for various college groups.
Composition: Test for Imagination (Supply of Coal); Many ideas, but not well connected; Winch Controlled Composition, wording concise, well conceived ideas.
Writing, judged by Thorndike scale, quality 8—grade 3.

[3] Psychologists interested in tests will note the tendency already exhibited for the I. Q. to decrease. And of course it will necessarily further decrease as his chronological age increases—there is only one test left in the Terman series that he could do.

Douglas ranked considerably above the median of first year college students. (2) *Balance:* In conversation and general social apperceptions, very clear headed. Shows mature and solid mental attitude. (3) *Personality:* Quiet, serious, with a considerable sense of humor and a certain amount of shrewdness. Very industrious. Well mannered.

Own Story

The gist of this boy's most interesting account of himself and the town life is that conditions now are not at all as they were formerly. The young people have really grown up to better things. Two or three of the worst boys have moved away. The girls who formerly used to do bad things don't do them any more and there is practically no talk about it. What particularly helped was the formation of clubs, "Fathers and Sons," the Boy Scouts under a certain splendid leader, and a similar girls' organization.

As for himself, he has had temptations to take things two or three times, but there has been no difficulty in suppressing this. (Neither at this time nor earlier have we gained a knowledge of the mental mechanisms which led to his stealing at his relatives' just after leaving us; but we never felt justified in probing deeply because he has been doing so well.) The old ideas have dropped away from him; he is no longer interested in the magazine pictures and has no thoughts concerning this. He does not go with any girls. He always sleeps well nowadays, and his headaches have disappeared. He has been able to save a little money which he hopes to use toward his college education, but he realizes that he is getting very poor preparation for this.

FINAL COMMENT

The case of Douglas has been selected not so much because it represents a mental conflict — other cases where the conflict is hidden deeper and where the technic of exploration demands greater skill might offer better material for illustration of conflict — but because there are dynamic associations which appear so clearly and so closely knit, and which so definitely have been inciting causes of the delinquencies. The boy's own fine mental qualities made it possible to obtain the simple, clearly expressed data of his mental life and experiences. Furthermore, the interesting outcome, while not different from many others so far as the individual is concerned, involves a whole community situation.

The thoughtful student will see a considerable number of points of great teaching value. There are matters concerning (a) comparison of superficial and deeper facts of small town life, (b) the essentials of confidences between children and parents, with emphasis on the content of children's minds, (c) the subtler causes of stealing, (d) the fact that the ordinary treatment of delinquency is not apt to cause cessation of misconduct when there are hidden causations, (e) the influence of specific stimuli upon ideation and imagery — in this instance the stimuli being pictures which have proved suggestive — and the relationship sometimes of this to the esthetic sense, with the connotation which this has for training in appreciation of better art, (f) the remarkable effect of exploration, the individual's becoming thoroughly aware of the causative factors of his conduct, (g) the possibilities of changing environmental conditions without removing the individual from home — this case showing what effort and enterprise may accomplish in transforming an entire community, (h) the successful outcome of conflict cases under such favorable conditions as opposed to almost certain failure when the individual remains in the old, bad environment.

JUDGE BAKER FOUNDATION

CASE STUDIES

SERIES 1 CASE 6

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FOREWORD

The Judge Baker Foundation studies educational, vocational and conduct problems of young people who are brought for study by parents or who come through the Juvenile Court, school, and all types of agencies which deal with the young. Aiming to make intensive and all-round studies, its staff comprises those working from the standpoint of the psychological, medical, and social sciences. It is only through the devoted service of the entire personnel that the material for the present publication is available.

Readers cannot draw conclusions for scientific purposes from statements concerning localities, names, dates, nationalities, and facts of family history as given because, in the usual professional fashion cases are reported with disguises. But the general facts, even of heredity are accurately transcribed, and no matters of importance for interpretation of causation as it bears on therapeutic possibilities in the individual case are changed or omitted.

The plan of presentation is to offer a first series of twenty studies covering a wide range of problems of interest to educators, psychologists, psychiatrists, sociologists, judges, probation officers, and all who deal with matters involving the adjustments of young people. For teaching purposes, a loose-leaf edition is available so that all pages designated with (a) may be withheld until the factual material of the first study of the case, given in the other pages, is treated by the student as a probem to be solved.

It is hoped that the publications can continue and include consideration of groups of cases representing types of problems in education, in make-up of individuals, in conduct, etc. It is planned at later dates to report on important facts of cases earlier published.

The gratitude of students who benefit by these studies is due to the Commonwealth Fund of New York, a grant from which has made this series possible.

The social treatment has been carried out through child welfare agencies of many sorts, and the spirit of their co-operation has been splendid. It would be a pleasure to give credit to the particular agency in each case, but since, for several reasons, it is inadvisable, we desire here to express our deep appreciation of their co-operation with the Judge Baker Foundation.

WILLIAM HEALY, M. D.
AUGUSTA F. BRONNER Ph. D.
Directors.

Case Study No. 6

SERIES I

JUDGE BAKER FOUNDATION
40 COURT STREET
BOSTON

Copyright

November, 1922

CASE SIX

John Smith: 16 yrs., 9 mos. Both parents American of mixed ancestry—English and Irish.

Introductory Statement

1 (August 1919.) The judge of the Juvenile Court suggested that this boy's case needed careful study; the mother and a lawyer who was present, a friend of the family, immediately acquiesced. All felt he was a most difficult problem. During the continuance of one court case against him, he had again been arrested. This time he was apprehended just after he had entered an office at night by means of a skeleton key and had stolen a small sum of money—all he could find. He had already been on parole from an institution for delinquents in another state, having been committed originally after repeated court appearances for various delinquencies, and he had been long held in the institution because of his very poor conduct while there. After his previous court appearance here he had been allowed to return home, but this time he was held in custody in jail by the Juvenile Court.

Study of the Background

Family

2 (The account of the family was first obtained from the mother, who, in very usual fashion, was at first inclined to minimize facts, but who later became very co-operative and probably gave reliable details. More information was received from the lawyer friend who accompanied her, none of it being contradictory, and other facts were added after a visitor from our own office had been to the home. The mother very apparently lacked vigor, though she seemed well-meaning and concerned about the boy. She appeared frail and rather emotional. She was very neatly dressed. Still later the father, a short man of rather slight but wiry build, with pleasant manners, was seen. He added little, and all that he said was confirmatory.)

1 Some readers will specially note that this boy was held in jail. Why not use the detention home for juveniles, in accordance with the procedure in most large cities in America? In the first place, Boston has no detention home, and succeeds admirably without one; secondly, even were there one, we are doubtful whether it would have been advisable to send John there. Our Chicago experience showed us that a vast amount of injury is done by housing together, even for a few days, delinquents of unequal experience. This boy had already such a career that he probably would very quickly have had a bad influence on others, whereas he is likely to receive little harm by being held a short time in any fairly well conducted jail or police station where there is segregation from older offenders. John represents one of the very few delinquents considered in Boston too difficult for the usual detention procedure.

Very quickly after arrest, in Boston, the offender is brought to court—at once if the court is in session; otherwise, following overnight disposition at the discretion of a probation officer, he is brought the next morning. At this first hearing the judge decides whether he shall go home, pending investigation, or whether he shall be detained. If the latter, he may be temporarily boarded in one of a number of private families which have been selected for this. Only in very rare cases is the jail used; indeed the average number held under both forms of detention in the Juvenile Court is less than two offenders a day. Such a method requires the co-operation of the court and all the officers concerned. That offenders allowed to go home shall appear promptly at the time set by the court requires, more than anything else, the building up of great general respect for the court and its orders.

The immense contrast between use of detention in Chicago and Boston is seen in the following figures: (We have not at hand statistics for the same year, but there is comparatively little variation in recent years, especially in proportions.) In 1917 the total number of cases of delinquency heard in the Chicago Juvenile Court was 3,007. The number of delinquents received in the Detention Home in that period was 3,490—and the average stay was six days for boys and eight days for girls. In 1920 while only 2,550 cases of delinquency were heard, 3,789 delinquents were received in the Detention Home. In 1921 in the Boston Juvenile Court there were heard 819 new delinquent cases. During this year 109 delinquents were detained in prviate families

Father: 45, born in a Southern state. Attended a poor sort of rural school until he was 12 years old; then began work on Mississippi River steamboats, where he continued for years. He saved $1500, all of which he spent in the endeavor to have his father cured of a chronic ailment. Following the father's death he came north and was married. For ten years he worked as a driver for a mercantile firm in a manufacturing city in New York, and when the firm failed a few months ago, he came to Boston. He readily found similar work here. Although he has never attempted to get any further education he is considered mentally bright. He is a healthy, quiet man, of thoroughly good habits, little force, and few interests; he regularly spends his evenings at home.

Father's Family: His father came to this country from England as a young sea-faring man. He is said to have been a good man and healthy until middle age, when he contracted tuberculosis of the throat. The father's mother was a vigorous woman who worked out as a domestic after her husband died and her children were able to take care of themselves. She recently died at advanced age. This couple had two other children said to be of normal intelligence and good morals. All else in the family history is reported negative.

Mother: 43, graduated from grammar school and then went to work in a factory until she was married. Ever since her children were small she has worked at intervals for considerable periods as a saleswoman, holding one position for six years. She has cared more for this than for housework. She maintains she has been healthy except for occasional sick headaches, the details about which did not indicate that they were migraine.

Mother's Family: Her father emigrated from Ireland soon after his marriage. He worked at various jobs, sometimes on boats. He supported his family, but was unambitious, and he drank, though only moderately. He died at 53 of an accident. Her mother had little education. She is a thoroughly good woman, and even now, at 68, is very healthy. Since her husband died fifteen years ago she has made her home with her daughter, Mrs. Smith. She had one other child, now a married woman, healthy, and of average intelligence.

and 30 older boys were held in jail—and the average time of detention was slightly more than one night.

Where in a large jurisdiction a court detention home is really necessary, the number of offenders consigned to it can be greatly reduced by the development of the above methods. In very many instances where home and neighborhood conditions render it undesirable to allow the delinquent to go home pending hearing, the plan of the court boarding home with its almost complete segregation from other offenders may also be utilized. At any rate, in Boston this plan is very successful and leads to a minimum of the contamination which we noted to be disastrous in the study of many individual cases in Chicago. We have much reason to believe that the spirit of lawlessness is very considerably engendered by experience with other delinquents while awaiting trial.

In the study of the prevention of delinquency, so important here in America, this whole matter is worth much attention. One great question that we ought continually to ask ourselves is whether our measures, meant to cure delinquency, are not of themselves responsible to some extent for actually fostering and increasing it.

Only careful scientific studies will answer this and many another common sense question concerning delinquency.

In the face of such a career as this anyone imbued with the notion that inheritance plays a part in conduct tendencies scans with care the facts of family history. Here the account of heredity may be considered as very reliable, and yet it is negative. Indeed John's forebears not only show no instance of criminalism, but they demonstrate quite ordinarily good traits, perhaps not even the average amount of alcoholism of two generations ago among people of their social group. While John's parents are not forceful, they are very steady and industrious and the father as even a young man was hard-working and frugal, showing a generous and fine spirit toward his family.

Those who have read Davenport's study *Nomadism or the Wandering Impulse* (Carnegie Institute, 1915) will perhaps note the fact that both grandfathers and the father engaged in occupations which took them from place to place. Davenport makes much of this, even of the life of Gloucester fishermen, as showing evidence of a wandering trait. By rights John should have been a rover, particularly inheriting the tendency from his maternal grandfather. But alas for the theory! With all his other instabilities and a considerable incentive to run away, John shows no "wanderlust."

While there is no evidence of direct inheritance of criminal tendencies as such (See particularly *Inheritance as a Factor in Criminality* by Edith R. Spaulding and William Healy, Bulletin of the American Academy of Medicine, February, 1914, or Sec. 116, *The Individual Delinquent,)* yet one may consider in any case of delinquency the bearings of possibly inherited mental or nervous disease or of family personality traits. But in this extreme case of delinquency we have no such findings.

Siblings: (1) John. (2) Miscarriage at 7 mos. (3) Michael, 11, always well; a very good boy; in sixth grade. (4) Boy died at 9 mos. of nutritional difficulty.

Developmental History

3 Sickly pregnancy; mother suffered from neuritis. Baby born at full term. Normal delivery. Weighed 5 lbs. Infection and abscess in the groin at one month. Breast-fed for a short time and then much nutritional difficulty until he was about 18 mos. He had several diseases of children, but all mildly. Influenza severely two years ago. At 12 years he had a successful operation for hernia. He suffered from various minor accidents; at 11 years fell off the porch and was stunned for a few minutes. He has complained of headache during the last year; several times he had to go to bed on account of it. For the last few years he has seemed "nervous and fidgety."

Home and Neighborhood Conditions and Influences

4 Since they came to Boston, two months ago, the family have lived on the top floor of a typical "three-decker" house in a rather poor district, where there is no particular congestion, but where the buildings are rather unattractive and the houses rundown. A parole officer who knew the home before the Smiths came to Boston writes that they lived for many years under apparently similar conditions in the city where they previously resided. The father earns fairly, and the mother, thinking that the home is adequately managed by the grandmother, works in order to add to the family savings. Now and formerly their house is very neatly kept and just comfortably furnished. At present they have five rooms, and this boy shares a room with his brother. The neighborhood conditions now and formerly appear to have been indifferent. There have been no neighborhood gangs and no particular centers of vice. Within easy access there have been open places and woods where boys could play, but there have been no organized recreations.

The mother and father are away all day, and the grandmother has charge of the boys. She is very indulgent and has spoiled John, letting him rule her entirely. She never wants him punished. When the mother and father return home

3 Again we may say that it seems impossible to predict the after-effects of nutritional difficulties in infancy.

That the boy is nervous and fidgety may mean very little; many boys of his age are, and it is significant only when the characteristics are in marked degree.

4 Both home and neighborhood conditions evidently are colorless and are no very active force, either for good or bad. The home is particularly bare in interests and amusements for the boys, and of course it presents little to stimulate their mental life. Influences, particularly family companionships, which count for so much more than physical surroundings, here exist also in minimum quantity.

In what can be read into the fact that the mother works out although the father could support the family, perhaps the most significant point is that there is so little real companionship between the tired parents and their boys in the evening. This is a typical instance of mistaken values, the parents not realizing that the home conditions and parental influences have great bearing upon conduct tendencies. As in many another family situation they have no conception of what they themselves could do in the way of prevention and they make no real effort to meet from the standpoint of the home the boy's difficulties. Especially important in this case is the indulgently weak attitude of the grandmother and the shifting of the responsibility of the parents, although they are such well-meaning people. And this was the situation, too, when John was 10 to 13 years old, when he was first getting into so much trouble and was forming his habits. There was no attempt to get acquainted with the facts then and no strong effort to check his tendencies. Probation, which they evidently relied on, could hardly do much under these home conditions. John evidently needed an unusually firm hand; he was not amenable in even such simple matters as going to Sunday School.

Another illustration of the unintelligence of the parents is shown in their allowing him, since his return on parole, and after they had cognizance of his bad habits to sleep with his younger brother.

evenings they are tired and frequently do not even ask how things have gone. This has been the situation for six or seven years. The mother acknowledges that each leaves the discipline to the other and that they thus shift the responsibility. They overlook details of the boy's life rather than check him up, because he has already given them so much trouble and they feel that he is beyond their control. There is little active friction in the household; neither is there very much social life. They have little or no company. The father engages in little or no conversation with the children. The mother herself has never attempted to be on terms of confidence with them. Of course they have scolded John and talked to him when he has gotten into so much trouble, telling him that every one else in the family is honest. They have few but good books, such as the "Life of Lincoln," but have never thought particularly about getting games for the boys or having any special amusements at home. The mother has been a consistent church-goer. However, she has never been able to influence John to acompany her or to go to Sunday school.

Companions

5 The parents know almost nothing about John's companions up to the time he was 10 years old, except that they were the boys on the street, with whom he played in ordinary fashion. There was no particular complaint about any of them. At the time they moved, when John was 10 years old, he became acquainted with a boy named Mack, who was somewhat older, and who, the mother thinks, was John's undoing. Mack had a bad reputation and they scolded John for going with him, but they could not keep him away from this lad and his associates; "he was always with Mack." This companionship kept up until John was sent away. The mother states that shortly after he was paroled John met some boys with whom he had become acquainted in the industrial school, and then his attitude, which had seemed bettered, changed again. Since he has been in Boston he has made no friends.

Interests and Habits

6 As a young boy John found his amusements altogether with companions met at school or on the streets. He was always

5 Most significant in John's companionship seems to be his association with one bad boy. Now, the difficulty of breaking up such a companionship is frequently very great indeed, as all students of delinquency know, unless the family has not only force, but also considerable in the way of resource. One sees many instances of renewal of disastrous associations after warnings by the court or by parents. One naturally asks what could be done in such a situation as this. With the narrow possibilities, particularly recreational, of this family, it seems that they could only have accomplished anything by moving or by sending the boy away. Had the mother been equipped with an intelligent sense of responsibility, certainly she could have found some way for this family to move and could have given more attention to John's free time. He could have been connected with settlements, clubs, or other centers of boys' activities under good leadership. This is possible in many cities nowadays. The lack of family appreciation of the possibilities is shown by their not planning for this as a first requisite on coming to Boston.

6 As assets utilizable for this boy's welfare there were his gregariousness and his liking for outdoor sports. Had he lived in a different neighborhood, both of these might have redounded to his advantage.

active in outdoor games, enjoying particularly skating and swimming. He was considered a distinctly good football player, so good that he surreptitiously substituted on the high school team, although he had never attended high school. He is very fond of exciting moving picture shows. He would go day and night if he could, and at times has attended excessively. His reading has been almost entirely Alger books and a boys' magazine which he takes; the better books which they have at home he will not read.

He has always been considered restless, and even as a little boy liked to go away from his own neighborhood to play. On parole it was evident that he did not like country life. He has never shown any interest in girls until, just recently, he has been meeting them in parks.

He sleeps well, getting up promptly in the morning. He has a big appetite and drinks tea three times a day. He has been smoking for years, formerly several boxes of cigarettes a week. Directly after his return from parole from the state institution a year ago he was discovered masturbating. His grandmother and mother believe that he began this there and that he indulges excessively.

School and Work History

7 John began school at 6 years and progressed normally during four years. Then the family moved and he changed schools. This set him back a half year. It was at this time that he began truancy, which soon became excessive. He lost all interest in school and would not do the work. The teachers said that he was bright, but that he would not exert himself. When committed at 13 years he had not completed the sixth grade. In the institution he did fifth and sixth grade work, making just as little effort as possible, and there was never any justification for promotion.

When he was paroled he was over 15 years old and he did not return to school. He began working as an errand boy for a stationer, receiving eight dollars a week. He is said to have done well for two or three months, but then he began to do poorly and was discharged. After that he obtained several other positions, from each of which, after a

In some schools there is an *esprit de corps* in athletics which might have been a fine influence for him. His desire for excitement could have been take care of in this way, and, perhaps, vicariously, through reading good books of adventure. In fact it is clear that there was no skillful guidance whatever of this boy's native interests.

Concerning his habits, his smoking would probably have been controlled as a matter of desire to succeed if he had been regularly in athletics. With boys this is one of the best incentives for refraining. It is interesting that his family blame his bad sex habits to influences in the industrial school, though they never made any attempt to investigate possible earlier sources of contamination. This is a common accusation made against institutions, sometimes justified, sometimes not.

7 The matter of central interest for us concerning John's school life is the opportunity that there was for getting at a correct understanding of his troubles and for accomplishing most with him at the time when he began his truancy. We have no indication that the school authorities undertook any study of the causations for the truancy . Here again is a case which emphasizes the possible relationship between work which might be initiated by the school and the prevention of delinquent careers. The question could early have been raised as to whether demotion in any way induced his truancy, or whether the latter was due to other influences which could have been ascertained and corrected. What did he do when he was a truant and with whom did he go? All this was a matter of vast importance, as it turned out.

few days, he was discharged for fooling and impudence, and at the time we saw him he had had no position at all for over six months.

Delinquencies and Institutional History

8 John's first delinquencies and court appearances began at 10 years; his mother says that he was in court almost once a month, being continuously on probation. He was first arrested for stealing tools from an automobile and injuring it by trying to start it. This was with the Mack boy. Shortly afterwards he was again arrested for serious tampering with a railroad signal. His court record mentions later appearances for stealing from street stands and larceny from shops. Several times he slept out all night. Then twice he set fire to the school, causing considerable damage the last time. When this case was pending a few days for investigation, he engaged in another larceny. At this time the court record states that the school principal and the police reported him to be clever and bright, as well as the biggest liar that they had ever met. A report received by us from the head of the industrial school where John was then committed states that he was held there a most unusual time—over two and a half years—because he was one of the most difficult problems they ever had. He seemed to be in trouble all the time, either through stealing food or various articles from the other boys, or through getting some one else to steal, or through running away or planning to run away. He was punished several times for homo-sexual affairs in which he was engaged with other boys. "Few boys have earned their credits so slowly, and his entire record was indeed a poor one. We regard him as a chronic delinquent."

He was paroled to his home, and for two or three months reports were favorable. Then, after he lost his first job, came prolonged loafing, staying out late nights, and repeated stealing at home, which was not reported to the parole officer. (At the time when we saw John the mother was willing to say that once in X. John had taken all the small savings of the family, and another time had smashed his little brother's savings bank and had taken the pennies—though his brother is the only person in the household for whom he seems to feel affection.)

8 Here is a clear picture of the gradual establishing of an out-and-out delinquent career. There is repetition of offence with distinct habit formation. This boy, however, is no specialist in delinquency as some offenders are, indulging in some one form of misconduct—shop stealing, obtaining money by misrepresentation, automobile stealing, or what not —it is rather a general habit of mind that we see developing in this case, the building up of a sustained attitude concerning misconduct. John's hand is against the social order to a very considerable extent. It is not that he merely breaks the statutes of the law, but he also commits offences that are against standing regulations, as of the institution, and he flagrantly abuses the rights of other members of the family.

It is hard to conceive how probation alone could have been regarded as successful enough to have been continued over years when this boy was little. The point made concerning his school life is again pertinent —early in the beginning of misconduct, when his trends were not altered by ordinary rewards and punishments, it would seem as if any one who had to do with the case would have made effort to know what was causative in the background of the continued delinquency. And then when he continued in most unusual fashion his misconduct in the institution, certainly often to his great detriment, what was the reason for this. Take the matter of his homo-sexual offences, for instance. Was he really treated in any way for this, following a competent diagnosis and study of etiology? Or was he merely given undirected punishment? We suspect the latter because this is general. Apparently his punishment had little effect upon him.

When reprimanded, the boy blamed all his present bad behavior on what he had learned at the industrial school. The parole officer, evidently an intelligent man, writes that he believes he was too lenient with this boy, he gave him too many chances, the boy always making promises and never making good. After months of idleness John was placed by his parole officer in a very good home in the country. Inside of three days he had stolen a watch belonging to the man of the house and had taken keys and searched through rooms. When he was accused of this he grew abusive and threatening. He was returned to his family. The boy made many promises now of altering his conduct if he was allowed to remain at home. It was at this period that the family moved to Massachusetts and the boy was allowed to go with them.

In Boston John was arrested the first time when found under suspicious circumstances, the police believing that he was attempting to enter an office. The case was continued for a few days, and it was during this time that he was arrested again after he actually had entered an office at night with a skeleton key and had ransacked the place, taking two dollars from a desk. The grandmother stated that about two weeks before this he had taken all the money she had in the house and had spent it. It was now learned that he had been in a correctional institution in another state earlier, and the boy was remanded to jail, the court asking for a study of the case and his earlier record, pending final disposition.

Study of the Individual

Physical

9 John carries himself well and looks strong, although he is so short and not very heavy. His expression is lively but peculiar on account of a frequent wrinkling of his forehead and a somewhat furtive look which sometimes appears during conversation. His features are distinctly coarse; his head is fairly well shaped. There is no doubt that he gives the impression of being neither normally boyish nor healthy-minded.

Weight 120 lbs. Height 5 ft., 2 in. Thorax decidedly well developed for his general size. Musculature both well developed and of good tonus. Color good. Three teeth badly

9 Those who are acquainted with the classical literature of criminology will at once think of this boy with his long career of delinquency as being representative of the criminal type. But he evidently shows none of the stigmata described by Lombroso and his school. (We must remember that the theory of Lombroso has been very largely discredited. See particularly the work of Charles Goring, *The English Convict, a Statistical Study* and our own findings, *Youthful Offenders: Comparative Study of Two Groups, Each of 1,000 Young Recidivists,* American Journal of Sociology, July, 1916, etc.) Of course the peculiarities of this boy's expression no doubt result from the peculiarities of his inner mental life.

He is 5 inches below the median height for his age, but we note that he comes of a small family. His weight is 13 lbs. below the

carious, but show no anomalies or congenital imperfections. No stigmata of any kind noted. Reflexes all quite normal, except abdominal unequal and obtained with difficulty. Scar of thoroughly successful operation for hernia. Vision and hearing apparently normal. Moderate facial acne. Nose and throat in good condition. Complaint of occasional sharp pains in the head but no dizziness. Denies venereal disease. Heart sounds negative. Pubertal development adult type. All other examination negative.

Mental

10 (1) *Results on Psychological Examination:*

(Attitude friendly enough and co-operative, but he showed rather poor concentration. He attempted to cheat during one test.)

According to age-level and other tests, he grades as having only fair general ability. Intelligence Quotient 88.

Visual memory, fairly good.

Auditory memory, average performance.

Language ability, poor both in vocabulary and in the use of language.

Apperceptive ability, with language, poor; with pictorial material, good.

Speed and accuracy of hand movements, supernormal.

Speed of mental response, somewhat slow.

Visual representations, fair.

Work with concrete material, moderately good.

Stanford-Binet I. Q. 88; passes all 14-year tests except (1), and only passes (4) of the 16-year series.
Visual memory: Binet geometrical forms, score 75%; Healy form, score 75%.
Auditory memory span, 7 digits.
Trabue Language Scale E, score 10, equals median for grade 4.
Vocabulary definitions: Terman 12-year credit, 47 words.
Pictorial Completion Test II, score 70, slightly above median adult performance.
Tapping Test, score 119 squares, no errors; far above any median.
Easy Opposites Test, average time 1.8", one error.
Mental representations: Code test, 5 errors (tried to cheat on this); Second Crossline Test, readily correct first trial; Clock hands and enclosed boxes, correct.
Construction Test A, score 73", 22 moves, second trial 7", 5 moves.
Construction Test B, score 69", 18 moves.
Continuous substraction, 7's from 100, 55", 5 errors.
Healy-Bronner Learning Tests: A, first trial 7, second trial 12,
B, " " 2, " " 4, third trial 5.
C, " " 2, " " 5, " " 7.
D, older form of test, ideas very readily learned.
Spelling; 6th grade passage adapted from Ayers Scale, one word incorrect.
Arithmetic: numerous errors in substraction; most of multiplication correct; fails on process of long division.
Writing; quality 8, Thorndike Scale, grade 3.

median, but is above the median for his height. Thus his nutrition is good.

The discrepancy between the mother's and the boy's statements about pain in the head is in keeping with the variations often obtained in accounts of ailments. Boys, unless hypochrondriacal are very prone to minimize, especially about headaches, seeming to feel it unmanly to make such complaints. The truth about the matter, thus, is hard to ascertain.

Pubertal development is about normal, adult type of primary characteristics being reached at about this age.

10 There is clearly reason for reservation of opinion whether this boy was doing his best. Even here he shows some evidences of anti-social attitude.

His I. Q. and his passing just through the 14 year tests give him a rating equal to the average adult army performance. (See *Psychological Examining in the United States Army,* Vol. XV, Memoirs of National Academy of Sciences, 1921 and various articles by Yerkes et al.) Whereas prior to the experience with testing large numbers in the army the "average adult mental age," according to the most used scales of tests, was considered to be 16 years, now we have proof that the "average mental age" of the unselected adult population, according to similar tests, is a little less than 14 years and the average I. Q., according to the old rating, would be about 85. But, of course, this is all very arbitrary, and the whole scheme of tests and ratings some day will, no doubt, have to be revamped. Some are already using 14 years as the average adult mental age, I. Q. 100.

Taking the whole range of tests in this case, we see that they indicate that John's memory powers are normal, that his language ability is poor, and that his motor control is far above average. His learning capacity as demonstrated on tests is far above what he has accomplished in school, shown both by his school grade and his performance on school work. In general, there is no indication of any special disability.

Learning ability, rather good performance in all tests given, but somewhat slow.

Writes just legibly but with irregular formation of letters.

Spelling, not all words in 6th grade passage correct.

Arithmetic, very poor; makes many errors and does not understand process of long division.

General information, good for simple geographical and historical facts.

(2) *Mental Balance:* In spite of poor concentration and a history of generally poor social attitude, we find no definite signs of imbalance. Indeed he is cogent, is very well oriented, has normal insight, and his remote memory as shown in conversation is good. There are no indications of essential defects in will or judgment.

11 (3) *Personality:* As a little boy he was mischievous and restless, but not to an extreme degree. Twice when about five years old after several hours away he was found some distance from home watching something that interested him. Before he was ten he was notably untruthful, but his father feels certain that up to this age John was not considered in any way an unusual boy or a particularly difficult problem. As he grew older certain traits stood out strongly. He appeared indifferent to punishment and to the opinion of other people. The father emphasized this, saying that the boy was never affected by what happened to him nor did he seem to realize the seriousness of his offences. He never resented being whipped, but punishment did not, however, improve his conduct. Even in the institution he did not care to be in the good graces of the authorities, nor was he concerned because of the exceptionally long period that he was detained there. He has always been gregarious, earlier going much with boys of his own age. In the industrial school evidently he was often the inciting spirit in delinquency. His school teachers earlier said that he was thoroughly untrustworthy — they used to get an older boy to watch him when he went outside the room.

Both parents say that he has shown very little family affection, but after his return from the institution he insisted on hugging and kissing his younger brother, much to the latter's

11 This boy's personality traits, although again in this case we can not with certainty answer the question of how largely they are innate or acquired, are extremely important factors in the original production and the continuance of his delinquency. Most notable, it would seem, are his indifference to punishment and to the opinion of others, and his lack of normal family affection. It is very noteworthy that his parents feel that both his delinquency and these traits were first shown when he was about 10 years of age and after he first formed his pernicious companionships. We wonder, therefore, if his showing of these characteristics was secondary to some unfortunate experiences.

An older criminology made much of the dullness of sensitivity, particularly of a diminished sense of pain among offenders. At one time there was much current discussion on this point, but it was long before we had mental tests to discriminate the feeble-minded, who are, as is well known, particularly insensitive and who form such a definite proportion of delinquents. But even the early findings were not clear. (See Havelock Ellis, *The Criminal,* 1907.) The fact is that experimentation has shown that even among the normal and the non-delinquent there are great individual differences in the pain sense.

(So far as John's case is concerned a most interesting fact will be found later when the subsequent history is read, there it will be noted that the father, though so sound in moral standards, seems himself a decidedly insensitive person.)

From what we learn of John's conduct it is plain that what is called his recklessness means, not love of adventure, but lack of concern for the outcome to himself and to others of his acts. We wonder if it implies lack of foresight or shrewdness. No special mental tests were given for this. That he was not wanting in capacity to size up situations may be deduced from his good record on the pictorial completion test.

Not only in an endeavor to form a fair scientific estimate of this human material, but also to judge the measure of John's reformability we should evaluate his personality in terms of assets as well as liabilities. The latter are self evident; the former are difficult to find at this stage of his career. We can not enumerate much beyond the fact that he is physically active, fond of sports, and is gregarious—but the social values of all of these depend on the direction in which they express themselves. It seems to us that John is quite out of the ordinary, inasmuch as he does not respond particularly to punishment or to praise and that he evidently gets his satisfactions out of behavior that is the expression of a recalcitrant inner attitude and out of physical pleasures of a low order.

While one cannot allege that there was a total character change that can be attributed to experiences yet he was not delinquent and was regarded as a boy of normal traits up to the definite age of 10 years.

disgust. By all he is reported as lazy, indifferent, rarely surly, usually pleasant and agreeable in the house if no demands are made on him. But after his return home on parole he showed vindictiveness when reprimanded, then using bad language, even to his mother. Both she and the parole officer state that he is very reticent, but on occasion, as with us, we note that he is a glib talker. His mother says that he has never shown fear of consequences. He is somewhat of a braggart, lying not only to get out of trouble, but also to reflect glory on himself or to create some excitement.

Boy's Own Story

12 (The boy was very talkative and gave his story with much detail in response to very little questioning. He told a good deal that we did not already know, and at least some of which we later found to be true; none of it was ever known to be false. Perhaps he mitigated some things, but yet he told of offences that were not recorded. It seemed at the moment as if he felt that he wanted to make good.)

He tells us with exactitude the dates of his career. He went to the industrial school December 3, 1915. "I served my term there till July 17, 1918. I didn't behave. It was too lonesome there. I ran away a few times. Once I got as far as Albany. Before I went there I was accused of setting fires to the X. school where I used to go; I served punishment for that."

We went into this matter of fire-setting in some detail with John and he described it at length, saying that once he tried to set fire to the school, but didn't succeed; and another time it burned one room and through into another. He maintains that he did this at the behest of a crowd of boys who did not want to go to school. "I was fool enough to do it for them."

He says that a little while before he came to Boston the parole officer had found him a place on a farm; but he didn't like it there, and he took a gold watch from the man. "I was wearing it round the farm. I had broken my own watch so I thought I would take his. I just broke into the room where it was; I had a key." When asked if he thought this

was justifiable, John said, "The fact is, I shouldn't have taken it."

At home on parole he had not been working. He just wanted to loaf. When he first came out he worked in one place for about two months, and after that he had two more jobs, each of which he held for about two weeks. In these last places "there was too much walking around."

He says he is now in court because he broke into a place. He wanted some money and as he was going to an employment agency in Boston early one morning, he looked into an office and thought it would be a good place to get into. He thought he saw where the money was kept. That night he took a skeleton key that he had at home, went back and got into the place. He didn't know he would be caught. He only got two dollars, anyhow.

This is the first trouble he has been in for a year. He thinks that is pretty good. They didn't really catch him doing anything the first time he was arrested. "It was only suspicious circumstances." When he is reminded that his family complained that he has been stealing at home during this period, he acknowledges that but says he doesn't think that stealing from your own family or loafing count for much. Taking the watch from the farmer was nothing very bad, since he was living on the place and was only wearing it around there. He thinks he has been "doing pretty well."

John reviews his earlier trouble and makes very little of it. With other boys he had been "fooling around some places on the railroad," and once he broke into a store and stole some things. He is very talkative about his associates and their habits. When he lived in X. he used to go around with a bad bunch. His main friend was Wall. "He was a guy who was into everything, but he never got sent away. He is working in the X. bank now. I guess he's done better." Then there was Mack. "He got sent to the Island down in New York."

We made an effort now to understand some of these beginnings, and we got very definite statements. He never was in anything that was bad until they moved to a certain neighborhood in X. That's where he first knew Mack, and through him he knew Wall. But another fellow was the

leader of the boys. All these boys used to hook school and they got him started. He thinks that if it hadn't been for this truancy that started then he would be in high school now.

Concerning just what particular things went on in this crowd we learn that they had "some awful bad pictures" and that they all were involved in homo-sexual affairs together. John tells us very frankly about this, showing by his earnestness that it made a very deep impression upon him. Altogether it was a tough neighborhood. They never went with girls then, and as for himself, until just recently, he hasn't cared for them. The ones that he knew were too tough. He started bad sex habits at 10 years. In the industrial school he heard much about it, too; lots of the boys used to do it there. John claims that he himself was a monitor in the dormitory and that he used to tell on the boys for immorality. The fellows would go into each other's beds and they would get whipped for it. He tells us very glibly how it ruins your health, but says it is a habit that you can't stop. He volunteers that he has been continuing in it since he has been at home and that's why he hasn't felt like working. He claims that his having been in the jail the last few days has taught him a lesson and now he wants to go to work. He insists that he really has been wanting to do better, wanting particularly to break up his sex habits. (Later in the interview, when we were discussing his interests, he somewhat contradicted the above, saying that he seldom gave way to bad sex habits. This was in relation to what follows.)

For years he has been much interested in athletics and has gone in for them. He was on the track team at the industrial school, and here in Boston he has been doing some long-distance running. He claims that he is so long winded that he can run ten miles. Before he came here he was playing football in his home town and he used to practise with the high school team. He was a substitute and he played for them in one of their match games.

We asked him about the parole officer from whom we had heard. He says that this Mr. S was very good to him. The fellow from the Industrial School (of whom Mr. S had written), with whom he associated after he was on parole was a "bad guy," and since then has been sent to the reformatory.

12 Perhaps worthy of comment are certain rather minor points brought out in this story. John is, for his age, unusually well oriented in regard to facts of his career, though he has a wrong sense of values in regard to them and does not see their significance for his future. We get very little evidence that he has either ambitions or any definite plans. And then it does seem that the boy deliberately seeks bad companionships—he does not go out of his way even to avoid them, nor does he look for good companions.

More illuminating are the following matters: All along John has engaged without compunction and apparently with considerable deliberation in very serious delinquencies, and he takes already a "professional attitude" toward his career in a way quite uncommon among young delinquents. He speaks of "serving my time," when, of course, no sentence and no term was at all involved in the treatment of him as a juvenile.

Very significant appears to be the impress upon him of his early unfortunate sex experiences. This falls in line with what many another delinquent has told us, although the effects vary greatly in different individuals. It is difficult to separate the different features or elements in the total result upon him. He speaks of the effects of his continuance in sex habits, but yet one finds no signs in his physical make-up of any depletion nor have we any evidence of his having developed a phantasy life, which in some persons is very marked in relation to sex habits. We can only wonder whether the trouble is not mainly formation of bad habits—physical habits and habits of mind. Certainly the moral aspects of the situation are vastly more important than the physical features. It is the breakdown of morale rather than any physical harm that has resulted from his bad habits.

Important, too, is the consideration of what was done for this boy under parole. The boy's attitude toward the institution is quite different from many who graduate from such places. He felt that it had done him no good, and, indeed, had done him harm. He had a very sympathetic and quite intelligent parole officer, but little was accomplished. Perhaps this was due to the lack of any fundamental adjustment of this boy to his needs, which were, perhaps more than anything else, for direct help in his sex habits and for good companionship in connection with clubs and athletic sports, the latter being his main interest. It is doubtful whether parole in such a case could do much unless there was frequent observation of the situation—much more than spasmodic visiting and reporting.

There are certain negative considerations, perhaps the main ones being that he showed no signs of obsessive recurrent ideation and that although there had developed such a consistency bad attitude we really get no indication of any mental conflict. He appears to have no deep feeling whatever about his misdeeds and the way that he has been treated, nor to be thwarting in himslf any impulses toward better conduct. Yet, perhaps he has a better nature struggling somewhere deep underneath, which only prolonged probing might reveal.

With this fellow he used to hang around bowling alleys, setting up pins, etc., to make a little money.

John maintains that he treats his family well and claims that he will pay back the money which he has taken from them. He thinks that this last year he really has been trying to do better. He says that his younger brother is a very good boy—"he is in no bad habits."

Since he has been out on parole he has been to the movies fairly often. He never belonged to any clubs or to the Y. M. C. A. in X. Here in Boston he has been going to shows sometimes, occasionally to vaudeville. He makes the point very strongly that he hasn't been to any burlesque shows, but names a notorious theatre in Boston as the worst place a young fellow could go to. He says that his father went there once and saw awful things and told John that he would kill him if he went there. He has been around bowling alleys downtown here also.

John speaks about having headaches, but all they amount to is an occasional sharp pain in his head. He feels very well usually, and strong. He sleeps well and doesn't worry in the least about anything. When questioned about it, he says that nothing comes up in his mind which bothers him. The bad pictures which he saw do not recur to him, and he denies any struggle against temptations. He says that he sometimes loses his temper and that he does use bad language, but not worse than other fellows use. Several times in his story John indicated very clearly that he considers that his early experiences with the boys at 10 years, particularly their homosexual practices, had much to do with the start of his trouble.

About his plans for the future, he very glibly insists that he wants to do altogether differently. He thinks he would like to be a painter; he learned house painting out at the Industrial School. He is sure that he will get along all right if he gets a chance this time.

At this point SUMMARY OF CASE and SUBSEQUENT HISTORY follow.

SUMMARY OF STAFF CONFERENCE

PROBLEM: **Delinquencies:** Many times in court when 10 to 12 ears of age for stealing, larceny, serious tempering with railroad signal, erious arson, much truancy, and some bunking out. While in indus- rial school, stealing, running away, homo-sexual offences. On parole, xcessive loafing, abusiveness at home, stealing from home and employer, ecently burglary.

PHYSICAL: Short, but very good strength. Upright, alert attitude. oarse features; rather peculiar and furtive expression at times, but ometimes responsive. Three badly carious teeth. Recently some eadaches.

MENTAL: (1) **Abilities:** Only fair general ability. Decidedly poor n language and exceedingly poor in school work in proportion even to dvantages. Demonstrates good learning ability on tests, but shows oor concentration. Exceedingly good motor control. (2) **Mental alance:** No signs of any essential imbalance. (3) **Personality:** Re- orted earlier mischievous and restless; always untruthful and lacking in ffection and not influenced by punishment. More recently lazy, un- mbitious, thoroughly indifferent to moral values, impudent, very abu- ive at home. Fond of physical activity. Reported reticent, but with us lib. Shows much of the attitude of a typical chronic delinquent.

BACKGROUND: (a) **Heredity:** Both parents and their families egative in probably thoroughly reliable account. (b) **Developmental:** ather small at birth. Much nutritional difficulty until 1½ years. hildren's diseases mildly. Slight head injury of doubtful significance at 1 years. Operation for hernia at 12 years. (c) **Home Conditions:** airly comfortable but unattractive. Mother has worked out for years. randmother keeps house. (d) **Habits:** Considerable smoking, begin- ing at 10 or 11 years. Much masturbation since 10 years.

PROBABLE DIRECT CAUSATIONS: (1) Breakdown in morale at bout 10 years undoubtedly the main factor in this case, due to (2) nfortunate sex knowledge and experiences particularly involving omo-sexual affairs with (3) Bad companions. (4) Poor parental upervision and understanding, although a good family. Too much amily indulgence and lack of checking up. (5) Development of a efinite anti-social attitude and a habit of delinquency based upon the bove and (6) Lack of deterring and constructive influences in the eighborhood and home. (7) Continuance of bad habits with other oys in industrial school. (8) Personality traits as above undoubtedly omewhat of a factor.

PROGNOSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS: So far, this boy's re- ponse to treatment offered is poor and the prognosis at this stage, after

these years of habit formation, is decidedly unfavorable. It is unlikely that without a period of intensive treatment and training he would succeed if placed, and certainly he will not do well under home conditions. The best that we can recommend is for him to come under good personal influences in an institution for delinquents. The problem must be thoroughly known to the superintendent and his workers and emphasis must be placed on helping this boy to overcome his sex habits. He is a strong individual and needs no coddling. Teeth need attention.

When he is ready for parole a careful selection of placing should be made, because in this adjustment the boy will certainly still need a period of personal help towards developing better standards and attitudes.

SUBSEQUENT HISTORY

When John appeared in court for his final hearing, the judge had a copy of the above summary, as well as an account of the boy's earlier career. The parents and their lawyer, who merely acted as a friend and did not attempt to mitigate the seriousness of the boy's offences, concurred in the recommendations. They said, had he been old enough, they would have preferred having him go into the Navy if he could have been accepted. They had no other suggestion. The judge, after careful consideration of the case, decided to send John to the State Industrial School for older boys, requesting that the superintendent be informed in detail of the boy's problem and essential needs.

In less than a month John had run away with two other boys. The report of the vigorous and kindly superintendent of the institution states that John was given much personal interest and friendly supervision in an endeavor to understand and help him. But he was found most unresponsive. He showed a bad spirit from the start in exhibitions of selfishness and disagreeableness. He was reported for lying, insolence, stubbornness. His house father stated that he was uncooperative, a sour individual, and very unpleasant to live with.

A month or so later Mrs. Smith came in to see us, asking if we had heard that John was under arrest for burglary in a suburb of New York. She wanted any advice we could give her. She was now willing to say that while he was at home on parole earlier he had, when loafing, extorted from her gradually quite a sum of money. She had given him a few dollars at a time simply to stop his abusive language and threats. After his escape he went to an aunt in New York, who offered him shelter. She became disgusted with him when he did not look for work and then when he committed an incomplete sex assault on her six-year-old daughter she ordered him from the house. A short time after this he was in the hands of the police. Communicating with the authorities, we learned that John had been committed to the reformatory in New York (January 1920).

He has been held there ever since, except for one short period of parole.

From reports received by us a year ago and recently from this institution, where he has been under the observation not only of the ordinary prison authorities, but has been examined by a capable psychiatrist, we learn that his record has not been good. The first report states that John does not in the least mind being a prisoner and makes no effort to shorten his term. He has had a long list of demerits for insolence, disobedience, disturbance in school, use of tobacco, etc. He seems to be ambitionless. His career and behavior "would indicate that there is little reformable material and little hope for the future." He is under a minority sentence.

In spite of his indifferent record he was given a chance on parole to live with distant relatives in a small city. He again made no effort to obtain work; he was insolent to members of the family and demanded money from them. It was so evident to the parole officer that he was a failure that in a month he was returned to the institution.

A later report (August, 1922) includes a statement of recent findings of the psychiatrist: John Smith, 19 years, 9 mos. He has no mental or nervous disease, he is strong, well developed and well muscled, and is free from physical disease. There appears to have been no essential intellectual deterioration. His age level is 13 years, 3 months. Intelligence Quotient 83. He focuses his attention well and co-operates fully on tests. Mechanical ability is very good and also manual dexterity. He is very poor in arithmetic. There has been much deterioration, or else lack of development, on the character side. He frankly admits that he prevaricates easily, and he reveals unworthy ideals and motives. He is a sex pervert of long practice. This matter was not gone into, but he readily agrees that this is one great cause of his trouble.[1]

A short time subsequent to receiving this report, John's father came in to see us. Again we note that while he is a man of no fine sensibilities, he has, on the whole, quite good standards. He tells us that his wife died over a year ago and that he and Michael now board in the old neighborhood. The grandmother lives nearby with a relative. He himself still works in the same place.

He reviews John's career at considerable length and puts the blame very largely upon the indulgent grandmother, who, with the mother, shielded the boy. He does not in the least include himself among those who were at fault in the matter. Concerning John's exploits, he tells with some satisfaction how in the old days it once took three policemen on the street to catch John after he had escaped from his parole officer who was returning him to the institution. But he condemned John thoroughly for his bad conduct, particularly for his misbehavior with the little girl.

"Michael is fine. You wouldn't know there was a boy around the house. He is a good scholar at his lessons."

The father comes particularly to ask if we will communicate with the reformatory authorities. John has written to him regularly; there has been nothing in his letters except about the athletic contests in the institution, until the last one, which states that soon he will be paroled to come home. The father doesn't want this; he thinks it would be ruinous to Michael to have his brother live with them, and there is a group of loafers who hang about a pool room in the neighborhood. One of them has recently returned from a prison sentence. The father thinks that John would very quickly fall in with "this bunch." "He ought to be put in the Navy." (Of course we agreed to forward the facts about the present home conditions to the authorities.)

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[1] *Discussion: This young man has spent in correctional institutions more than five out of the last nine years. And it would seem, as with nearly all offenders who are committed to institutions to be reformed, that nothing like the attempt has been made to really cure his delinquent trends that we make to treat ailments of other sorts, generally far less expensive to society. It is doubtful if he has had in all these years even a dozen hours of individualized attention at the hands of any expert who knows the basis of conduct disorders.*

FINAL COMMENT

In the history of this case we have a picture of a criminal career continued now over nine years. There is no need to sermonize about the facts; the expense to society of such a career is plain; so, too, are the difficulties of altering behavior trends so long established.

Not so long ago such an individual as John Smith would very likely have been called socially pathological, a moral imbecile, a degenerate; or classified as a typical recidivist, or a born criminal. But have such terms any meaning, and what do they indicate for constructive treatment? Better than any use of mere terminology is the discovery of forces that are operative, if we are to learn the principles of prevention and cure.

It would be tremendously fine in such a case as this to attempt therapy through ascertainment of the details of mental processes and motives at work producing such a long line of misconduct. Perhaps patient psychological analysis would reveal much of this and therapeutically would break down such an anti-social attitude. Of all measures of treatment this would seem to offer most; and indeed we doubt whether anything less fundamental would alter his behavior trends.

Specifically, the problem at this late hour is no longer within our field, but it still seems to us to require intensive personal effort rather than mere institutional regime. We hardly presume to know what are the practical possibilities of individual treatment with the personnel and conditions of the institution, or what actually can be accomplished with this given human material, but it is evident that John Smith's problems are still unsolved.

Among the more important points for consideration by those who are interested in the prevention and treatment of delinquency are: (a) The great breakdown of morale that may result from initiation at an early age into disturbing secret experiences. (b) The relation of recidivism to persisting unrecognized causations, even when external conditions are altered. (c) The strength of habit formation, here as related to anti-social attitude and delinquent trends. (d) The vastly greater possibility of meeting such fundamental issues as this case represents at the earliest signs of the breakdown. (e) The utter weakness in very many cases of the attempt at any period in the career to treat the problems of delinquency without knowing and meeting underlying causes. (f) If delinquents are to be reformed in institutions the obvious great necessity there is, after adequate study of the case, for treatment, not merely routine, but by expert, individualized measures adapted to his needs. (g) The need for the study of the conduct problems of children in centers or clinics which the family, the school, and the court can use. These should be available just as are clinics for the study of physical ailments.

JUDGE BAKER FOUNDATION

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...nal, vocational and ...ught for study by ...rt, school, and all ...ing to make inten- ...ose working from the standpoint of the psychological, medical, and social sciences. It is only through the devoted service of the entire personnel that the material for the present publication is available.

Readers cannot draw conclusions for scientific purposes from statements concerning localities, names, dates, nationalities, and facts of family history as given because, in the usual professional fashion cases are reported with disguises. But the general facts, even of heredity are accurately transcribed, and no matters of importance for interpretation of causation as it bears on therapeutic possibilities in the individual case are changed or omitted.

The plan of presentation is to offer a first series of twenty studies covering a wide range of problems of interest to educators, psychologists, psychiatrists, sociologists, judges, probation officers, and all who deal with matters involving the adjustments of young people. For teaching purposes, a loose-leaf edition is available so that all pages designated with (a) may be withheld until the factual material of the first study of the case, given in the other pages, is treated by the student as a probem to be solved.

It is hoped that the publications can continue and include consideration of groups of cases representing types of problems in education, in make-up of individuals, in conduct, etc. It is planned at later dates to report on important facts of cases earlier published.

The gratitude of students who benefit by these studies is due to the Commonwealth Fund of New York, a grant from which has made this series possible.

The social treatment has been carried out through child welfare agencies of many sorts, and the spirit of their co-operation has been splendid. It would be a pleasure to give credit to the particular agency in each case, but since, for several reasons, it is inadvisable, we desire here to express our deep appreciation of their co-operation with the Judge Baker Foundation.

WILLIAM HEALY, M. D.
AUGUSTA F. BRONNER Ph. D.
Directors.

Case Study No. 7

SERIES I

JUDGE BAKER FOUNDATION
40 COURT STREET
BOSTON

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November, 1922

CASE SEVEN

Tom Rainer: 8 yrs., 11 mos.; born in Massachusetts. Father American; mother Nova Scotian; both of English descent.

Introductory Statement

1 (Nov. 1920.) The agent of an organization interested in child welfare found this little boy, tired looking and dirty, wandering about and begging at the railroad station at Worcester, forty miles from Boston. She followed him to the door, where, outside, he at once began to sing for pennies. She took charge of him, got him something to eat, and then he gave his name and a Boston address. She thereupon telephoned the Boston headquarters of her organization and found that Tom was already well known there. He had not lied to her about himself.

When he was returned to Boston his mother came to get him once more and said that she was now ready to acknowledge her inability to control him. She was referred to a child-placing agency, which asked for a study of the case before reaching any decision about taking him. The mother readily co-operated.

Study of the Background

Family

2 (The mother willingly, and indeed quite volubly, gave the story, apparently trying to be conscientious about telling details; but it soon seemed probable that she was not altogether accurate. She made a pathetic figure—a short, thin, sharp-featured woman, poorly dressed and untidy. She became altogether friendly with us. Many of the facts in our account have been corroborated; some of them have been derived from visitors of the social agencies which have known the family.)

Father: 46. He is healthy, of average size, but somewhat nervous, irritable, and opinionated. He is reported to be of thoroughly good habits, fond of his children, but rather impatient with them. He received a grammar school education.

1 That boys as young as this can take care of themselves and make their way without family protection, getting for themselves enough pleasures and comfort away from home, always seems truly remarkable. Perhaps we hardly think much of it until we compare them with the ordinary child in family life, with the ordinary dependencies, and shynesses, and fears of childhood. Of course many of the little boys who are seen begging are not apprehended either by social agency workers or by the police. If they are in any way interfered with they are usually informally returned to their homes, as this boy had evidently been returned before. It is certain that those brought to the court or for study are very few, and in number are not at all representative of the extent to which this life away from home goes on.

2 It is clear that the father and his family are above the maternal family in grade of intelligence and general standards. Of course nobody would dare to draw conclusions concerning the maternal uncle who disappeared and whose case was never diagnosed. It is difficult enough to know anything of the bearings for inheritance of definitely known mental disease, at the best. Perhaps the mother may be considered to be of a constitutionally inferior make-up, particularly in the light of what her children are. We note that, of the seven children, all are short, "small," and only three are reported as ordinarily healthy. She may have had too many children, as she intimates, too many for a woman of her constitution. In thinking of the amount of under-nutrition in these children we must take into account the possible bearing of a poor physical potential as well as possible unintelligent dietary. In the case of the feeble-minded boy the developmental anomalies suggest ante-natal conditions as a probable cause,

For about fifteen years he has been a night watchman, working steadily for the same corporation. He is proud of never having been idle since he started to work as a boy. He is lively, talkative, and has many friends. He is fairly strong looking and cleanly in appearance.

Father's Family: His parents were immigrants. They are said to have been of average intelligence and of good principles. His father was a stationary engineer. Their three children have all turned out well. Farther removed there are relatives of some prominence in professional life in the old country.

Mother: 44. She was brought up in a country district where there were poor educational advantages. She was healthy, and indeed fairly vigorous, as a young woman, her husband says. After she came to Boston she worked in domestic service until her marriage. For the last five years she has been very poorly. "The doctor says I have had too many children." She gets tired out and reports herself as being easily upset by little things.

Mother's Family: Her father had a small farm. He was somewhat alcoholic and had little education, but was not a bad man. Her mother died comparatively young of influenza. She was a good woman. They had four children; two of them remained on the farm and are steady men; the other was regarded as "not quite right in his head," and after leaving home early was never heard from.

Children: (1) Girl 21. Small but healthy. Works steadily in a candy factory; earns $14 a week. She graduated from grammar school and "was always a very good girl." (2) Girl 19. Small, thin, apparently lacking in vitality. She has occasionally worked in a factory, but more often has remained at home to help. She completed one year in high school. "She is a smart girl." (3) Boy 17. Short but well built and well nourished. He seems much more forceful than any other member of the family and seems ambitious for their welfare. He graduated from grammar school and attended night high school for two years. He now works in a machine shop. He was never delinquent. (4) Boy 13, feeble-minded (imbecile; mental age 6 years.) Various developmental anomalies. Al-

whether it all represents an outbreak of recessive hereditary tendencies along Mendelian lines or not. We may remember, in regarding any individual as a degenerate member of a given stock, that the best conception of degeneracy itself is that it represents merely very early embryonic mal-nutrition.

The miscarriages in this case are so interspersed that from them nothing definite can be inferred — there are so many causes for miscarriages. For us, perhaps the most interesting point in the family history is that the other children are not delinquent — shall we say, in the same environment? But already at this point we may ask, as we did in Case 1 whether different children in the same family have actually been under the same environmental influences.

ways sickly. Wassermann negative. Physician long ago advised institutional care. (5) Tom. (6) Boy 7. Rather sickly, 12 lbs. under weight. Mouth breather from adenoids. Teeth neglected. In second grade. "Very smart." (7) Girl 5. 15 lbs. under weight but otherwise healthy, according to clinical examination. Enlarged tonsils. "She seems bright."

Miscarriage between second and third child and between fourth and fifth.

(Of course some of the above facts were obtained directly from clinical records.)

Developmental History

3 Pregnancy and birth quite normal. Weighed 5 lbs. at birth. Breast-fed only one month. Suffered from "internal convulsions" several times during first year. Walked and talked at about 1 year. (To an agency visitor a short time prior, the mother had stated that the boy had weighed 6 lbs. at birth, had "cholera infantum" severely at 1 year, walked and talked at 18 months. She also said then that a couple of years ago he was knocked down by an automobile, and she blamed his running away to this accident. But the attending physician was consulted by the visitor and he reported that the boy had received only a slight injury to his foot and there was no head injury whatever.) No severe illnesses; he has only had mumps and measles. No enuresis since infancy.

Home and Neighborhood Conditions and Influences

4 The family has lived for the last ten years in one side of a two story double house. It is very badly in need of paint and is in poor repair, with some broken windows and a dilapidated porch. There is a moderately large yard strewn with old furniture and cooking utensils. The visitor on several occasions found the kitchen in great disorder and soiled clothes lying around. The sitting room was comfortably furnished but dusty, and the curtains were very dirty. The whole house was poorly ventilated and in general ill-kept in appearance. There are no modern improvements; the house is heated by the kitchen stove. There is a piano which the oldest girl plays; a few religious pictures decorate the walls; and there are no books. The house contains seven rooms, one of which Tom

3 The unreliable statements are such, in this case, that from the developmental history given we need not attempt to draw conclusions, although Tom probably never was very seriously ill or the mother would have been likely to have remembered that point.

4 The physical aspects of the home present a picture that is vivid enough without any comment; however, we seriously doubt whether it has any essential bearing upon Tom's difficulties. The poor conditions of the home are certainly not due to inadequate income; they are explained in more likelihood by the mother's incompetent household management. And one can say, of course, that she might have been a poor housekeeper and still have known how to control her children; or conversely, as in many another case, she might have had much friction with the children, and yet be a fine housekeeper. This woman evidently has capacity in neither direction.

The mental aspects of the home life, however, are certainly significant in the study of Tom's case. There is the mother's indifference and almost relief when he is out of the house; and there is the father's desire not to be bothered; and then, in spite of all the trouble he causes them, the parents have a certain feeling of pride in his attractiveness and in his exploits, which, we should judge, must necessarily

shares with his older brother. The normal income of the family is about $55 a week; when both daughters are working it is a little more.

The father, because of his occupation, is home sleeping daytimes, and consequently there has to be quiet indoors. There is no particular friction in the family; indeed there is considerable family affection.

The over-worked mother is easy-going as far as discipline is concerned and is rather glad when Tom is out of the house. She allows him to go off at will and usually does not notice until he does not turn up at meal time that he is away; and then she has no idea of his whereabouts. The father seems interested in the welfare of the children, but he frankly says that he doesn't want to be bothered with them. Both he and the brother take some little pride in Tom's exploits. He blames outsiders for spoiling Tom. He gives as an instance one time when he found the boy in a side street at nine o'clock at night singing to a group of men who were applauding and throwing pennies to him. Tom had previously been given an excellent dinner by them. "That boy is a cute one. There's nothing the matter with his mind."

After he has run away, both the father and the mother have at times whipped Tom, though not severely, but it has done no good. The father thinks there is nothing to do but "to shut him up some place where he can't get out." The boy wheedles the older children into doing whatever he wants. They are really very fond of him. The father has built for him in the yard a big play box into which he can climb, and they have encouraged other boys to play there with him.

The home is situated on a quiet side street running off a block of small stores. The houses nearby are much like that which the Rainers occupy, some perhaps better kept. There is no playground or settlement house in the vicinity, but the yards afford play space. The neighborhood is quiet and is not known for gangs or for any centers of wrong doing.

Delinquencies

5 When between 5 and 6 years old Tom started running away by following bands and parades. Before he entered school he had already been picked up by the police a number of

be reflected in their general attitude toward his conduct, however they may have punished him when they were annoyed by being put to trouble. Although the parents say they have whipped him, they also assert that his punishment has never been severe. They really have shown as little resource in trying to check him through deterrents as they have in developing any consistent efforts to create sufficiently commanding interests for him at home. It is thoroughly clear that the pleasures that he had when away quite outweighed either his home satisfactions or the pain of punishments.

5 The beginnings of Tom's delinquency were normal enough, for on the very first occasions of his leaving home there must have been enjoyable experiences. It is a very ordinary thing for children to do, to wander away a little either through following natural desire or, "instinct" for activity, or to satisfy their "instinct" of curiosity, but they rarely go on with this type of conduct because of the consequencies entailed. The family usually very early makes a strong effort to check the wandering. Whether or not the impulse continues to find expression in wandering off depends upon circumstance which we may explain in the phraseology of the psychological law of effect or the law of pleasurable returns. We may say that any act which produces satisfactions brings about an association of the idea of that act with an idea of those specific satisfactions, so that when any suggestion or opportunity for the act occurs, there recurs the idea of the satisfactions, and this normally leads to a repetition of the act. And furthermore, every repetition of the act tends to make the association

times. After he entered school his running away increased, now sometimes in connection with truancy. By the time we saw him he had run away so often that his mother could not give even a near estimate of the number of times, she said. However, he had never remained away over night, except when placed somewhere by the police, until a month ago. Then he was away for three nights; but it was found that he slept one night in the cellar of his own home and two nights in the alley nearby. About a week after that he again stayed out for two nights. In the autumn of 1918 he had been found by a woman "weak from cold and hunger" and was referred to a social agency as a probable case of neglect. A few months later he was discovered under like circumstances by a man, who fed him and turned him over to the authorities. The mother states that last summer she did nothing but "chase him." He was frequently found late at night by policemen at beach parks.

Two years ago he had taken his mother's bag, containing thirteen dollars, when he ran away but since then has taken no money from home. He usually returns with his pockets full of small change, which he says people have given him for singing. His mother is not sure whether he ever steals any of it or not. His brother once found him in a park singing for money and took what he had in his pockets and put him on the car to go home. But instead of this the boy went to a beach resort, where, after a message from the police the mother had to go to get him. Once a man picked him up and after feeding him took him to the address which the boy said was his home. It proved a tenement occupied by Italians, but still the boy insisted that he lived there until the man became suspicious and turned him over to the police.

Sometimes Tom begs in restaurants with very good results to himself. His mother says that he is able to get into the movies without paying, and he has learned to worm his way through the turn-stiles on the elevated road. Just how he has made his boat trips down the harbor to the beach she doesn't know, but believes that it is by begging and singing. His lying has been mostly about his truancy ex- except when he fabricates to strangers about his parents being abusive, or sick, or dead.

and the tendency to recurrence all the stronger. This is a fundamental psychological law, most important in childhood life. As Thorndike says, "In any situation the mental state or act will take place which has resulted from that situation oftenest and with the most satisfaction."

Tom's satisfactions were many: He had the joys of excitement; his normal ego-cravings found satisfactions in the attention paid to him, indeed sometimes he was able to attract a crowd to himself; in restaurants he doubtless found sometimes better food than he had at home; he was able to afford himself the pleasures of beach resorts and parks and movies to which his parents could not take him; he was successful in acquiring spending money for general purposes; altogether he could regard himself in these exploits as considerable of a success — and to be successful is no small motive in the cravings of human beings. The report that Tom was found cold and hungry, on occasion, does not indicate that pains and dissatisfactions were anything but very rare and ephemeral. Can we doubt even from this description of Tom's activities that the idea of running away, awakened by outward situations or by something within, was accompanied for him by a very definite pleasurable feeling tone concerning it, which made for the development of a further impulse to run away. We see in this the operation of a very straight-forward psychological law.

The converse aspect of the law was rarely operative at all in Tom's case. If there had been discomfort greater than any satisfactions obtained, it would have become associated with running away, and through association of the two ideas, there would have been dissociation of the idea of pleasure with running away and consequent inhibition of the act itself.

There are no evidences that this case represents to any degree a pathological love of excitement or of wandering, such as we sometimes encounter, or that there is any necessity for seeking any deeper or hidden root of the impulse in subconscious trends or experiences. There are no signs of definite periodicity, although the desire for the pleasures of running away may well be, as in many other phenomena of nature, decidedly cumulative in its tendencies. And, of course, warm weather and the spring (see School History) all naturally awaken associations.

The dangers of Tom's type of delinquency are very great. Parents frequently do not realize this, but our records show that through the experiences of the street and contact with immoral strangers there may be thrust upon the young individual most disastrous knowledge and experiences.

So far as the relationship of this early running away to adult crime is concerned, a point that is naturally of great interest, all that we can say is that there is no good record of cases of this type having been followed over the fifteen or twenty years that would be necessary for safe conclusions. There would be difficulties in beginning at the other end of the career and interpreting accounts of early running away, because of the inaccuracy of statements of facts long past concerning probable causations of beginnings.

Habits

6 Tom is allowed one cup of coffee in the morning. He is not known to smoke at all, and there has not been any evidence whatever of bad sex habits.

Interests

7 Tom likes playing imaginative games, occasionaly with the older children, and he is very fond of singing. He does not like to do things with his hands, but sometimes he goes around with a hammer and pieces of wood with which he never makes anything. He prefers vaudeville to movies; says he likes it where there is more going on. He sometimes goes to a "variety theatre" with other boys and sometimes by himself. Occasionally he goes to the library to look at the picture books. He goes to church and Sunday School regularly. He tells a good many "fairy tales" to the children, but this is not so bad as his fabrications to strangers.

Companions

8 He plays almost entirely with his brothers and sisters about the house or in neighboring yards. He has no regular pals. He was once "picked up" with another boy about whom the mother knows nothing.

School History

9 Tom has already been in four different schools and has been in one of them for two separate periods following a transfer. In February, when a little over six, he entered a public school and remained there until near the close of the school year, being truant just occasionally. On account of some rearrangement of his district he was transferred to another school. But by this time his running away had increased and he was much truant. In the middle of the next year he was transferred to still another school. The principal of this school says that it was because he was found unmanageable in the previous school. He was still in the first grade, and after a little observation the teacher said he would never be promoted "except through the grace of God." He was thoroughly uninterested. He pestered the

6 Of course his habits in street life are really not known at all. It remains to be seen what he himself reveals about them.

7 At once one thinks of utilizing this boy's interests for developing satisfactions in ways other than those obtained in running away expeditions. In settlement clubs he might have music and outlets for his imagination and for his love of excitement and activity. His interests are not pathological or even peculiar in view of his environment and experiences. Think of the tremendous importance of properly directing his play impulses. Some speak of "the play instinct," but, as Norsworthy and Whitley point out in *The Psychology of Childhood,* there is not anything we can fairly call "the play instinct;" play depends upon the arousal of various instincts and varies with age and environment and in accordance with the law of pleasurable effects. At different ages we have different play interests. Tom's interests are really bizarre — a combination of childish and mature, the outcome of the conditions and forces that have been discussed under Note 5.

To redirect Tom's energies and interests one might try to center his play activities about legends and stories of adventure, material that is often stated as suitable for the age between 8 and 12 years. A number of authors give specific suggestions on this whole point — see, for example, Norsworthy and Whitley; Joseph Lee, *Play in Education;* Stanley Hall, *Youth;* etc. A desire to master reading might perhaps have been stimulated best through this approach.

Certainly one can fairly think of Tom as having substituted running away for normal play satisfactions simply because he found the former more pleasurable.

8 Probably Tom's having been given so much attention by adults is one reason why he shows so little desire for company of children of his age; but of course the age of the development of the crowd spirit normally comes some years later than his age.

9 It is most noteworthy that Tom's running away had preceded his entrance to school. Because of this the school had a great disadvantage in having to compete with already developed unfortunate tendencies and with already established conflicting interests. What was accomplishment of rote school subjects to him? He was already successful in another field. What motivation was there for success in school life? Tom's case shows how readily pre-school experiences may lead a child to begin school with an unfavorable attitude. In studying school problems it is often demonstrated that knowledge of the pre-school life is important.

Without implying any criticism of the school curriculum for the early grades, we may nevertheless state that Tom did not at all get in school what he needed. The fact that two school principals blamed each other for inability to control this boy and that they both blamed

teacher to be excused from school in the afternoon to go to the movies. He was sent to the office of the principal who explained to him the rules of school life. The next day Tom came to the office and asked permission to go home because he had soiled his clothes. Permission was reluctantly granted and then the boy deliberately soiled himself every afternoon for a week in order to get away. On the last occasion the school doctor was called in. He pretended that an operation was necessary, and Tom never tried that trick again. He finished up the year in this school, but there was considerable truancy.

The following September Tom was entered in a parochial school in second grade, with the idea that the discipline might be more effective. The teacher said that he was not fit for second grade work, so he was demoted to the first grade. His conduct in the school was good, but there was excessive truancy, and he was expelled after two months.

He was then returned to the school where he was the first part of the preceding year, where he remaind until we saw him. The principal of this school insists that it is the mother's incompetency and lack of discipline that is the trouble in the case. The boy's attendance had improved remarkably after he had been rattanned two or three times, but still he stayed away quite frequently. He made every little progress in his studies on account of his lack of interest.

It is notable that all the school people who came in contact with this boy said that he was an attractive and likable little chap and that his conduct in the school room was fair, except for occasional mischief and his complete lack of interest.

The teacher in the last school said that Tom was restless in the class room, and this always increased on pleasant days in the spring. He was frequently so dirty when he came to school that he had to be sent for a thorough washing before he could come to class. He was nominally in the second grade, but really could hardly do first grade work. He had good ability to memorize, showed some appreciation of poetry, and was fondest of all of music. She tried in every way to encourage him, thinking he might get over his distaste for school if he were making progress. She noticed his restlessness and offered him a prize for perfect attend-

the home shows how little either of them understood the psychology back of his conduct.

The word "unmanageable," which they and others used, is one of those blanket terms which mean little. If school people are to advance in the power to solve the problems of child life there must be better definition and more specific statement of just what the difficulty is and the exact nature of the behavior. A visitor, closely inquiring about Tom, learns from the teacher and the principals that the boy is "very attractive and likeable;" yet he is labeled "unmanageable."

What could have been done in the school is not so easy to say, but the individualization of problems has been undertaken, to some extent at least, by some educators, for example, earlier by Julia Richman, nowadays by Angelo Patri and others, and in the Francis Parker and other schools. But the practical situation as seen in the ordinary city school, with children coming from homes, many of them such as Tom's brings out the salient fact that the teacher has too much to do with forty or fifty children in a room to be able to individualize as much as Tom required.

ance for the remainder of the year. Tom appeared delighted and promised to try. The next day he ran away and was gone for several days. He had been disciplined recently by being made to go to the office of the principal every time that he was truant. The principal is a man of rather advanced age who takes a great deal of interest in meeting his pupils and prides himself on his ability to get hold of them and maintain discipline. He said that he felt Tom was subnormal mentally, but told the visitor that he would be glad to re-admit him to the school unless examination proved that the boy was feeble-minded.

The truant officer of the district says that he knows that Tom should have been taken to court a year or two earlier on account of his truancy, but he felt there was very little use because the fault was in the home, which was always dirty and where the mother was extremely lax.

The authorities at each of the two public schools and the parochial school said that the boy had been transferred to them because the people in the school where he had been previously were lax in their methods of discipline and could not manage the boy.

Study of the Individual

Physical

10 Tom is a very normal appearing, active, merry, little boy with pleasant features and many freckles. His head is rather well shaped. His clothes are made-over garments, none too neat and none too clean.

Weights 52 lbs. Height 3 ft. 11 in. Strength only fair, even for his size. Pigeon breast and flaring lower ribs—"Harrison grove." Teeth in good condition; some of them filled. Vision normal by ordinary tests. Tonsils not enlarged. Heart and lungs negative. Color good. Examination in other ways quite negative.

Mental

11 (1) *Results on Psychological Examination:*

10 While Tom is average weight for his height at his age, he is 3 in. and 9 lbs. below the median for his years. His defectively developed chest is evidence of very early nutritional difficulty, perhaps embryonic. That his teeth have been cared for is a tribute to medical inspection in the schools and to the fine dental clinic in Boston. Perhaps the chief interest of the physical findings lies in the fact that we have here a boy who is not very well developed and not very strong, but who yet shows strong dynamic qualities and a considerable feeling of well being.

11 This is a case where mental tests are really of great value because, while his ability to take care of himself would seem to indicate good capacities, yet school retardation and repetition of grades would seem to suggest that he is mentally subnormal; indeed one principal suggested this. Tests offer objective criteria for determining the facts.

(During examination boy was found very pleasant and likable, smiling, somewhat restless and playful, much at home. He was rather inattentive and plainly demonstrated dislike for anything which suggested school or school work. Perhaps all this influenced test results. We note that he succeeded on tests at a second interview, which he failed earlier because of playfulness.)

According to age-level tests, Tom grades as having only fair general ability. Intelligence Quotient 89.

Auditory memory span, slightly above age; but poor in visual memory powers.

Motor control, fair.

Work with concrete material, mediocre, but learns by experience.

Learning ability, fair for visual and good for auditory visual associations.

Writes just fairly.

Spells rather poorly even for second grade.

Reads very poorly indeed, comparatively few words.

Knows a few simple combinations in arithmetic.

Has sweet voice and good ear for pitch and rhythm.

(2) *Mental Balance:* No signs of abnormality.

12 (3) *Personality Traits:* As observed by us, Tom proved to be very pleasant, attractive, and likable,—a smiling little lad with a sense of humor, at all times mischievous and playful. Mentally he is active, imaginative and rather dramatic, He is very friendly and much at home. He appeared, on the whole, a boy who enjoyed life hugely.

Our main report on him came, naturally, from his mother. She said that he was the liveliest of all the children, always

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* Stanford-Binet I. Q. 89; passes all the 8-year tests except (5) and (6); passes test (3) of the 9-year tests, and (2) and (alternate 1) of the 10-year tests.
Visual memory, Binet and Healy forms, 10-year tests, very bad failures.
Auditory memory span: 6 digits, 3 backwards. Remembers accurately words and tunes of songs.
Vocabulary definitions: Terman, only 16 words.
Pictorial Completion II: score 3.
Tapping Test: score, 46 squares, I error.
Mental Representations: Does first cross-line test correctly at first trial.
Construction Test A: First trial, 3′, 35 moves; second trial, 22″, 7 moves.
Healy-Bronner Learning Tests:
A, first trial, 5; second trial, 10; third trial, 12.
B, " " 3; " " 5.
Writing: Judged by Thorndike scale for handwriting, quality 6, equivalent of first grade work.
Spelling: Ayres scale, first grade.
Reading: Fails on such words as **woods, wanted, cannot;** simpler words known Knows some phonics such as combinations of consonants with **at,** etc.
Arithmetic: Knows table of 2's and part of table of 3's, and simple number combinations—equals part of the work of second grade.

Here we have a boy who, while not grading to age on tests is still well within the limits of normality. Moreover he definitely proves himself to have reasonably good learning ability for his age, and very good ability, as shown on Learning Test B, where associations are to be formed between auditory and visual symbols — this being a type of learning that is required in mastering the reading process. And he also does quite well on Learning Test A, where there is association of two types of visual symbols. Nor can his poor progress in school be accounted for by defective remote memory, for he remembers well the words and melodies of many songs. There seems to be no doubt about his educability as far as his capacities are concerned. We find no indication of any special disability and he certainly has specialized ability along musical lines.

Even in test findings it is clear that attitude plays a part and it is perhaps the biggest cause of his school failure. We have every right to question whether the lack of home training and mental discipline does not largely affect his I. Q. There has been some interesting discussion anent this point; and it is one that ought to be more thoroughly thrashed out. (See Chase and Carpenter, *Response of a Composite Group on the Stanford Revision of the Binet Tests*, Journal of Educational Psychology, April, 1919.)

12 The bearings of Tom's personality traits on his career are clear. Through them he makes his way. Wells distinguishes between capacity to deal with ideas, with things, and with people (F. L. Wells, American Journal of Insanity, July, 1920, *Intelligence and Psychosis*). Evidently Tom excels in ability to deal with people, both in his family circle and outside.

We can think of a number of Tom's qualities being distinct assets if he were well managed; none of them, in and of themselves, are bad.

We have no evidence of his being hyperkinetic (abnormally overactive); his love of excitement is quite within the limits of normality.

sunny about the house, and popular with the others. Ordinarily he is not lazy, but has a great way of wheedling the others into doing his household tasks. At all times he would drop anything if there was any chance for him to run away. She was somewhat contradictory, saying once that he was not very affectionate and at another time that he was very fond of the younger children, though he always wanted to be the boss. He never sulks, but he is quite a cry-baby. "But you can't tell today what he will be tomorrow." One of his strongest characteristics is his great love of excitement, shown early in his fondness for parades. During the police strike he was once found in the very thick of the excitement. He is quite afraid of being punished, "at least he yells a good deal when it happens," but it has no real effect on him. She does not think, however, that he is fearful in general or that he has any special fears. On the other hand, she does not say that he is unusually fearless.

Boy's Own Story

13 Seen several times by us we found Tom always friendly, talkative in a childish and rather nervous way, contradicting himself at times and evidently drawing on his imagination occasionally. The gist of what he told us at length in an irregular fashion is as follows:

He has lived a long time at the present place, he thinks about fifteen years. And before that they lived on another street. Around where he lives the kids are kind of bad. "The small ones are nice, but the big ones steal on you." They took some bread and jam from him and robbed him of some money. "Once they robbed a hundred and fifty dollars from a store." He doesn't know the names of these kids—"they don't go to school or nuthin'." They ask him to go stealing with them but he doesn't want to go, and they say awfully bad things to the girls and the girls run home. "I don't leave them to do any bad things to me. I don't go with nobody. They might steal on you. They might take your money or anything." He claims that he did play with one boy who was bad, but he didn't know he was bad when he was going with him. "He says the worst words you ever seen."

He started running away before he knew this boy. "I

Nor do we know that he is over-venturesome or especially fearless, qualities that one finds sometimes even among young children and which are causal in their becoming grave problems. Concerning his feelings and emotional reactions it is difficult to be sure, in the present state of our knowledge about instinctive trends, what may be considered indications of innate personality or what may be the results of experiences.

13 There is no doubt that Tom's story about himself is more unreliable than that given by many children of his age, but his uncertainties about time are really characteristic of childhood. While we need not regard every detail of his story, yet the outline gives us a good sketch of the situation as it appears to him and as he acts upon it. We get corroboration of the idea which we have already that he does not go with other boys to any extent; his running away is not to join a crowd or a gang; he is not under the influence of any single boy, as is sometimes the case. And we get no clue whatever that Tom has acquired any pernicious habits or that his flights are upon any basis of mental conflict. He has heard, of course, about bad sex affairs, but frankly enough and without evasion he mentions these things as he has heard them; and his denials tend very strongly to indicate that he has been fortunate enough to escape the contamination in these matters of which many other boys away from home have been the victims. And in explanation of his conduct it stands out most clearly of all that Tom has an exceedingly pleasant time when he is away on his escapades.

In very direct statements he brings out his own point of view in regard to school life. We wonder whether he has been as outspoken to the school people. And how could one have met the challenge of his statements and have persuaded him that education is a requisite to successful earning of a livelihood?

started myself running away. Something made me start—something in my head—it might be the devil.'' In answer to questions he said it was his mother who said the devil got into his head. When he began to run away he only knew good boys. He was 6 or 7, he thinks. One trouble was he didn't like school and he doesn't like it now. ''It's too hard.'' He would like it in school if they would let him draw pictures, but they only let the children draw apples and pears. The arithmetic is too hard and he doesn't like reading because he can't learn it. And again he says that's what's the trouble, he doesn't want to go to school.

Through running away he got to know Jim who ''steals 'n everything'' and says bad words and wants him ''to fish kids' pockets.'' Jim showed him about riding on the trains and begging for money. But he doesn't go with Jim much. When he runs away he goes any place he wants to go, sometimes to some beach park. He goes there alone, although the first time an older boy took him there. He makes money on the streets by singing. He stayed away from home these nights recently because he didn't want to be sent back to school. ''You have to do hard jobs there.'' He doesn't want to learn to read. When he grows up he can make a living without it. He will get a job in the coal yard throwing bags on the team and then delivering them, and you don't have to have any schooling for that.

He hears a lot of bad stuff when he's away, and the bad words that he hears come up in his mind sometimes. ''They come in my mind, but I don't say them. Then I feel like firing rocks. I get as mad as anything.'' No boys or men have ever done anything bad in sex ways to him, although he has heard the boys talking about it and Jim has told him that he did something dirty to his sister.

Jim, he knows, steals lots of times, but Tom claims that he never has except that he has taken money from home sometimes when he has seen it lying on the table.

When asked about how he is treated at home he says that his older sister took his toys and burned them up in the stove and the others pound him and hit him. ''No wonder I don't want to stay. My mother says she doesn't want me in the house. They make me mad and then I feel like running away.'' (Of course part of this is made up; the mother ex-

plicitly denies it. Really the boy is considerably spoiled at home.)

Tom gave us many details about the good times he has when he is away. He has been to many parks and amusement places, and he always succeeds in making quite a little money by begging or singing. For instance he crawled under the flying horses to get a sailor's hat and he got fifty cents for it. Sailors and other people take him into places and give him a good time. He maintains that Jim first told him about the good times he could have at these places and so he started going around to them. He asks for money on the elevated trains or on boats. He has been taken to police stations a number of times when he has been away and twice has been held over night, but he always had a good time and has been well treated.

Of all the places that he thinks he would like to go would be on a big farm where there were animals.

Tom never worries about anything. He always has good times and is always happy. He shows us how well he can sing, and in a childish, rather sweet voice, he sings a number of melodies, particularly war songs, very well indeed.

(To a visitor with whom he became very friendly Tom told much the same story. He said he ran away just because he liked to. He enjoys singing and moving pictures better than anything else. He often hangs around outside until somebody takes him in. He doesn't see the use of school. There are plenty of people who earn money without learning to read and write. When he runs away he stays out all the longer because he is afraid of the whipping he will get when he goes home. Everybody has been nice to him except one or two policemen who have taken him to places that he doesn't like —evidently the detention rooms in police stations.)

At this point SUMMARY OF CASE and SUBSEQUENT HISTORY follow.

SUMMARY OF STAFF CONFERENCE

PROBLEM: **Delinquencies:** Much running away from home, recently staying three days. Truancy. Once took sum of money from home. Street begging and misrepresentation.

PHYSICAL: Moderately poor development and nutrition; poorly shaped chest. Pleasant features, lively expression, much humor.

MENTAL: (1) **Abilities:** Just fair general ability. Attitude perhaps interferes with tests. Very retarded in school work. Good musical ability. Fair learning capacity. (2) **Mental Balance:** Normal. (3) **Personality:** Wide-awake, imaginative, energetic, mischievous, very likeable.

BACKGROUND: (a) **Heredity:** Father and his family negative. Maternal grandfather somewhat alcoholic. Maternal uncle abnormal mentally. Older brother mental defective. (b) **Developmental:** Sickly infancy; otherwise practically negative. (c) **Home Conditions:** Home poorly kept, otherwise fairly good. Father sleeps daytimes at home. (d) **Habits:** Practically negative.

PROBABLE DIRECT CAUSATIONS: (1) Personality—though not abnormal—love of activity and adventure, prepossessing characteristics. (2) Special ability to sing. (3) The way the world has met him when he is away from home—giving him what he enjoys. (4) The psychological law of pleasurable returns functioning normally. (5) School dissatisfaction, shown under various regimes. (6) Thoroughly incompetent parental management and supervision, although parents well meaning—mother being slack and worn out, and father not giving companionship or exerting control.

PROGNOSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS: Very poor outlook under old conditions. Very great moral danger from possible experiences when away from home. Doubtful if home influences can be modified. Best measures to be adopted is placing out; and farm home with much activity and individual attention in country school offer the best chances of success. Has ability enough to get forward in his education, but needs personal help. There are various details about which we should confer with visitor and foster mother. Every effort should be made to build up pleasant feelings toward school life and appreciation of home pleasures, which might outweigh satisfactions which he has been obtaining on his runaway trips.

Subsequent History

For the next two months Tom remained at home while the agency sought a suitable Catholic foster home in the country, which was not easily obtainable by them. During the interim, the mother had much difficulty in controlling Tom. He ran away several times, once taking the month's rent money which he was found distributing among boys on the street.

Late one afternoon an agency visitor, who was on a large ferry boat in the harbor, heard a childish voice saying, "Come on, fellers. Let's have a song and dance." Turning around, she recognized Tom. He saw her at the same moment, but pretending not to, made his way to the other end of the boat and crawled under a seat. She followed and dragged him out unresisting. He was very tired and dirty, although he had on a new suit and a new hat. She took him home and found that he had been given his new clothes for first communion the day before and that he had run away immediately after the church service. He made no reply to his mother's long tirade.

In February, 1921, the agency failing to find a farm home, Tom was placed in a country town with a Mrs. W. who lived in a district of small homes. There was a small yard with fruit trees. The house was clean and well-kept, but without modern conveniences. Tom had a well ventilated room to himself. The foster mother was a widow, a good-natured Irish woman who was very fond of children. Though she had successfully cared for small children with no problems she had had no experience in managing difficult cases. The household consisted of Mrs. W. and her three daughters, two of whom were grown and working, the other attending high school.

Two weeks after his arrival, Tom was given two dollars and sent to the store. He did not return and the following night he was picked up by the police in Boston and turned over to the agency. They sent him back to Mrs. W. At first Tom maintained that his mother should return the money to Mrs. W., but later he seemed enthusiastic about the plan made by the visitor for him to pay back the money by earning it in tasks set by Mrs. W. He was made to go to bed early for a week. About ten days later Tom was found all ready to run away and about to steal a considerable sum which one of the girls in the household had kept in her desk. Mrs. W. now refused to have the boy longer, but agreed to keep him until another foster home could be found.

Two weeks later he ran away again. This time he begged a ride on an auto truck going to Boston. He was again taken charge of over night by the police, and then, with the consent of the agency, returned home. He told his mother then that he would always run away from wherever he was placed.

Tom told us that he ran away this last time because Mrs. W. would not let him go down by the railroad, where there were some other

boys, to play. He used to live near the railroad and his mother used to let him go down there. And Mrs. W. wouldn't let him bring the children into the house to play. She didn't want him to play with boys. He doesn't know any games to play by himself. He had blocks and things like that, and he built a house down there. He used to go to the store, chop wood, and play in the yard. (We should judge from the agency reports that Tom's account of his recreations there is not far from the truth.)

In three weeks new arrangements were made, about which all were enthusiastic. A man who each summer took for this agency a group of boys on his large country place near the mountains agreed to accept Tom in advance of the others. This was a more expensive placement than the first home, but the agency was willing to pay the difference. It cost eight dollars a week, of which the parents paid three dollars. From the start the father had rather objected to paying, feeling that there must be people who would be glad to have such a nice boy. Tom went at once (April 1921) and was very happy, as there was much for a boy to do. Good reports came steadily about him, and later, after the other half dozen arrived, Mr. K. wrote, "Tom has made a great improvement. He is honest, adaptable, obedient, and contented. He has improved in truthfulness and gets along well with the other boys." When he first went there he told big tales about himself.

The other boys were somewhat older, and several of them had presented behavior problems in their own homes, but they were very carefully selected to make up the group. Up there they got along very well. They had much healthy out-of-door life with games and water sports, all in company with Mr. K., who devoted his entire time to them.

Near the end of August Tom ran away. Mr. K. wrote at that time that he felt that Tom was too young to be there, although one of the other boys was only a year older. "This boy needs a firm hand and a woman's care." Just before he left, there had been trouble with Tom on account of enuresis; and the night before he left, he soiled the bed. Mr. K. said that he thought Tom might have run away in fear of the consequences. The visitor suggested that Tom ran away because his school card had been sent up there and he knew it and inferred that he was to remain there all winter.

Tom was found by the police in a town about fifty miles away, and he gave the name of his parents in Boston. The mother was communicated with and she sent up an older sister, who took Tom back to the farm to see what the trouble had been. She was much taken with the place and wanted to leave him there, but did not dare to, as her father had insisted, before she left, that there was no use placing the boy, because he would run away wherever he was unless he were shut up. So Tom was returned home and arrangements were made for the agency to supervise him and if possible to find a home to which the father might be willing to send Tom, the mother to notify them if he got into any difficulty. However, the agent again had difficulty in finding any such place. The family circumstances were much as be-

fore, but some effort was made to make the home more attractive to the boy. A phonograph, expensive for them, was bought, and Tom very eagerly looked forward to the evening hour when his father played it. A visitor again reports that the family look upon this boy as considerable of a personage, highly successful in his way, and that, to a certain extent, he is spoiled.

In December Tom was haled to court as a truant. It was then found that he had never entered school that autumn. He was placed on probation and for two or three weeks did well. The mother at this time reported that Tom was unusually obedient and helpful at home and was thoroughly trustworthy, but said nothing about his truancy or his being in court. Some weeks after this, the agency visitor learned from another agency for the first time that the boy had not been in school during the autumn and that during this time he had run away several times, obtaining money, as previously, by begging and singing. Before she could take any action, Tom ran away, taking five dollars from home. He was gone a whole week. The father, now thoroughly exasperated, brought the boy to court himself. In court the father asked that the boy be committed to an institution, and he was sent to a very good church home for boys.

Tom has been in this school ever since. He has returned home for a day or two on several occasions, usually when the family have special plans for a pleasant excursion, at these times showing no inclination to run away. Boys up to fourteen years of age are accepted in this institution. Only a few of them are delinquents and a great deal of supervision is given both night and day. The entire life of the boys is spent in the buildings and on the grounds of the institution, and the arrangement is such that there is little opportunity to run away. Tom is reported as doing very well in every way except scholarship. He seems to be dull mentally and does not mind being in classes with younger children. He is only in the first grade, and there is much question about promotion. He has some elementary training in simple hand work and has to take part in games in the afternoon.

FOOTNOTE OF DISCUSSION:

There is opportunity for much discussion about this subsequent history: (a) It is not at all easy to find the right sort of home in such a case. Perhaps if the various agencies co-operated in supplying homes for children with special needs more children's problems might be solved. (b) In contrast to Case I this is an instance where the dangers of leaving the child at home in the interim before placing him were very real indeed. He went on strengthening the force of his bad social habits. (c) The surprisingly slight influence of a church ceremony upon this boy is not contrary to what we have observed with many other delinquents. (d) All agreed that the first home was mediocre — even if the foster mother was kind — inasmuch as it did not offer

features especially needed for Tom. (e) In the second placing wher Tom had so many activities he did well for several months, but h did not go to school. Perhaps the appearance of the school card upo the scene stirred him up to running away; it is sometimes just suc little things which have big consequences. Then he evidently resorted t bad tricks to make himself not wanted. Mr. K. did not know his his tory in regard to this and interpreted it in a different way. (f) If th parents had taken a more intelligent attitude they surely would hav left him longer at the farm. Four months was not long enough for hin to establish altogether better ideas and habits concerning his ow pleasures. It is possible that the expense had something to do wit the parents' feelings. (g) What an inadequate but typical metho of attacking the home situation buying a phonograph was, although i showed good intent. (h) It was characteristic of this weak mothe that she did not report the boy's delinquencies. Those who knew he make-up could hardly have expected her to be reliable in this. Th visitor might better have gone to Tom's school. (i) A fundamenta point in the attempt to cure delinquency is that a good regime shal be carried on in the home as well as in the foster homes, and that failure is likely to result if good regime is interrupted. Although there was no court authority, the agency was working in co-operation with the family and should have known better what was going on. Of course the J. B. F. gave no advice about his returning home, and it would have been felt that the danger was as active then as formerly. (j) In the institution the school record would make Tom seem mentally defective, but his attitude has probably not been taken enough into account. As often seen, perhaps the boy remains in a lower class because of the advantage to him of not having to work hard. This would offset being with younger boys, if that in itself was distasteful. (k) When Tom has visited home from the institution for a day or two something pleasant has each time been going on; consequently he has had no incentive to run away. (l) The outcome in this case, of course, is not clear until the boy is released; but concerning the prognosis, one must remember that if he is held for a considerable time he will be old enough so that it will not be possible to obtain money by his old begging and singing habits — activities which are only open to small boys — although he may, of course, find pleasures in other ways by running away. (m) Does it seem clearly proved that placing might not have succeeded in this case?

FINAL COMMENT

Reviewing a group of cases of which this is a fair example, we are forced to conclude that neither we nor others have at all adequately realized the difficulties which dealing with them presents. We are astonished to find that among a dozen cases, carefully studied, we have no single success. The group comprises little boys who are extreme runaways; they are normal mentally, attractive, likeable, and active, and because of their characteristics they are able to obtain for themselves pleasures away from home which are greater than their satisfactions in home and school life. It is very clear that there is no appreciation on the part of the police, social agency workers, court officials, as well as the general public, that the kindness with which these little fellows are met when away from home tends to aggravate tremendously their problem. Through the mistaken expression of kindliness toward them there is the establishment of the tendency toward repetition of the running away in order to obtain again the accruing satisfactions. The practical fact is that there is no recognition on the part of the general public and officials that their unthinking generosity causes these boys to go on developing their trends until they are most difficult to check.

In spite of our observation of failures we do not think that these cases are necessarily hopeless; none of us has foreseen the necessity for the skilled treatment which they require. Obviously they must have substituted equally satisfying pleasures, and this will require ingenuity to plan and obtain. And then, it is evident that the new interest must be established long enough to be paramount, long enough thoroughly to dislodge the old methods of seeking satisfactions. One note of optimism about these cases concerns itself with the fact that there may be success through tiding over for a few years until the individual is old enough so that he is no longer appealing and attractive in the old ways.

As in other problems of delinquency, perhaps much more might be learned more rapidly if the knowledge and experiences of different observers could be pooled. But unfortunately scientific study is still so rare that accurate and fruitful comparison of individuals and their backgrounds and causations and treatments and outcomes are well nigh impossible. The moral is to recognize these cases for what they really are, to offer intelligent treatment, and carefully to evaluate details of results.

JUDGE BAKER FOUNDATION

CASE STUDIES

SERIES 1 CASE 8

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FOREWORD

The Judge Baker Foundation studies educational, vocational and conduct problems of young people who are brought for study by parents or who come through the Juvenile Court, school, and all types of agencies which deal with the young. Aiming to make intensive and all-round studies, its staff comprises those working from the standpoint of the psychological, medical, and social sciences. It is only through the devoted service of the entire personnel that the material for the present publication is available.

Readers cannot draw conclusions for scientific purposes from statements concerning localities, names, dates, nationalities, and facts of family history as given because, in the usual professional fashion cases are reported with disguises. But the general facts, even of heredity are accurately transcribed, and no matters of importance for interpretation of causation as it bears on therapeutic possibilities in the individual case are changed or omitted.

The plan of presentation is to offer a first series of twenty studies covering a wide range of problems of interest to educators, psychologists, psychiatrists, sociologists, judges, probation officers, and all who deal with matters involving the adjustments of young people. For teaching purposes, a loose-leaf edition is available so that all pages designated with (a) may be withheld until the factual material of the first study of the case, given in the other pages, is treated by the student as a probem to be solved.

It is hoped that the publications can continue and include consideration of groups of cases representing types of problems in education, in make-up of individuals, in conduct, etc. It is planned at later dates to report on important facts of cases earlier published.

The gratitude of students who benefit by these studies is due to the Commonwealth Fund of New York, a grant from which has made this series possible.

The social treatment has been carried out through child welfare agencies of many sorts, and the spirit of their co-operation has been splendid. It would be a pleasure to give credit to the particular agency in each case, but since, for several reasons, it is inadvisable, we desire here to express our deep appreciation of their co-operation with the Judge Baker Foundation.

WILLIAM HEALY, M. D.
AUGUSTA F. BRONNER Ph. D.
Directors.

Case Study No. 8

SERIES I

JUDGE BAKER FOUNDATION
40 COURT STREET
BOSTON

Copyright

December, 1922

CASE EIGHT

Olaf Kellman: 15 yrs., 5 mos., born U. S.; father born in Austria, mother born in Sweden.

Introductory Statement

1 (Dec. 1917.) Four days after his hearing in court this boy and his mother kept their appointment made by the probation officer under instructions from the judge, who continued the case for further investigation concerning the facts of the alleged offence and for study of the boy himself. Olaf had denied participation in the theft of several fine overcoats from a clothing store, although another boy, when arrested, had accused him of it. But he frankly acknowledged frequent stealing with the crowd of which they were both members. His mother said in court that she was terribly worried about him, and indeed, had earlier filed a "stubborn child" complaint in the court of their home district because of his persistent association with a group of boys well known to the police and his staying away from home with them; but nothing effectual had been accomplished with him. He had been sent away to the correctional school X., and after five months there came home and was now on parole.

Study of the Background

Family

2 (Our very detailed information about the background at first came from the mother, who talked seemingly intelligently and who, on the several occasions when she has been seen, has always appeared truthful and most co-operative. She is small, thin, somewhat worn, looking older than her years, and she is slack about her personal appearance. She seems much concerned about her boy. And then later we learned about the family from various social agencies, no less than fifteen of which, public and private, have dealt with them.)

Father: 37; born in lower Austria; came to the United States alone as a youth of 19, having been to school until he was 16, when he was apprenticed in the hotel business. His

1 It may be of interest to the reader for us to explain that cases are seen by us here in Boston in offices in a centrally located business building. This housing apart from the court seems to have certain very definite advantages, the principal one being the establishment of a good attitude on the part of both the offender and the parents. They come for advice and help much in the way they would go to a private or family physician, feeling very little that the study of the case is any part of the legal process. Of course this attitude is, in considerable measure, due to the explanations of the judge and his officers who make it clear that it is a privilege and the means towards knowing and doing for the young individual what is right and what is best.

Without arguing the possible advantages and disadvantages, we should state by way of explanation, because of its particular interest in this case, that offenders in Boston and vicinity are brought into the court in the district in which their offence is committed rather than in the district in which they live. The Boston Juvenile Court itself has jurisdiction only over what once comprised all of Boston. This means that, as in this case, where Olaf appeared for the first time in the Juvenile Court, the delinquent may have been in other courts. Each district court has its own staff of probation officers, who, however, may have under their care offenders who live in other districts. This means much overlapping. Of course, it is mostly the Boston Juvenile Court that hears cases of offenders living in other districts, with its jurisdiction over the business sections and several of the more crowded sections.

2 The family history shows many points which bear on the problem of the judgment of individuals as acquired in the course of the work of social agencies. (See later for some account of the agencies which worked with this family.) Our history shows how difficult it is to estimate character and conditions on the basis of subjective judgments. It may be frequently noted that records of agencies often give more space to some workers' estimations than to the facts on which the estimates are based.

Here was a situation that really centered about the father, and, although he played a most important part, he was the least known and least studied of the actors in the family drama. The gist of the situation in regard to him all along, and for years prior to any record

wife says he won several medals for scholarship and had learned English before he came to this country. "He reads a lot" and is "a smart man." He has been very sickly for a number of years; soon after he married, at 21, he began complaining and working somewhat irregularly. His condition did not improve and, as time went on, frequently interfered with his work. Several times in the last few years he has become so weak that he has had to be brought home by his follow employes. Five years ago at a hospital he was found to have a severe heart disease. It had been suspected that he was tubercular. "The doctors say he is likely to die any day." To us, the mother now says that he is a good man, quiet and refined, that he smokes occasionally, and that he has been accustomed to drink beer with his meals. Earlier, however, she made many complaints to agencies that he did not support the family, that he drank and gambled, and that she would leave him were she not afraid, for she said he had threatened to kill her if she did this. Agency visitors have differed in their opinion of the man; two of them, and his employers also, have spoken well of him..

Father's Family: His father, said to have been healthy and a good man, was killed in an accident. His mother is a very strong woman, still alive in the old country. This couple lost three children from diphtheria. There is a brother, an officer in the Austrian army and well-to-do when last heard from.

Mother: 36; born in Sweden; came with her family to this country when she was 4 years old and settled in same district where she now lives. She attended grammar school, leaving in the sixth grade to begin work. She was employed in factories until her marriage at 20. During this period her mother died and, being the oldest, it devolved upon her to keep the family together when her father, now drinking heavily, went off to live by himself. With the aid of social agencies she accomplished this, but was not too careful about her own behavior. Her marriage occurred only shortly before her oldest child was born. Since she was 18 she has suffered from an incurable disease of the muscles and nerves that shows itself principally in weakness of the arm and shoulder muscles. At 22 she was sent to a sanatorium for tuberculosis; after six months she returned home much im-

of a diagnosis of his condition, is that his poor earning capacity may have been due to his poor physical condition.

The differences of opinion about the mother are even more striking. Her physical infirmities and illnesses naturally won sympathy for her. If we turn to what is said under Home Conditions, we can realize that some may have been impressed by the fact that she kept her house so clean under great difficulties. Others evidently were more impressed by her mental and moral inertia, by her never doing anything radical to change conditions, even though plans were made for this. But, again, it may be that the father is not sufficiently taken into account in this. The mother is certainly an altogether inconsistent character — her early conduct suggests the characteristics of a tubercular patient. All along the fact that she is a good talker probably is no small factor in the impressions gained of her.

The whole situation in regard to the father and mother is much complicated and quite difficult to evaluate; it certainly is now, and probably was earlier.

We note that, in spite of the poor physical conditions of the parents, the children are healthy. We wonder if the work of social agencies has not considerably contributed to this.

proved. Since then her health has never been very good; once she has been to a convalescent home for a rest, and at intervals she has been under the care of a district nurse. Agency visitors differ much in their opinion of her character. Some have stated that she is a thoroughly good woman, deserving not only of much sympathy, but also of all the help possible; some have thought her well-meaning but incompetent; still others have said she was nagging; and one states that she is untrustworthy. An early report reads "she is a bad character who does not give her children proper care;" but we find that this report stands in the record upon no other basis than hearsay from neighbors; the inquirer did not even see Mrs. Kellman. There is agreement that the mother has been coöperative to the extent of coming frequently for advice and talking matters over, but that without being prodded she carries out no program.

Mother's Family: Her father, a skilled workman who was strong and healthy and a good man earlier, in middle life began drinking heavily. He was abusive and a great trial until his death a few years ago. Her mother, who died at about 50 of pneumonia, was a good woman. A brother and three sisters are all healthy, normal mentally, but the brother drank hard for a time; all are now economically more prosperous than she; their children have given no trouble. They are good people who have helped Mrs. Kellman much, financially and otherwise. All of them except Mrs. K. have moved away from the neighborhood in which they were brought up.

Siblings: (1) Olaf. (2) Olga, 13 years, in seventh grade; healthy, except for slight ailments. (3) Girl who died at six months of convulsions. (4) Girl who died at nine months of nutritional difficulty. (5) Oscar, 9 years, fourth grade; bright, healthy boy; has been twice in court for stealing and truancy and is now in the correctional institution at X. (6) Karl, 6 years; healthy; has just entered school.

Developmental History

Normal pregnancy and birth. Weighed 8 lbs; bottle-fed, no nutritional trouble. Walked at about a year; talked at ten months. He has never been ill.

Home and Neighborhood Conditions and Influences

3 The family lives in a four-room apartment in a rather ding wooden tenement house, badly in need of repair, although th halls and stairways are kept fairly clean. There is neithe bathroom nor private toilet. The furnishings of the home ar poor; there are no books or pictures; there has been ver little attempt to create home life or attractive atmospher But the mother prides herself on keeping her home clean i spite of her physical infirmity. Olaf himself has a very sma room, almost filled by his bed. There is no place where th children can bring their friends or have ordinary recreation even among themselves.

At the time when we first saw Olaf the family income wa very irregular and meagre at the best. The father was the earning, when he worked, about ten dollars a week. The mate nal relatives were helping much. For years the father had bee a very poor earner, and in times of stress social agencies ha aided. There had been considerable actual poverty. Th mother's earlier illnesses and her muscular weakness and th necessity for the care of the children have precluded he going out to work.

While there has been no report of excessive friction betwee the parents or between them and the children, yet severa visitors who have known the family for years have stated tha there has been much nagging by the mother and very lax an inconsistent discipline. No effort has been made to develo home interests, though the mother seems genuinely anxious have the children succeed. They spend most of their free tim on the street. The mother seems more concerned about th looks of her household than about the personal appearance either herself or the children. It is reported that they fr quently come to school dirty, and are generally very untid So far as the discipline of Olaf himself is concerned, it seem that neither the mother nor the father attempted definitely punish him at the time when he began getting into real dif culties, nor have they since.

The neighborhood is made up of houses of much the sam character as the one occupied by this family. There is bloc after block of unpainted wooden houses, built close to th sidewalk. There are no vacant lots, or lawns, or yards of ar

3 Many of the points concerning the home are evident — the unattractiveness, the lack of ordinary comforts, the paucity of interests. Much discussed in Case 1, note 7, is applicable in this present case. Here, however, it is perfectly plain that the conditions have only a negative bearing. We might think, of course, that had the home been more attractive the boy would have been less likely to drift into the crowd, and yet we are not at all sure of this, for even under better circumstances the group association might have proved the more alluring. No doubt poverty was here the main factor in making the home what it was. The mother's nagging, though harmful, was, under the circumstances, natural. However opinion may differ concerning her character it is clear that she carried much of the burden. The father apparently entered very little actively into the home life. There is a discrepancy suggested by the statements that he is a great reader and that there were no books in the home. But perhaps he read elsewhere, or confined his reading to newspapers, or obtained books from the library.

The main point of interest would seem to concern itself with considerations of values both as relating to the home and to the neighborhood. Clearly the mother valued cleanliness more than an attempt to create a homelike atmosphere. What can an agency do to teach a mother the best principles of home-making — such home-making as might lead to the character development of the children? What is the trouble with a community or a district that is so unconcerned with creating opportunities for the development of wholesome mental life in the children? What is the scale or sense of values of officials, especially those in charge of city government, who concern themselves so little with matters that influence personality and the welfare of children? With nothing interesting in the home no opportunity for wholesome activities in the vicinity, there was left only the streets and the activities that the children themselves created.

considerable size. The houses are quite close together, and interspersed are small stores. The family has moved a number of times in the last few years, but always only short distances, so that their homes have been all much alike. The immediate neighborhood, and indeed the entire district, offers very little for children's recreations. There is no municipal or other gymnasium or playground; schools are not used as social centers. The churches in this district have not developed social activities to any extent; there is no boys' club; and not a single social settlement house of any size. But there is a good-sized, sandy bathing beach, which, of course, is well patronized in the summer. The main source of public amusement nowadays is the moving picture theatre, of which there are many in the district.

Social Agency Contacts

4 Two years following marriage, the mother asked for aid from the local relief agency. From that time on, this organization has been interested in the family, frequently giving material aid, such as supplying food and defraying the mother's expenses during illnesses and convalescences, as well as advising and offering friendliness. There are long records giving the details of all this and of their impressions of family conditions. The mother and children have been seen many times and the mother's statements and complaints are recorded, but only twice in all these years has the father been interviewed or seen. Conferences have been held to suggest better family adjustments, especially moving to another district and supplying a big brother; but for one reason or another, mainly because of the mother's inertia and attitude, these plans have always fallen through.

In times of special need they have enlisted the help of other relief agencies, procuring in this way clothing, layettes, etc. Then they have discussed with the mother and with two legal agencies possible means of compelling the father to support more adequately, though no study or diagnosis of the father's condition was made for a number of years.

Child-placing agencies were called on to take care of the children, first temporarily, when the mother was confined, and then for longer periods, when the mother was forced to

4 This is the barest sketch of what evidently has amounted to a very great deal of detailed work on the part of social agencies and about which many records have been accumulated.

Concerning the fact that the mother so soon after her marriage applied to the agency for assistance, we must remember that already before marriage she had such contacts. Overlapping of agency work, such as occurs in many another case, and such as might well be expected where so many agencies were active, seems in this instance not to have obtained. This was due to the management of the general welfare agency. Evidently splendid help was given from the numerous social agencies which are developed for specialized work in Boston as probably nowhere else in the world. The Massachusetts Department of Public Welfare in a report for 1920 on charitable corporations shows that over 750 of these are active, and through the sketches of them we may note that 114 are solely child helping agencies and 159 are directed immediately to the problems of family welfare.

As a specimen of family case work we think this case is open to a good deal of discussion, adverse as well as favorable. There is no evidence that the problem was ever really well formulated or the situation as a whole ever definitely sized up. Was there ever an attempt to outline the background and causations and to plan anything fundamental in the way of therapy? The point has been made by discerning social workers that frequently the person who is the center of the problem is not seen and studied. In this case we are doubtful whether the father was ever considered as the one person in the family who ought to be known better than anyone else. It certainly seems clear that he was not, from the fact that he was seen hardly at all and it was years before what was very likely the underlying cause of his non-support was discovered and diagnosed.

As soon as he became delinquent it could have been forseen that Olaf would probably be a costly member of society if he remained in this neighborhood. Furthermore, support of the family through his earning power would be largely contingent upon his being non-delinquent. But neither the welfare of the boy nor of the family in this matter seems to have been looked after by clear-headed, vigorous action. And we say this in spite of the record that we have of social agency conferences and plans for the family. The fundamental necessities were not met at all, inasmuch as nothing was done to get the family away from the district where forces were at work constantly to undermine Olaf's behavior, and where the same unfortunate influences might have been expected to be operative in the case of his brother.

We can think of much forceful persuasion which might have been utilized to induce the family to move to another district. The mother's unwillingness to do this is thoroughly characteristic of what we, in many years of experience, have found — out of sheer inertia or dislike of what is new or strange or because of little appreciation of the forces of associations outside the home in the development of conduct tendencies parents hesitate to go to a new neighborhood. A common assertion with them is that the boy or girl should keep away from

go away for physical care. The baby was cared for by one agency and the older children were placed by another agency.

A general hospital first examined the mother, and, many years later, the father. Then special examination and care was obtained when it was found that the mother had tuberculosis. And still another hospital has co-operated when the mother has been sent away for more prolonged treatment. The social service department of one of these hospitals has long been active in the family, and the district nurse has given service when there has been other illness.

Besides this, courts, probation and parole officers, and, of course, the institution at X have had contact with the two boys.

Habits and Interests

5 As a young boy Olaf is said to have been quite interested in his school life and to have played in normal fashion. Up to the age of 12 years he was at home practically always afternoons and evenings, helping his mother about the household and reading a great deal. When he once began associating with the boys of the crowd, they and their activities gradually became his main interests.

He went to church and Sunday school regularly when younger.

Olaf has never smoked much; he drinks a moderate amount of tea; we had no evidence whatever that he was in bad sex habits.

School and Work History

6 Olaf progressed normally through the grammar school grades with a very good record for scholarship until when he was in the eighth grade, he began his bad associations. The master of the last school he was in commented on his truancy and bad companionship, but the record definitely states that his scholarship was very good though deportment was bad. He lost interest in school and withdrew when he became 14, though he had not graduated.

Olaf worked all the previous summer vacation as an errand boy and turned in his wages to his mother. Even before that he had sometimes worked after school hours and on Saturdays

bad companionship — a matter that is much more difficult than their elders appreciate. In regard to conduct they are apt to size up the district entirely in terms of physical surroundings and make the statement that they themselves, and in some cases their parents, grew up there without getting into much trouble, and why shouldn't their children do the same. That the trouble may be due to influences on mental life different from what they themselves experienced is beyond their ken.

Is not the method used in these case studies, particularly as indicated in the Summary of Staff Conference, applicable just as well in general case work and even to family problems? There is the human material, with which one has to deal, there are the various features of the background to be known; and in the light of both, etiology (causations) should be determined as far as possible and stressed as a forerunner to therapy. Only by seeing the total potentialities of the situation, particularly through knowing all mental aspects involved, can really good social action be carried out. This, we believe, is what must be added to that which is so otherwise exhaustively presented for social workers in Miss Mary E. Richmond's *Social Diagnosis.*

5 Olaf's earlier good tendencies show all the more strongly the influence of the crowd in altering his interests; and we must remember that the home offered nothing, counteractive. And, then, 13 is about the age when crowd activities — group play and formation of gangs — first prove so attractive. The neighborhood crowd offered Olaf the most immediate chance to satisfy normally developing gregarious interests.

6 The school history also shows the great change that took place in Olaf because of companionship — an influence which spread into his school life, his recreational interests, and home attitudes. But, after all, such great changes are often seen when new pernicious companionship is entered into. Perhaps the fact that he was just entering a period of great physical and mental change, the period of puberty, made it possible for his earlier interests and habits of mind to be so completely overthrown by new experiences, desires, and satisfactions.

The boy's record for scholarship and the industry, shown by working while still attending school, are evidences of the good material that he innately is.

and during parts of previous vacations. After he came out of X. he obtained a position as an errand boy in a printing establishment, but after a few weeks he found it possible to earn twice as much by working long hours in a bowling alley. He had been making about sixteen dollars a week at this just before we saw him.

Companions

7 Olaf's companionship since he was 13 has been almost entirely with boys who together make up a crowd[1] that

[1]The Crowd: We have studied, we find, at various times, no less than 11 of the boys who were members of the crowd. And we have known something of the careers of 4 others. Then we have studied at least 6 more boys who have been influenced by various members of this crowd, but they can hardly be called even hangers-on When we saw these boys first a number of them had known each other already for several years. A few facts concerning the personnel of the crowd as studied by us during 1917 and 1918 may be given as follows:

A: 13½; poorly developed but healthy; rather poor mental ability, but good reasoning powers, I. Q. 87. Socially suggestible, not innately vicious. Rather good home conditions. Greater part of last 5 years in juvenile correctional instiutions; twice in X.

B: 14; very short, only fair nutrition; fair mental ability; learns readily, Yerkes-B. C. M. A. 93 — equals "adult intelligence." Quiet, pleasant, mild. Home conditions in general good. In court 3 times previously, but never committed.

C: 16½; brother of B; poor development, rather poor nutrition; fair or average mental ability, I. Q. 93. "Mild, quiet, fellow, serious manner." Many times in court during 8 years; never been committed.

D: 15; fairly well developed, very strong for age; supernormal, very good all-round ability, but very poorly informed and poor interests, I. Q. 111. Well advanced in high school. Straightforward, frank, well mannered with us. Very lax home supervision account of father being dead and mother working out. Delinquent for years, but not long court record. Taught others shop-lifting, etc.

E: 17; short, rather poor nutrition; fair general ability, I. Q. 93. "Tough bored expression," but polite and good worker with us. Fairly good family life. Been 7 times in court.

F: 13; rather poor development, supernormal mentality, I. Q. 118, does well on variety of tests, but only in 4th grade. Pleasant, talkative. Home negatively good, but parents harsh. Excessive runaway, only once in court. (This was a mental conflict case, not originally due to experiences with crowd.)

G: 15; short but fairly well developed; somewhat defective, but hardly feeble-minded since he does well on some tests, I. Q. 73 Seems pleasant, but reported surly at home; easily led. Home conditions

7 One would naturally ask why the police were unable to control the activities of this crowd. The answer would be that mere arrests, or warnings, or even occasionally dispersing the group are not sufficient; and this is practically all the police would do in most places. The necessity was for substituting something in these boys' lives to take the place of their interest in delinquencies. In some places there is now a move towards having the police act in more constructive fashion. And this is a much-to-be desired change from the usual and older conception of the function of the police. But the Juvenile Court should be able to read much deeper into such situations such as that of this crowd and do something fundamental. Sending these boys to a correctional institution was a temporary make-shift not likely to accomplish anything if they were to be allowed to come back to the old district and old associations. Of course, breaking up of the crowd was necessary, and this would only be possible through placing out the boys for a long period or by compelling families to move far enough away. We see how difficult it was for individual boys, even with good intentions acquired (see especially the case of Olaf, as it brought out later), to stand out against the influences of the crowd. Even if a boy does not wish to enter again into their activities, it is too much to expect that he will be able to withstand their suggestions or jibes if he has frequently to meet them. (The subsequent history of A shows the good results of being at odds with the crowd.)

Of course, this whole crowd situation is a grave comment upon the people of this district itself, not only that they have demanded so few public chances for good recreations for their children, but also that this crowd could continue so perniciously to congregate without the parents' themselves finding some way out through conference and joint action. (Note the effective co-operation of parents in Case 5.) That nothing was done over long years is evident not only at the time of this first study, but even in the subsequent history where we find that, four or five years later, the activities of the crowd are still carried on to some extent.

The methods of operation of this crowd are interesting; we note, for instance, that it was always merely a small portion of the crowd that entered into any delinquency at one time — there was no great crowd contagion, although ideas did permeate the whole group. Satisfactions were clearly obtained not only in the committing of the delinquency and through the enjoyment of booty, but also in the recounting of their adventures in delinquency. And, of course, this is

consists of about twenty members ranging from 12 to 16 years of age. Our information about them has been derived from accounts given us by Olaf and his mother and others belonging to the group. At first we did not recognize how many there were in this group nor the strength of the influences which permeated their association. Olaf was not the first of the crowd whom we saw.

Olaf knew several of these boys when he was younger, but his real companionship with them began only when he was 13 years old.

It was never a real gang with an organization; some of its members associated somewhat with other crowds. There were no special meetings or meeting places; the boys congregated on the street corners, or in by-places, or in the neighborhood of pool-rooms. There have been no recognized leaders, although some boys have naturally had more influence than others — the boys whose exploits had been more daring or who have set them forth with most gusto. Younger

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poor — big family, poverty, parents dull. Very repeated delinquencies for 8 years; twice at X., first time at 9 years; there he first learned to know the crowd.

H: 13; very poor development, bad teeth, tonsils, and vision; border zone of mental defect, I. Q. 78. Evasive, suspicious; street manners. Poor discipline at home, 3 brothers delinquent. For 2 years delinquent, once before in court.

I: 14½; small middle ear infection; normal mentally, but poor ability, I. Q. 82. Serious, not vicious, affectionate, depressed about his delinquency. Orphan, lives with sister who has no control. Delinquent for 3 years, twice before in court.

J: 16; short, but very strong, fair mental ability, I. Q. 91, particularly good with language. Merry, careless, seems indifferent. Very little home life, father dead, mother harsh. Repeatedly in court earlier; for a long time in X.

K: 13½; decidedly poor development and nutrition; cough, eczema, phimosis, bad teeth and tonsils; normal mentally, but poor in ability, easily fatigued, can do all the 1911 Binet 12-year tests, Yerkes-B. C. M. A. 86. Father drunkard, mother works out, big family, poverty. Delinquencies for 2 years, already in court 3 times, never committed.

Of the others not studied by us we know that L was in court at least 15 times and was in X. several times; he came from a very bad home situation. . . . . M and N were brothers from a fair home. One of them was certainly a leader in the crowd; he was in X. 3 times. His brother was in court on many occasions. . . . . O was one of the earlier members of the crowd and was in X. at least twice. He was especially active in leading others astray. He comes from a criminalistic family.

in satisfaction of a very ordinary human desire — self-assertion, self-display, aggrandizement of the ego. We need not conceive this satisfaction as implying the boasting of a braggart; it evidently was merely a statement of actual achievement and pleasure in recognition of the same.

The loose organization of the group is clear enough from the text. The crowd is made up of boys most of whom are below par physically, according to the age-norms for the general population (whatever may be the average for their district or social status). The main point of this is that their participation in adventure is not correlated with the restlessness and over-energy that so frequently goes with over-development. (Compare with the facts in Case Study 2 and 3.) These boys show up well mentally as a group; there is not one commitable feebleminded, there are only two classifiable as defective in any degree; while some are poor in ability, two are definitely supernormal.

Only one of the group comes from a criminalistic family, and only in the case of one other is there excessive drinking in the home. Four of the homes seem to have quite good qualities, and in the case of the others, whatever is bad seems to be negative, lack of control, lack of adequate income, etc. Nevertheless, one cannot deny that the homes offer little that is forceful in the way of good influences to offset the attractions of such a crowd as this. It seems to us from our experience that if one is looking for what in home life either positively or negatively, through directly bad influences or through lack of good influences, makes for inability to withstand outside temptations, one must consider first and foremost the mental or spiritual aspects of home life. And we are afraid that this is very largely overlooked in even such otherwise thorough studies as Breckenridge and Abbott's *The Delinquent Child in the Home.* The subtler aspects of human situations are often vastly more formative than anything that can be more objectively observed or enumerated.

Perhaps the most significant comment from the standpoint of earlier treatment is that, notwithstanding the many appearances of the members of the crowd in the courts of their home district, it is evident their basic activities as a crowd have never been clearly set forth in relation to therapy (even the inequalities of their treatment show peculiarities), and the individuals have never been studied with regard to personality make-up and causation. In other words, the judge had not adequate data from which to judge.

The psychology of such a crowd is comparatively simple and by no means belongs to the realm of the abnormal. Even with the loose-knit organization of this particular crowd, appearance in court and commitment together to X., led to development of some group consciousness and group loyalty. The members are held together by forces so general as sometimes to be called instincts — gregariousness, imitation, rivalry, desire to appear well to one's fellows, curiosity, the love of novelty, and the desire for acquisition or possessions. In many quarters there is skepticism of the theory of instincts as bearing on human conduct. For criticism of the prevailing notions about instincts as

boys have been recruited from time to time, but not in any deliberate or formal fashion.

While they spoke of each other as belonging to the Downey Street crowd, they were boys who merely lived in the same district, not in the same street.

Not only the main, but apparently the sole bond that held these boys together has been the recounting and committing of delinquencies. The latter were practically always carried out by two or more of the crowd who would then tell their adventures to the others. The idea thus acquired would rapidly spread and be acted on. They had no other interests in common, neither secret club activities, athletics, antagonism to other gangs or anything else.

Their delinquencies have been multifarious: Early there was jumping railroad trains, petty street stealing, staying out late nights. Then began runaway expeditions to other cities—a remarkable number of trips were taken to New York. Thieving in stores was carried on extensively, at one time by a system, groups of three or four going into a store and getting away with anything they could. The articles were distributed or sold to the other boys, there was never any systematic sharing of booty. Breaking and entering was a repeated exploit, as were various kinds of other stealing. While there were frequent arrests of members of the gang, as our sketches of them show, yet they successfully committed many depredations and went on many adventures for which they were never held accountable. When caught they have appeared for the most past in the court of the district in which they lived and not in the central Boston Juvenile Court.

Many of the older boys have worked very little. They loaf about the street until late at night. Of course there has been plenty of bad sex talk among them, we hear, but we never have had the slightest intimation that they were in bad sex practices together or that they had any association with or interest in girls. There was very little gambling in the crowd and almost no drinking.

Among these boys there has been considerable loyalty, although, again, not imposed by any agreement. The only case of "squealing" that we know of was when H gave information to the police about Olaf and M.

entities (a criticism well expressed in a title) one should read Ellsworth Faris, *Instincts as Data or Hypotheses,* American Journal of Sociology, 1921. And a newer philosophic view of the fundamental psychology of conduct in which instincts play a subordinate rôle is offered by John Dewey, *Human Nature and Conduct.*

The extensive literature on gangs or "the crowd," such as is best exemplified perhaps in Riis, *How the Other Half Lives,* and his story of organized predatory gangs, or by Forbush, Stanley Hall, or Puffer, and in the learned work of Sighele, *La Foule Criminelle,* does not deal with what is practical in such a situation as the one here depicted. For therapeutic ends of dealing with Olaf's crowd we are not interested in organized gangs or inflamed mobs. We are interested in what can be done with a group of boys who, according to simple psychological laws incite each other to delinquency. The fact that there are crowds really unorganized is worthy of much more attention in the field of delinquency than it has received. As with Olaf's group, there are associations that are more or less casual, without definite initiation, pledges, or control by definite leaders, but where stimulation by each other is very real and initiation is very direct. There is very little attention paid to this in the literature, and yet it is one of the commonest of forms of group association met by practical students of delinquency.

Delinquencies and Institutional Record

8 When Olaf was 8 years old there was some truancy, but this was at the time when there was parental neglect, particularly on account of his father and mother both being very sickly. The next year the mother herself maintained that he was unmanageable and used bad language at home—however, her account of him then, if we may judge by the visitor's record, must be largely discounted on account of her own upset condition. He first appeared in court for stealing a ride on a freight train when he was 13 years old. He was with one of the crowd with which he had just begun associating. But his mother says that his real delinquencies did not begin until a year later when he ran away with F. He was taken up by the police in New York. She herself made a stubborn complaint soon after this on account of his being out late nights with companions. When he was almost 14½ he, with others, broke into a place and committed larency. Shortly after that they stole three bicycles. He then ran away again and was arrested in New York as a vagrant. He was placed on a boat to return to Boston, but got away. He is said to have followed a circus for a little time. In about a month he returned home, and then was sent to X.

In X. he had a very good record and made a very good impression. In about five months he was paroled on the petition of his parents. He went to work and wrote manly letters to his parole officer. But in a short time he again ran away with companions to New York and obtained work there. Before long he was at home again—returning largely at his mother's request—and once more was staying out all hours with his old companions. In another month he again went away, this time with C, and they were both taken up and returned by a social agency. It was just after he came home and was accused of stealing the coats that we saw him.

Study of the Individual

Physical

9 Olaf is short, but holds himself well and looks decidedly strong. He has a large and fairly well-shaped head, large features, and a lively, merry expression.

Weight 118 lbs. Height 5ft. ½in. Thorax and muscula-

8 This boy's delinquencies have conformed to the pattern of those of the crowd. And the main peculiarity of their misconduct lies in the extent to which they ran away, especially to New York. A large number of them evidently went there again and again.

Concerning arrest as a deterrent, whatever may be the result in other cases, here it seemed to have no effect at all, largely because the crowd situation as such was never met by these single arrests.

9 For his height, at his age, the norm is 101 lbs., he is about 6 in. shorter than the median for his age. Thus Olaf, if we interpret from height and weight as usually given, has either very good nutrition or large and heavy bones. His defect of vision is not sufficient to be reckoned as important; according to oculists, below 20/40 vision, Snellen's chart, is cause for special examination.

ture very well developed. Color very good. Teeth in fine condition, throat normal. Vision 20/40, R and L. Eye reactions and movements normal. Hearing good. Reflexes normal. Pubertal development almost adult. All other examination quite negative.

Mental

10 (1) *Results on Psychological Examination:*

(Attitude during testing thoroughly good; see personality.)

According to age-level tests Olaf grades as having very good ability. Intelligence Quotient 107.

Auditory memory powers very good.

Motor control very good. Speed of mental reactions about average.

Apperceptions excellent.

Language ability good.

Work with concrete material not so good.

Writes fairly good hand.

Spells eighth grade words correctly.

(2) *Mental Balance:* Gives every indication of normally functioning mental processes.

11 (3) *Personality Traits:* Directly quoting Dr. B.'s statement dictated on the day Olaf was studied; "This is an exceedingly interesting boy, with very striking characteristics. He is a strong, merry, friendly lad. A good talker, he likes to present his views about his relationship to the world and has quite a bit of philosophy, rather mature. He impresses one as being quite frankly truthful, but, as might be ex-

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Stanford-Binet I. Q. 107; passes all but test (1) of the 16-year tests and passes test (3) of the 18-year set.
Auditory Memory Span: 8 digits, 6 backwards.
Trabue Language Scales D: score 15, equals median for grade 8.
Vocabulary definitions: considerably above Terman 14-year norm; gets 60 words, almost 16-year credit.
Pictorial Completion Test II: score 73.5, above average adult.
Tapping Test: score 91 squares, no errors, 17-year norm.
Easy Opposites: score, average time 1.8", no errors.
Mental Representations: second cross-line test promptly, code test without error.
Construction Test A: score 11", 6 moves; second trial, 6", 5 moves.
" " B: " 245", 38 " —in beginning tried to work very rapidly.
Knox-Pintner Cube Test: 8 lines, equals 14-year norm.
Reading: Intelligent expression: comprehends well.
Writing: Judged by Thorndike scale, quality 12—a little better than grade 8.
Spelling: Ayres scale, 8th grade, all correct.

10 Olaf had no wide range of tests for special abilities. But even on the findings given we can conclude that he is a very capable boy, who gives no evidence of any special disabilities. Since there was not a question of further training, perhaps the minimum schedule used in the Judge Baker Foundation for court cases was sufficient. (Learning tests have since been added to the schedule.) We know that besides having good "general intelligence," Olaf showed a good apperceptive abilities and so should be able to size himself up in his relations to the world and altogether might be expected to do well in any ordinary vocation.

11 This is a good case of the difficulty of interpreting personality traits from the point of view of their social values — the latter so depend upon the environment and outlets of expression. Estimated by the ordinary scales offered, for example, by Allport or Williams (see Case 1), Olaf's traits would seem to rank him high, and under certain circumstances they would have made him very successful. He would undoubtedly have been very attractive in some good social circles, or he probably would have been, even at his age, a very popular member, or even a leader, in some club of young fellows. His characteristics are such that it seems likely that he might become a thoroughly desirable employe. But these very traits made him also susceptible to the crowd influence and a member in good standing of his poor group.

But the study of personality in its practical aspects is still in its infancy, in spite of the numerous articles on the subject. (See the rather good bibliography by Vernon M. Cady, *The Psychology and Pathology of Personality,* Journal of Delinquency, Sept. 1922.)

pected, he does not tell all the truth. One is impressed by his great energy, mental as well as physical. He seems rather normally sheepish about discussing sex affairs — has quite an adolescent attitude about this — but in all else is rather sophisticated. He has quite a sense of humor. He pretends not to care about doing well, but in reality is decidedly keen to make a good record and is much interested in tests. He is inclined to work rapidly and make snap judgments, although his generalizations on the whole are good. He is, however, not a deliberate type; he is too energetic and full of life to ponder long before beginning a task. He has quite a strong face and a notably firm expression when he works. He is an interesting chap, with decided character. His quick grasp of things and his humor and frank expression of his ideas all make him exceedingly likeable. He really ought to make something of himself."

Several years earlier his mother had reported him "unmanageable," at one time more specifically complaining of the fact that he howled so when he was punished. At the time we saw her, however, she said that up to two years ago he was devoted to her, obedient, and very helpful about the house, getting her breakfast when she was ill. He has worked after school and in vacations, and has always brought home his earnings. In general he is thoroughly good natured.

He is not at all hardened as are many of the boys he goes with; he still says his prayers at night, and when she visited him in the correctional school he was thoroughly repentant. The priest has told her that there is a lot of good in the boy.

The superintendent of X. reported to us that he was always a bright, interesting boy while with them and gave no trouble. His parole officer likewise found him very likeable and appreciative.

Boy's Own Story

12 Olaf told us very frankly many things about himself, not about his delinquencies, however, unless he was directly asked about them. He talked freely about his school life and the institution to which he had been sent.

So far as he was concerned one trouble at the institution was that the school there didn't go beyond the eighth grade. If you were there for ten years you couldn't get any higher

12 We here get a picture, incomplete of course, of some of the unfortunate features of institutional life. One can hear in many cases of the evils of companionship there formed (such as in the case of G) and of companionships there continued, as Olaf tells us. Camaraderie is immensely strengthened by punishment or suffering in common. We see here plainly depicted what may happen through sending members of a crowd to the same institution if they can at all develop a greater friendship, community of interests, or sympathy thereby.

And also a difficulty that frequently obtains concerns the unfor-

He was in the eighth grade before he went there, and, of course, he had to do it all over. "But the other half of the day you work in the shop. I learned to set up type and feed a press. I was there five months, two weeks, and three days." When he came out, in September 1917, he got work in a small printing company, but he only got seven dollars a week, and there wasn't any chance to get ahead or learn anything new; and so after a few months he gave it up. He found that he could earn as much as sixteen dollars a week in bowling alleys, working up to ten o'clock, closing hour. Since his release he hasn't loafed more than a couple of weeks altogether.

He was never in the least bit of trouble till he was 13 years old. He had a good school record; his standing was one of the highest in the class. And he got along all right at home. Then he was arrested with Bill Evans (O.) for trespassing on the railroad. Shortly after that he began "bunking out" nights with Bill, and he was put on probation for that. Before this, Bill had introduced him to the other boys of the crowd. "While I was on probation I was arrested for a break with the Downey Street gang and I got sent away. Bill was sent down, too."

"Bill is a smart boy and a good fellow." It is his mother's fault that he is in so much trouble. They don't care at home what he does; it's a poor home. Most of the other boys in the crowd have been "sent down." In fact a lot of them have been at "the school" together. He knew all of them before he was sent there and he saw them often while he was there. "It don't do you any good. You know how to crack a safe when you come out and lots of other things. Of course they watch you and you have to be careful because there are so many stools — pardon me, I mean talebearers. It's Saturday and Sunday afternoons that they do the harm; that's when they talk. Every fellow tells the worst that he's done."

When he was young he never went around with the Downey Street crowd. He never used to steal with them. He knew some of the boys then and some of the Norris Street gang (a particularly notorious crowd in his home district,) but he never went with any of them till after he was 13.

In answer to a question concerning bad talk about sex subjects, Olaf says that of course he has heard such things

tunate school situation for the brighter and more advanced young people in institutions, those who for the sake of the awakening of their better selves and better interests could profit best by training in the formation of better mental habits which only can be obtained through a more advanced curriculum. And then there arises also the question of special training for vocational ends with these older and more capable individuals, training which might be utilized in social reconstruction on parole. Furthermore one thinks of the possibility of acquirement while in an institution, particularly through reading or personal contacts, of interests commanding enough to carry over into life outside.

Of course a sincere effort was made with Olaf through giving him training in printing, but, after all, we wonder what could have been done on either the positive or negative side that would have enabled him to have withstood the old influences, unless when he went out on parole he could have been kept entirely away from them.

ever since he was 13. "Things like that are talked of a
done everywhere." He doesn't believe he heard it from
Evans first; he doesn't know just where he did hear it fi
(Olaf became quite sheepish when talking of this. We w
particularly interested because F., a younger boy, a men
conflict case, seemed to have been upset about some no
written by Olaf. We got no indication on Olaf's part of a
bad effects or worries from communications of this sort.) H
there's one thing that ought to be stopped, he says, a
that's the showing about of some very bad French pictu
brought over by soldiers and sailors. There's been some
this in his neighborhood. Olaf states that he has never go
much with girls; he has never been immoral with them.
smokes, but never to excess.

Olaf absolutely denies the present charge. His par
officer took him back to the institution for a few days beca
he was accused, but he is not guilty of this, and he won't s
so if he has to hang for it. "It's a frame-up." And M, w
was accused by this same fellow, is not guilty either.

Olaf doesn't know just what he does want to do. He wou
like to go on a farm, except that his family need his earnin
badly. He has an uncle in a suburb. He would be quite wi
ing to live there.

*At this point SUMMARY OF CASE and SUBSEQUEN
HISTORY follow.*

SUMMARY OF STAFF CONFERENCE

PROBLEM: **Delinquencies:** Repeatedly running away from home. t late nights. Breaking and entering and larceny. Many times other aling. All with companions.

PHYSICAL: Short, but otherwise very good general development. ong and healthy.

MENTAL: (1) **Abilities:** Very good all-round ability, but not well vanced in school. (2) **Mental Balance:** Quite normal. (3) **Personty:** Friendly, good-natured, energetic, rather firm characteristics in neral, not hardened.

BACKGROUND: (a) **Heredity:** Practically negative. (b) **Developntal:** Negative. (c) **Home Conditions:** Poverty, much sickness, clean t unattractive. (d) **Habits:** Practically negative.

PROBABLE DIRECT CAUSATIONS: (1) Bad companions, a delinient group. (2) Lack of good parental management, parents sickly, c. (3) Dearth of good recreational opportunities in neighborhood. 4) Treatment under the law: (a) Continuance of crowd associations rough sending boy and companions to same institution, (b) Return boy on parole to old associations.

PROGNOSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS: Thoroughly bad under d conditions, but boy's good personality traits bespeak possibility of reat success elsewhere. Needs entire removal from present neighborood. Parents, of course, should move for sake of all the children. ome of relatives in suburb might be tried, but other placing may be ecessary. However, mere placing not sufficient. Should be found ork commensurate with his good ability and be aided at once to form ew companionships and to develop many energetic interests.

Subsequent History

Immediately after we studied him, Olaf was placed with a relative in a nearby suburb. He went to work there. At the end of a week he returned home for a visit, borrowing a bicycle for the purpose. He at once met his old companions, persuaded one of them, G, to return the bicycle for him and ran away once more with some other members of the crowd. Inside of a month he returned home and was arrested at a beach resort on a minor assault charge. Before appearing in court he ran away, this time with J, and they were arrested in Hartford for breaking and entering. Olaf escaped from detention, but was picked up later by the police and taken to Boston, where he was returned to X. He remained there ten months; then he came home. apparently fully persuaded that he was going to do well. He found work at once, but himself decided it would be better to get away entirely, and so he enlisted in the navy, giving a false age, which his mother encouraged him to do. His mother and his parole officer received letters from him steadily, which were very encouraging. He said he was doing well and wanted to work his way up. After about fourteen months he was taken ill with a prolonged fever, and at the end of this time (probably on account of his age) he was given an honorable discharge. He then secured work for himself in the West where he was at the time of his discharge, and he did very well indeed for several months. Letters received later from his employer indicate that Olaf had a perfectly good record out there and was well liked. His mother, who needed his financial help very badly at this time, urged him to come home; she thought, besides, that he might help to get his younger brother out of the institution and help him to go straight. Olaf had sent some money to his mother while in the navy and afterwards when at work.

There is no indication that Olaf was in any trouble whatever during the seventeen months that he was away from home.

On his return Olaf came in to see us and went to his parole officer voluntarily. He was very anxious to straighten out the family situation by having all move entirely away from the old district and getting his brother new companionship. He proposed to move the family as soon as he could find work. But it was a period of unemployment and no work was forthcoming. We know that he made persistent effort, following out suggestions very well indeed. An agency that tried to help him find employment recorded that he "wants to go straight, but he feels down and out since coming back home." While idle some source of income was offered him by members of the old crowd through boxing bouts in which they had become interested.

Things went along in this poor fashion for the next eight or ten months until he was arrested on a charge of larceny and was sentenced to an adult institution. He appealed, maintaining that another member of the crowd and not he was guilty. He was given

a chance to bring the other fellow in, and, finding that he had left town, went after him to New York. Directly after reaching there he formed a casual acquaintance with two fellows, and when in their company a homicide was committed by one of them. Although not actually implicated in any way he was held for three months in jail and then was acquitted.

When he came home his pending case was called and he was placed on probation; of course he had had no chance to find the other fellow. It was noted by all that his attitude seemed changed for the worse. For a while he tried to keep away from old companions, spending much time with relatives in a suburb, living at home only part of the time. But soon he took to drinking and was twice in court for this. Then he disappeared and when next heard from, he was in a reformatory in the middle west, where he still is.

Concerning the family: They still live in the same district; the father died of his heart disease in June, 1921; until recently the family has needed aid. The brother, Oscar, shortly returned from X., was soon in more trouble and sent to another correctional school from which he was paroled in August, 1921. He graduated from grammar school the following February and has been at work doing very well ever since. (It should be remembered that he never was associated with Olaf's crowd.) The sister Olga, however, is doing very poorly indeed, according to her mother's story. She went to work several years ago, before graduation, but has never done very well, having worked only irregularly and resenting giving her mother her pay. She is fond of clothes and stays out very late nights with boys and even all night. The mother made one approach to an agency to have the girl placed elsewhere, but became upset because a physical examination was, of course, necessary, and refused to go further in the matter or to take court action. The family income nowadays is still very inadequate.

Concerning other members of the crowd:

A: Went home on probation, although we had advised that he should get away from that district. Did well until certain members of crowd returned from X. and then was in serious hold-up with them. Committed once more to X. Returned home on parole; had a serious quarrel with one member of the crowd, broke off entirely with them. Been doing well for a year and a half, although in same neighborhood.

B: Perfectly frank about his associations with crowd, but placed on probation to live at home. Ran away, then sent to X.; paroled home; in more trouble with crowd, returned to X. Paroled home; was very unhappy in trying to keep away from crowd. Joined navy about two years ago, still there with good record.

C: On probation at home; got in more trouble, sent to another correctional institution. Paroled and joined navy not long after brother. Apparently doing well.

D: Before case disposed of in court ran away to New York with N; returned and placed on a good farm. There 6 months without any

serious delinquency; grew discontented and returned home. Had improved much physically. Efforts to have family move were unavailing. Held jobs for months at time and seemed to keep away from crowd. No arrest until 3 years later when stole large sum of money. Girl was pregnant by him. Married, but supports wife and child poorly; now only 19 years old; still in same district.

E: Home on probation; soon in more trouble; looked very dissipated; given a chance to go to a farm or to another correctional institution, but ran away. Month later arrested again, escaped on way to institution; again caught and placed in institution. Soon escaped; whereabouts unknown for 2 years, then it was heard that he was under sentence for burglary. Lately again sentenced, this time to adult reformatory, but has appealed and is out on bail.

F: Pending finding a place for him, returned home; ran away; then placed on farm; ran away within a month; another farm tried; ran away. Then to X. while Olaf, his former runaway companion was there. Ran away in less than 2 weeks; involved in burglary in West; been in reformatory out there for years. Altogether a tragic story of trying to make parents understand boy's needs, even as he expressed them, and ineffectively trying to induce them to live elsewhere.

G: Told about crowd situation, but went home on probation. Three months later implicated in serious larceny, returned to X. Was paroled in about a year. Did well for ten months or so until in burglary with hangers-on of the crowd. Ran away. Never heard from since.

H: Returned home. Then tried with relatives away from district and did well for a time; some months later stealing again with crowd and sent to a church school for a short time. Then much loafing, staying out nights, many times in court, delinquencies steadily getting worse; never committed.

I: Home on probation; family had moved, but not far off; boy kept going back to old crowd. Various delinquencies; committed to another institution; ran away when placed on parole. Subsequent court records for many offences, some serious. Has been married. Most of time has lived in old district.

J: Before we saw him family had already moved to another poor district. Was to be found another home after we saw him, but speedily in more trouble and returned to X; was there a year. Left home, reported in burglary in New York, but whereabouts unknown for 2 years.

K: Told about "the gang;" home on probation; few months later stealing and sent to institution for younger boys. Paroled home about a year later, then in more trouble. Since then much loafing; in court several times for larceny, drinking, etc., served short sentence in house of correction.

Of the others, not studied by us, L was committed to a correctional school, and about six months ago he was paroled back to his very poor home, where his help was sadly needed. He went to work and evidently has been really helping and doing well . . . . M has

been in adult courts twice for minor offences, but probably is doing just fairly well now . . . . N served a term of several months in prison for burglary . . . . Of O we know nothing.

Recommendations were made, of course, in all these eleven cases which we studied at different periods. We find that in nine cases we recommended entire removal from neighborhood. Four of them we recommended placing through agencies, and in three instances the families could readily have moved; the others we advised sending to institutions (not X.,) or to work elsewhere. Only in two cases were the recommendations carried out. In one of these (C) there has been to date complete success; in the case of the other (F) there were most difficult complications, as given above. Of the others there are five who are bad failures, two who were failures as long as known, and two are to be reckoned as partial successes.

FINAL COMMENT

It would have been possible to cite in considerable number cases similar to Olaf's, where, following proper treatment, there was successful outcome; the chances of success with well directed social therapy are great. But in order to illustrate the vital necessity of radical treatment where a crowd situation is involved, and the costliness of misdirected or half-way measures, we have selected a case of failure, flanked by the records of comrades, most of whose careers have been equally disastrous.

It seems a justifiable inference that Olaf's continuance in delinquency might have been averted, since away from his crowd he for long did well. And the same is true of some of his companions. This main teaching point of the case, though rather obvious, is tremendously important.

There are no subtleties involved in the case, and, adequate to reveal the essentials for treatment, there was required only a minimum amount of study, such as any court should have at its command.

Clear as the needs of such a case are to students of delinquency, it is our experience that in many courts, and on probation and parole, the fundamental therapy that such a group situation calls for is partially or entirely neglected.

The following practical points brought out in this case study are, among others, worthy of attention:

(a) The psychological study of what is involved in human conduct reactions requires not only diagnosis of the personality make-up of the individuals concerned, but also study of the dynamics of the situation, the forces and influences at work.

(b) In a delinquent crowd or group situation it is not enough to consider, in determining treatment, any offender as an isolated individual, as where one prescribes, for example, treatment commensurate with the offence or a social therapy because it has helped others. The group must be thought of as a dynamic entity, in relation to the bonds which hold it together. And any member must be treated in a manner that takes the group situation into account.

(c) The costliness of procedure without careful analysis of the situation, without inventorying loss and gain, success and failure, is as true in social work and in proceedings under the law (shown in both fields of endeavor as applied to the above case) as it is in science or business.

(d) A family problem taken over by a social welfare agency inevitably demands consideration of well-being of the children beyond matters of physical needs. Whatever affects their mental and moral life is of as great, if not of greater, moment.

JUDGE BAKER FOUNDATION

CASE STUDIES

SERIES 1 CASE 9

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the standpoint of the psychological, medical, and social sciences. It is only through the devoted service of the entire personnel that the material for the present publication is available.

Readers cannot draw conclusions for scientific purposes from statements concerning localities, names, dates, nationalities, and facts of family history as given because, in the usual professional fashion cases are reported with disguises. But the general facts, even of heredity are accurately transcribed, and no matters of importance for interpretation of causation as it bears on therapeutic possibilities in the individual case are changed or omitted.

The plan of presentation is to offer a first series of twenty studies covering a wide range of problems of interest to educators, psychologists, psychiatrists, sociologists, judges, probation officers, and all who deal with matters involving the adjustments of young people. For teaching purposes, a loose-leaf edition is available so that all pages designated with (a) may be withheld until the factual material of the first study of the case, given in the other pages, is treated by the student as a probem to be solved.

It is hoped that the publications can continue and include consideration of groups of cases representing types of problems in education, in make-up of individuals, in conduct, etc. It is planned at later dates to report on important facts of cases earlier published.

The gratitude of students who benefit by these studies is due to the Commonwealth Fund of New York, a grant from which has made this series possible.

The social treatment has been carried out through child welfare agencies of many sorts, and the spirit of their co-operation has been splendid. It would be a pleasure to give credit to the particular agency in each case, but since, for several reasons, it is inadvisable, we desire here to express our deep appreciation of their co-operation with the Judge Baker Foundation.

WILLIAM HEALY, M. D.
AUGUSTA F. BRONNER Ph. D
Directors.

Case Study No. 9

SERIES I

JUDGE BAKER FOUNDATION
40 COURT STREET
BOSTON

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January, 1923

CASE NINE

Matilda (Tillie) Mardon: 13 yrs., 11mos.; born in U. S., of Canadian parentage.

Introductory Statement

(July 1918) Tillie's well-nigh distracted mother was brought to us by the agent of a certain welfare organization in charge of their work for girls. They had known the family for years. For the last few months Tillie had been very insubordinate, untruthful, and dishonest. She had stayed away from home over night several times. About all of this her mother had asked advice of the organization earlier. Just now the girl had returned after being away ten days, her whereabouts being quite unknown. What was best to be done for Tillie and with her? Her mother said she was willing to do anything we advised.

Study of the Background

Family

1 (Information was first given by the mother, who, we found, was regarded as thoroughly reliable by the social workers who knew her. To us she appeared honest, well-meaning, hard-working, fairly intelligent, although not well educated. She showed a good attitude toward the girl. Later we heard more about the family from social agencies which had dealings with them; there were no contradictions to the early statements, merely additions of facts.)

Father: 41 years old; born in Prince Edward Island of Welsh parents. Was brought up by a distant relative in an out-of-the-way village and received very little schooling, but some training as a carpenter. He acquired only the ability to read and write in very simple fashion, but he became a ship's carpenter early in life and developed some skill as a cabinet maker, being apprenticed for a time in England, and at this trade he was earning well in his home town when he was married in 1899. He became sickly first about three years

1 A most instructive comparison of the background in family history and in home life can be made between this case and Case 8 for the sake of understanding the influences that played upon Tillie and Olaf. (Selection of the cases was not made at all with this in mind.)

In the first place, there is complete agreement in the social agency reports about the Mardon family, and a very wide divergence of opinion concerning the parents in the Kellman family. The latter seems to have been due to the personality of Mrs. Kellman, who was an easy talker and who told widely varying tales about her husband, and to the fact that the man himself was really not known. Evidently the mother made such a good impression that her stories were never investigated. It was totally different with the Mardon family; there the father was frequently seen and his influence was well known. Then his physical condition was earlier known and so the cause of his not working was understood and he was not blamed for non-support. On the other hand, we remember that Mrs. Kellman was urged to separate from her husband because he could not support, and a prosecuting agency was consulted. Neither the welfare agencies nor others interested really knew the essentials of his case or attempted diagnostic contacts with him. Judging by the records, none of the charges were sifted; for example, his alleged drinking.

The health history of the two fathers is remarkably similar; each

after marriage and from that time on has been more or less incompetent on account of his physical condition. He came, with very little money, to Boston with his wife and oldest child just after his first illness in 1902. He is a man of exemplary habits, except for smoking. Reports state: "Mr. M. is intelligent appearing, with quiet gentle manners, reluctant to receive aid;" "The father is intelligent and deliberate in conversation; the children obey him at once." One agency says of him that he is co-operative, and "almost too ready to work." His employers speak well of him, but they can not hold places for him when he is away sick so much. His wife says he is a very good man. The medical diagnosis in 1906 was tuberculosis of the lungs; heart disease, mitral stenosis. He was sent away then for treatment and he improved except for his heart trouble, from which he later suffered frequent attacks. He had been five months bed-ridden in a hospital on account of his weak heart when we first saw Tillie.

Father's Family: His father was a strong man, of temperate habits, a carpenter and farmer in a small way, who died at about 65. Mr. M.'s mother died at his birth. She was said to have been a good woman. They had had no other child.

Mother: 40 years old, born in Montreal of English parents, brought up in a small town, only meagre schooling, healthy, began working in a tailor shop at 14 years. She met her husband while on a vacation in Prince Edward Island. Reports about her do not conflict except with regard to her "intelligence." Specifically she is variously reported as "a good housekeeper and mother, frail, stooped, incapable of doing more work," as "fond of her children, denying herself for them," as "not strong, having no idea of strict discipline but obtains obedience without friction—is worn out with the struggle," and as "an unusual person, intelligent and able, showing extreme composure in time of trouble, never reproachful, almost too ready to carry out advice."

Mother's Family: Her father died when she was very young, he had elementary education and was a mason by trade. Her mother is alive at 75 and living in Maine with a widowed daughter. The couple had five children, all girls; all have been married; three have large families, and, while

was the victim of heart disease, each at one time was suspected of having tuberculosis, each became gradually incapacitated. But there was great difference in the degree of education and, going by contraries, in the behavior displayed in the family circle. But we reserve the right to wonder whether greater understanding and sympathy might not have led Mr. Kellman to play a very different part in his home life.

The mothers both had meager schooling and went to work early. Both were overworked after marriage and, by the time we saw them, were prematurely worn out. But in other respects there is no doubt that they exhibited widely differing personality make-up — the one dominating, nagging, on the surface co-operative, but not to be moulded; the other co-operative and amenable to advice, gentle, affectionate.

The children of both families, in spite of coming from sickly and worn parents, were, most of them, healthy — affording again a chance for comment upon the fact that some diseases do not influence germ plasm.

The heredity as it bears at all upon the problem of the delinquent children is negative.

very respectable people, none of them are well off. Neither in this family (nor in the father's family) is there any information obtained that indicates any mental or nervous trouble.

Children: (1) "A splendid boy," died at 12 years of pneumonia. (2) James, 17, handicapped in school progress by frequent attacks of tonsilitis, influenza, and two operations for osteomyelitis. He graduated from grammar school at 15 and immediately became a steady worker, always turning in to his mother most of his pay. (3) Tillie. (4) Eva, 11, fifth grade, healthy and "a good girl." (5) John, 7, second grade, healthy. (6) Emma, 4, had convulsions from unknown cause at 3 years, otherwise healthy. (7) Willie, 2, apparently quite normal. No miscarriages.

The school reports state that all the children, except Tillie in the last year, have attended school regularly and all have done well in school.

Developmental History

2 The mother was very well during pregnancy. Birth was easy; weight of baby, 8½ lbs. There was a healthy infancy. Walked at 16 mos. and talked at about the same time. Light attacks of scarlet fever and diphtheria in young childhood. Never any convulsions. No enuresis after infancy. General physical development gradual and normal. Menses established at 12 years.

Home and Neighborhood Conditions and Influences

3 The parents came to Boston with almost no money and moved several times as the father found work here and there. They never got a good start financially and from 1906 to the present they have received much outside aid. The father became practically incapacitated in 1914.

Their living conditions in the past have often been poor and crowded. For several years, when Tillie was 9 to 12 years of age, they had only three rooms in a wooden tenement. In one room the father slept on a cot, one child in a crib, and two others in a folding bed; the mother and the other children slept in another room. Then the family was helped to move to four airy, bright rooms. These were "scantily furnished,

2 The only point of significance in this developmental history is the early age of puberty, though there is nothing very extraordinary in its onset at 12 years. We are not aware that any better studies have appeared than those of G. J. Englemann (New York Medical Journal, February 8 and 15, 1902), who showed that in the United States the average age for first menstruation is 14 years, which is somewhat earlier than the average in Europe.

3 We may profitably continue discussion and comparison of the two backgrounds represented in this present case and in Case 8. We saw very considerable similarities described under "Family" and we find much likeness under the head of "Home Conditions." But it is also easy to perceive vast differences between some elements in the family life that bear upon the production of delinquency and what often are determining features of the background in relation to rehabilitation. We have well illustrated in these two cases the great distinction that should be made between the physical and the more spiritual aspects of family life.

Poverty was about equal in both households; for years there was crowding in both and always very meager furnishings; the homes were kept clean; in all these respects there were similarities. The contrasts exist in the subtler relations between the children and the parents, aspects that make, even more, for or against the attractiveness of family life. Discipline of the delinquent was poor in both cases, but there were certain affections and sympathies and feeling tones that were altogether different. It is curious that those parents who had perhaps less general intelligence and who were much more poorly educated should have had more positive influence in developing the good in their children — they really showed better person-

but always clean." The father's lodge had steadily aided him. A general welfare society felt that conditions were still unsuitable for both father and children, and four months before we saw Tillie, pressure was brought to bear upon the mother and aid given her to move to their present better quarters. Five large, bright rooms with bath and hot water were secured for the family in a pleasant neighborhood of quiet, respectable people. The home is again reported as spotlessly clean. There are few pictures on the walls, no books about the house, and no musical instruments. The children have a few games that have been given them by visitors.

The father and mother are both religious and have brought up the children carefully in this respect and in the ways of obedience. Church attendance has always been quite regular with them and, of late, closer church connections have been established through a church benevolent organization. There has been an attempt to cultivate at home a religious atmosphere with family prayers and strict observance of the Sabbath.

The reports of visitors during several years past all agree that the home was surprisingly well managed. The father, so much at home till recently on account of his weakness, had a good influence on the children and they obeyed him quickly. The mother was really a good housekeeper and several reports note a homelike atmosphere. "The home is neat and attractive; the children are well brought up, and they all give an unusual impression of happy family life." The mother never worked out.

Tillie's mother blames herself for being too lenient with the girl when she first started to be delinquent. She thought the girl would settle down of her own accord if she left school and went to work. She also suggests that perhaps if the father had been at home their trouble with Tillie would not have been so great; the children never disobeyed him.

Contacts with Social Agencies

4 The problem was that of inadequate income and sickness until Tillie became delinquent. Public and private agencies to the number of ten have been more or less interested. The Overseers of the Poor gave fuel and groceries at times, the

ality traits and had more resources with which to make their home attractive, — resources, however, not at all of worldly goods. It was eager co-operation that they displayed with the agencies. This, however, might have been due to suggestibility rather than to intelligence.

Altogether, we advise the student to consider at length and in many details these most interesting similarities and differences.

For the sake of seeing what could be done by way of comparison with whatever there is in the way of objective measures at hand, we have asked our visitor to rank these homes according to the scale that was developed at the Whittier State School in California (*The Whittier Scale for Grading Home Conditions* by J. Harold Williams, Nov. 1916, a preliminary report, and *A Guide to the Grading of Homes,* Whittier State School, Department of Research, 1918, p. 21.) In this scale there is grading according to five categories — necessities, neatness, size, parental conditions, parental supervision. Each of these has five separate divisions and each category is graded according to a scale of five, making a total of twenty-five. The visitor, after her evaluation according to the scale, presented the facts on the homes to others. The greatest difference between these sets of evaluations was not more than three points. A final average was struck, the Mardon home grading as having a total index of thirteen points, and the Kellman home as having eleven. This very small difference, only two points on a scale of twenty-five, is astonishing, and indicates that the spiritual values which differentiate these homes so tremendously are not given anything like the weight that they should have. We are not at all sure that a scale could ever be devised that would take in these most essential facts of the home background in its relation to delinquency, which is the point at issue. But possibly a very much better scale of objective measurement could be devised — not that we think it would ever completely answer the requirements for scientific diagnosis and prognosis.

Many elements in human relationships, many of the most important elements, probably cannot be reduced to scales such as seem to be the fashion of the age. One single item might outweigh, in its bearing upon the problem of delinquency, all items in every other category. In the study of the individual, physically and mentally, and of the family and other features of the background, general facts have little specific value for us as students of delinquency; it is necessary, in focussing on causations, to select the active and directly formative forces.

We are reminded of what Garfield said when he, thinking of the overwhelmingly greater influences of the more spiritual elements in life, gave his idea of a good college as himself, a student, on one end of a log and President Mark Hopkins on the other.

4 We see that no one agency budgeted this family or gave them enough to meet their minimum needs. The family evidently had to apply at several different places to satisfy their wants. We have little argument concerning the wisdom or lack of wisdom in such a policy. It would seem in general a method that permits of overlapping of

lodge gave financial aid, other agencies gave emergency relief, glasses were obtained at the infirmary at the request of the district nurse, who worked regularly with the family, the church society twice helped the family to move to better quarters, etc. The church organization called on the girls' department of the welfare agency for aid in solving the problem of Tillie before she ran away.

Several of the social agencies co-operating made special inquiries about the mother's relatives in Maine, having in mind the advisability of sending the family there. But on account of the meager incomes of the relatives it was deemed quite inadvisable.

School History

5 Tillie progressed uneventfully through the grammar grades in the public school. Her mother states that she always had good reports. She graduated at 13½ with a report of doing passable work only—clearly there had been a great change in her attitude toward school during the last year. She lost interest in her studies, was defiant, and caused considerable disturbance in petty ways in school. She was persuaded to enter high school at the beginning of the following term, but attended only for the first few days. She was then formally expelled for non-attendance; not that she had made any attempt to return.

Interests and Companions

6 When younger she was apparently satisfied with her school and home life; she had no outside interests except in her Sunday school; she belonged to no settlement or other clubs. She was a great reader and her mother thought her a very clever girl because she liked to discuss various questions of the day; she read the papers and kept well informed. But within a few months she has lost all interest in reading, and ceased to be helpful in the house. She often appears "as if her mind was not on her family, but was somewhere else." She is very fond of the "movies" and for a time went as often as two or three times a week because she could get passes from one of the neighbors.

Formerly she had many friends, girls who, to the mother, seemed entirely respectable. She had never shown interest

service and records and, particularly, it might foster willingness to ask and receive aid through habit formation and loss of sensitiveness about receiving charity. However, in this case, perhaps on account of the qualities of the personalities involved, it does not seem (note subsequent history) to have pauperized the family in the least.

5 From this case and others that have preceded it we can see how frequently there is reflected in the school history change of attitude and interests that are concomitant with the beginnings of delinquency. Thus in the school, danger signals can often be very early observed, though not invariably. Were the school equipped to function in connection with such situations there would be the best chance of doing preventive work. Herein lies a great field for the school visitor.

In the case of Tillie there was a marked change in behavior in the eighth grade. Then was the time to take action, and not wait till she was in high school, where she was unknown and her earlier good record not appreciated. There, of course, the simplest mode of action was to expel — this, however, being nothing but evasion of the problem.

6 There is no doubt that it could have been recognized very definitely in Tillie's case that at a certain time her old interests were beginning to prove insufficient and that she was finding new and undesirable ones. Even before this, should there not have been efforts to put her into contact with interesting and stimulating recreations, particularly such as clubs and classes with social activities? She had earlier good companions, we read (though through moving she may not have been able to keep in close touch with them), but there was no tying up to anything like a settlement group or a recreational center where some older person might have taken interest in her, and where there was wholesome chance for social contact between boys and girls. And, moreover, her home did not permit of the development of satisfying interests for a young adolescent girl. Who should have recognized her natural requirements in these respects? We are inclined to believe that the visitor of the social agency who was in and out of the home so much could have foreseen the possibility of trouble arising had she known at all the psychology of adolescence.

And then when the mother did first observe signs of trouble there should have been a conference. Even if preventive measures had not been already started, now was an opportunity for real analysis of the cause of the trouble and action in endeavor to meet it. Sending away for a couple of weeks to a vacation camp was no solution of moral ailments, nor was allowing her to find work for herself. Something much more in the way of personal relationship was clearly indicated. Of course the change to better home conditions was good for all the family (the new home was located, as a matter of fact, near the old one), but it was a general measure not at all known to be related to and not specifically affecting the causes of Tillie's

in boys. But beginning with last summer she did not go any longer with her former companions; she told her mother that she had met sailors and soldiers. The fact is that her family do not know with whom she has been going these last few months.

Delinquencies

7 The main trouble with Tillie began just as soon as she entered high school in February. Several weeks later she applied at the office of the aiding organization and asked for money for school supplies, saying she was out of school that day because of the principal's death. Inquiry showed that she had not attended school for a week. Just before this Tillie had taken three dollars from her father and refused to say how she spent the money, but later she was found to be wearing silk stockings. At about the same time she took fifteen dollars from her brother, and told tales of ill treatment by her family to the neighbors. Then, following her expulsion from school, for weeks she said she was looking for employment, and she would frequently not return home till late at night, at first giving excuses, but later becoming defiant.

One Sunday when her mother had gone to see her husband at the hospital Tillie went away and stayed all night. She telephoned the next morning saying that she had been all night with a friend of the family who lived in a suburb. Later it was found that this was untrue. The following week she went away again, and this happened two or three times more. Each time Tillie said she had been at a different place with friends, but inquiries proved her statements false. She misrepresented much about working, both to her mother and to the welfare agency worker. Then her mother tried to persuade Tillie to go into domestic service, feeling it was safer for her than factory work. Soon the girl said she had obtained a job as a maid and gave a name and address found to be fictitious. She obtained money from a storekeeper and neighbor by false representations about her mother's wishing to borrow, and when she finally found employment she stole five dollars from the woman for whom she worked. The woman had given her a dollar the day before to test her honesty, and she had returned with the change, but the next day she made off with the larger sum.

change of behavior. The kernel of the trouble, namely the fact of her harmful companionship recently acquired, was not reached. And, of course, as is so common, Tillie got her sex information from the poorest sort of companions on the street. Ought a welfare agency visitor working in a family to feel any responsibility in this matter? This should be discussed by heads of agencies in considering their general program as it may bear upon the prevention of delinquency. Could not a visitor, establishing confidential relationship, find out whither a girl is drifting and what she needs in the way of sex information? Certainly it cannot be done formally nor at a specified age; rather there should be watchfulness for signs of the need for such personal help. Then it is a matter for great tact and preferably for co-operation with parents.

7 This account of Tillie's delinquencies, as known to her mother and to the agency visitor, suggests of course, that there was very much more than this surface misconduct. With whom had she been associating, both when she stayed out long hours and when she was away all night. Was she engaging at these times in sex immorality? Probably it was because of Tillie's previously good behavior and perhaps because also of her youth that this was not considered seriously by her mother, and that, likewise, more speedy and drastic measures were not used by the agency visitor.

But the chief interest for us now lies in consideration of what should have been at that time suggested to any worker with girls by such behavior as Tillie's: Here is a girl showing quite extreme conduct disorder together with typical adolescent traits such as rebellion at authority, self-assertion, independence of action, dissatisfactions with what earlier had contented her, desire for new experiences — all assumed after the advent of puberty. And all these picture more strikingly than anything else a complete metamorphosis of character traits.

An immense literature has grown up concerning adolescence, its basis and its symptoms. The standard work on the subject is still G. Stanley Hall's two volume study, *Adolescence.* Even in this searching work, in which there is the collection of an immense amount of material, very little space is devoted to the relationship between delinquency and the adolescent period, although statistics of delinquency and crime bearing on the point of the correlation between age and offence show everywhere that the peak of the curve is in later adolescence, with a very rapid rise beginning already at 15 years. In a very recent book, *The Adolescent Girl,* by Phyllis Blanchard, to which we would naturally turn for discussion of the peculiarities that our present case shows, although there is bringing together of many modern points of view, we find practically no help in dealing with such real problems of adolescence.

And another curious comment which may be made concerning the literature, even that portion which bears directly on delinquency in adolescence, is that one can find so few typical case studies containing even the barest implications relating to therapy fitted to the

After these weeks of misbehavior and effort to get her straightened out, Tillie, one day, dressed unusually carefully and said she was going to get a position. Nothing was heard of her for almost two weeks. Her mother received a letter from her saying that by the time this letter arrived she would be dead; that she was pregnant by a sailor and would kill herself before giving birth to an illegitimate child. A warrant was got out for her, but nobody found her, until one morning her mother met her on the street near their home and asked her to come back. Tillie seemed glad to do so.

Study of the Individual

Physical

8 Tillie appeared quiet, unconcerned, with an expression of considerable humor concerning the situation. With her broad face and thick lips, rather homely and rather sensuous, she looks the part of a good natured country girl. Her head is fairly well shaped and her color good. She holds herself well.

Weight 116 lbs. Height 5 ft., 1 in. Well developed thorax, breasts rather large for her age; musculature of good tonus. Vision and hearing normal by ordinary tests. Eye reactions and movements normal. Knee jerks lively, other reflexes normal. Several badly carious teeth. Tonsils not enlarged. Thyroid just palpable. A woman physician reports to us no venereal disease, but evidences of immorality.

Mental

9. (1) *Results on Psychological Examination:*

(She worked willingly on tests, with good humor, appearing keen and alert.)

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[1] Stanford-Binet I. Q. 116; passes all the 14-year tests and (2) (3) (4) (6) of the 16-year and (3) of the 18-year tests.
Auditory Memory Span: 8 digits.
Visual Memory: Binet forms, neither correct; Healy form 100%.
Trabue Language Scale D: score 15, equals median for grade 9.
Pictorial Completion Test II: score 42.5, median for 9-10 years.
Tapping test: score 88, 0 errors, median for 14-15 years.
Mental Representations: second cross-line test correct at second trial; code test with only 1 error.
Easy Opposites (W-Wells): score, average time 1.4" no errors or failures.
Construction Test A: score 25", 9 moves; second trial, 10", 5 moves.
" " B: " 100", 19 "
Spelling: based on Ayres scale for 8th grade, correct.
Reading: about equivalent to school grade.
Arithmetic: tested only for fundamental processes; these correct.

exigencies of this period, either from the point of view of prevention or of checking delinquent trends already observable.

In so scholarly a work as that of G. L. Duprat *(La Criminalité dans L'Adolescence)* comprising in its 260 pages the largest monograph so far on this subject, very little justice is done to the richness of this field. We find almost no discussion of prognosis, of course, one of the main considerations in practical work with delinquents, and, although some few pages discuss the crisis of adolescence, no mention is made of the sudden incidence of delinquent behavior, such as is seen in the case of Tillie and many another. It is, then, to case studies that we must turn for the development of our knowledge concerning all the practical points necessary for the proper handling of the problems of the delinquent adolescent.

No one can seriously study such a case as this without being impressed by the fact that there seems to develop, sometimes suddenly, sometimes more gradually, a tremendous mental upheaval, accompanied by a lack of normal self-control. Indeed the responsibility of the adolescent is a matter that has been the subject of considerable discussion, however, for the most part, in most unpsychological fashion. Duprat makes a point of the fact that in most countries laws are built upon the theory that the period of adolescence is one of growing responsibility. Beginning at 10 or 12 years, already a slight degree of responsibility is supposed to be acquired, and full adult responsibility is presumed to have been developed at ages that vary from 14 to 21 years according to the legal statutes current among different civilized nations. Probably no one, after many years of experience in endeavoring to study the delinquent and his mental life, is more impressed than we are with the difficulty of assigning degree of responsibility to offenders. Indeed we hesitate to consider this point at all. But we feel that if there is any justification for attacking this metaphysical question it will be found that it applies as much to dealing with the problems of adolescents, who are carried away often by the sudden development of their own natures, as it does to the problems of mental disease — so remarkable in adolescence may be the overthrow of the control of impulse, even to the point of indifference to the commonest principles of self-interest.

8 Compared with the median for her age, Tillie is 2 in. shorter and 3 lbs. heavier than this norm, and she is 12 lbs. heavier than the weight for her height. She shows in her physical structure some evidences of prematurity.

We strongly believe in the local examination of girls being made by a sympathetic and experienced woman physician. Through service thus rendered a great many facts important for the individual's welfare may be ascertained.

9 The attitude displayed toward tests is in marked contrast with that shown by Tillie both at home and with us during her conversation. Her mental alertness may indicate a general interest in mental tasks,

According to age-level tests Tillie grades as somewhat supernormal. Intelligence Quotient 116.

Memory powers; auditory span very good, visual not good.

Language ability good; has quite fair vocabulary and expresses herself well.

Motor and mental control rather good.

Apperceptions: with language good, with pictorial material poor.

Works well with concrete construction material.

School work up to grade.

10 (2) *Mental Balance:* Closely observed on account of the peculiarities of the situation; no indications whatever of abnormality could be discovered,—indeed there seemed to be unusual poise, good orientation and emotional control, in particular there was no haziness or clouding of consciousness.

11 (3) *Personality Traits:* When younger, Tillie was a very good child, obedient, helpful, affectionate, very reliable in her school life—she would be sent to the bank with money by her teacher.

Now she is very different in many ways. She has become disrespectful and defiant. Beginning several months ago she showed a hardened attitude, never excusing herself when she had done wrong. She is no longer affectionate except with the baby, and she is never helpful in the house. Lately when her brother was ill she was not in the least concerned. "She is stubborn and selfish and out for herself." She gets very excited if she does not get what she wants. For example, about a month ago she bought a sweater that she had no right to get and when her mother took it away from her and refused to give it back she ran up to the roof of the building and threatened to throw herself off.

As seen by us Tillie appeared remarkably unconcerned, considering her recent conduct and experiences. She seemed not one whit disturbed and jested about things in general. She resisted questions at first and even later seemed not at all repentant. She exhibited unusual poise and control for a

or it may merely mean that the breakdown in morale has not carried over and interefered with the functioning of mental capacities. Her test results are, for the most part, quite regular and indicate good all-round capacity. The only exception is found on the apperception test, and that may be of significance in relation to Tillie's conduct.

10 The findings here are very important because sometimes adolescent lack of control may be so great as to bring about a temporary psychosis.

11 Little need be added to what has already been said that bears on personality. One might, perhaps, wonder if Tillie's extreme selfishness and her lack of feeling are not the results of sex misconduct, the latter blunting her sensibilities; but it seems more likely that the reverse is true, that the selfishness and indifference to others, appearing now at adolescence, have made it possible for Tillie to engage in sex irregularities. That misconduct appears to disturb so little is not commonly true in cases similar to Tillie's. Indeed, frequently the young sex offender is greatly upset by such experiences. It is, of course, conceivable that Tillie's indifference was more or less assumed, or that it was used as a means of self-deception and self-defence, or that it was part and parcel of the great upheaval of feelings in adolescence.

We are fully aware that, taking this girl as she was at this time when she was exhibiting such extraordinary conduct trends, many psychiatrists (and we judge here by what we have observed in many other cases) in their anxiety to label the individual they have seen, would have called Tillie a psychopathic constitutional inferior or, a term used often as nearly equivalent, a psychopathic personality. This is a tendency which we feel called on to oppose, because the terminology is used so indiscriminately and obscures issues which are vitally necessary for understanding and treatment. Such terms indicate abnormality, presumably innate and lasting, and leave out of account temporary instabilities (See *Effect of Adolescent Instability on Conduct,* A. F. Bronner, Psychological Clinic, Feb. 1915), as well as the results of mental experiences and environmental influences, the importance of which we have discussed in our "Final Comment" on this case.

young girl, but evidently was self-willed, mean in attitude toward her family, lacking in any fine feelings, obsessed with sex ideas.

Girl's Own Story

12 (Excerpts are given from two interviews, several days apart. On the second occasion she was told flatly that she had lied much in the first interview and she was urged to try to help herself by giving the true facts so that affairs could be straightened out for her. She seemed to respond to this appeal, acknowledged she had lied about details, and said she now wanted to tell the truth—she acknowledged from the first that she had been living with a man.)

Tillie says that she lied about where she was working a time ago because she didn't want the agency visitor to know what she was doing — "she tried to make a fool of me." But she only worked in that place a few days, and the woman gave her five dollars to go out and buy something and she never went back. She wanted the money to get some shoes. Her mother had told her to go to the social agency about her shoes, but Tillie did not want to do this. Tillie also tells about stealing the three dollars from her father and fifteen dollars from her brother. She claims not to know exactly what she did with the money, but, "I must have spent it on something to wear; I like pretty clothes."

She says she would not have stayed away from home such a long time if she had been in her right mind. She was living in a room with a sailor who was on a furlough. She got tired of it after three days and would have come home, but she was afraid. "I went to the Charles River to commit suicide a lot of times, but I didn't have the courage." She finally went home because she didn't care what would happen to her; she supposes she will be sent away somewhere.

When she was 12 years old and living on R. Street she heard a lot about sex things. In their tenement there was always a lot of quarreling, and, in particular, Mr. Royer, one of their neighbors, used to accuse his wife of having relations with other men. She also heard a lot of bad

12 A number of smaller incidental points in the story are of some interest particularly Tillie's liking for pretty clothes, a most natural desire among adolescent girls, based on normal psychology that is quite familiar. Under circumstances such as those of the Mardon family these natural cravings are, of course, difficult to satisfy; but it does little good to ignore them, and most workers with girls do now recognize them and feel that gratification of such outcropping desires is not wanton extravagance but, rather, a wise procedure. Again, Tillie's dislike to ask the agency for shoes surely indicates no bad trait, even though the willingness to steal money to supply her wants might seem to demonstrate a rather twisted scale of ethical values.

The statement about quarreling at home was probably an exaggeration on the girl's part, due to attempted self-justification of her sudden resenting of control, rather than any new feature of the home life.

The main interest, however, concerns itself with what bears on Tillie's sex urge. Apparently her earlier hearing of sex talk did not disturb her at the time. This was probably because she was then younger, pre-adolescent, and her sex curiosity not yet awakened, but no doubt this earlier experience formed a background that later added to her sex consciousness and sex interest. In thinking of the genesis of trouble in such cases we are constrained over and over again to consider the neglect of parents in not establishing a confidential relationship with their children concerning sex matters. That most interesting document, *A Young Girl's Diary,* recently published in this country by Seltzer, pictures in clearest fashion the ruminations that go on under conditions of semi-ignorance about sex affairs and the extent of such communications between young girls. Besides, in this book, illuminating on many points, we gain some conception of the fact that ordinarily a girl believes that her mother cannot be her particular friend in these matters. (An indication of possible change in a mother's attitude will be noted in "Subsequent History," where Tillie tells of her mother's meeting the situation quite differently with her younger daughter.)

Tillie having now reached the adolescent period, Mildred W.'s confidences became dynamic influences. And then there was, too, the actual introduction to a poor sort of young men, "bums." More especially important was the type of information imparted at the vacation camp at a time when Tillie was already so alive to sex matters. The reaction to living with Jim is noteworthy — the quick satiation was perhaps due to Tillie's youth, for it is very likely the physical sex urge was not nearly so great as the hold of ideation that centered about sex life.

stories from the girls around there, but none of this, at that time, bothered her at all.

Then when they moved to G. Avenue, where they lived before moving to their present nice apartment, she met Mildred W. This girl talked to her much about boys and introduced her to "some bums," and through Mildred she also met Helen M., who had been out a good deal with men. The latter part of last summer Tillie had a chance, through the agency, to go out to the country for a vacation (to a very beautiful place where working girls are invited for a couple of weeks at a time). There she talked a good deal to a girl who told her much about picking up sailors and soldiers. "She told me how warm you get when a man touches you."

After she returned she met some sailors in the park and on the streets after school and walked around with them. But she never made any real engagements with them until she met Jim. She liked him very much and used to meet him almost every Thursday and Saturday. After she had known him for a few weeks she spent the night with him, and after this did so several times. Besides she was often with him late at night. He paid her for living with him. At first she refused to take the money, but later didn't care, because she could buy pretty things. She denied this to us at the first interview because she did not want her mother to know that she had been immoral with him before.

About going away this last time she says that she was feeling very sad when she met Jim and he asked her what made her sad. She told him it was all the quarreling there was at home. This "quarreling," she tells us, was the trouble that she had at home with her brother and sister. Her father always stood up for her brother, and she thinks that the latter, because he is sickly, is very hasty. And then her sister was always telling tales on her. If she saw her say, "Hello" to any boy she would immediately tell her mother. In the square near their house there are always hundreds of boys and some of them always call out when any girl passes by. If her sister saw any of them do this she would run home and say that Tillie was flirting with boys.

About her companiones earlier she says that she was one time friendly with a boy who lived next door. He used to

The probability of this is even more strongly re-enforced by Tillie's diary and letters, for from these it is apparent that the girl engaged in a great deal of rumination and fantasy that was correlated with development of general sex life, as such. The latter itself was undoubtedly a much more important element in her behavior than any primary physical sex feeling. It seems very probable from the letters of the diary that she identified herself for the most part with "Bet," and that in her imagination she was living through, not so much sex experiences specifically, as a more general sex desire to be popular among boys or young men and to be the recipient of their attentions. It is not necessary to regard these thoughts as other than wish-fulfillment fancies centering about her newly awakened sex consciousness, with all its pressure to be a personage and to experience the power that an attractive young woman can exert. (These are motives that have been variously designated, earlier and more recently, as the instinct for self-assertion or self-display, the will-to-power, self-aggrandizement, self-realization, ego maximization or "ego maximation," "putting one's self across.") Such fancies would seem, in the concrete situation, to indicate a desire for more stimulating experiences than those permitted by her own environment. The make-believe of letters received in such large quantity on some days no doubt constituted for her a very satisfying detail in her adolescent imaginings.

As for the letter written to "Dear Chum E. or S.", and which was never sent, this was, no doubt, Tillie's effort to impress herself with her own knowingness and sophistication, though it throws light, too, on the thoughts that were, at the time, uppermost in her mind.

The letter to her mother is also in many respects thoroughly adolescent, even in the self-accusation contained therein. Picturing to one's self the family grief over the loss of one's self is a very common method of self-gratification. And, as for the delinquency, the very magnitude of the offence pictured, makes the doer proportionately the center of imagined attention and concern. The more extreme the delinquency, perhaps the greater is the family grief aroused over the sad death. At any rate, Tillie demonstrates in both her factual statements and in the wording of her letter, a typical adolescent sense for the dramatic.

come in to see her and the family used to tease her about him. Then she had a quarrel with him and since then has never spoken to him. He has been down to their present house, but she still refused to talk to him.

Her Diary and Letters

(Tillie's diary consists of very short "letters," apparently written one for each day during a period not long before she ran away, but undated, and all addressed to "Dear Bet" and signed always "Mae." There is great sameness to them; the following are fair examples):

"Dear Bet: Jack and Billy called in today and told Ma something to tell you. They said they couldn't trust me with it. Mae."

"Dear Bet: Letters from everywhere, 2 from St. Paul, 3 from Boston, 1 from Hampden Rd., Virginia, 2 from Key West, Florida and 1 from Camp Dix, New Jersey. Mae."

"Dear Bet: A call from Jack. Meet him at South Station 8 sharp in Worcester. And go to Canton from there. Mae."

"Dear Bet: Jack was up today with another guy and they waited for you for about an hour. Gee! but that guy Jack brought with him is some piano player. They went away in about an hour. Mae."

"Dear Bet: Dead today only one letter marked Brooklyn, New York. Mollie was in today and said for you to be up her house at 8 o'clock sharp tonight. Mae."

"Dear Bet: Billy was around today with a swell car. I think it was a Buick and he left a note for you. He gave it to me to give to you. Mae."

"Dear Bet: Harry Carse called here to see you but you was out with that sailor all I said was Bet went to the show. He left a swell box of chocolates for you and said he must see you before the end of the week. Mae."

"Dear Bet: I will keep your diary on one condition if you will let me take your georgette hat for Sunday. You have a new one the black velvet you know. Whatcha say? Mae.—Ans. All right Mae. Bet."

"Dear Bet: I resign from this strenuous position of keeping a diary for you. It is too much like WORK, do you understand. Mae."

In the same handwriting this book also contained various sentimental poems: "Smiles," "There is a Streak Across the Sky-line," "A Prayer," etc.

Enclosed is a long letter written to "Dear Chum E. or S.", purporting to give, among other things, the story of the Royers; "I

always think it is best to break the bad news first so prepare yourself steel yourself Mrs. Royer is in the Boston-lying-in Hospital on the dangerous list she is not expected to live. She had a baby but it was born dead. I am very sorry to have to write you this but you are such good friends with them that I had to let you know the worst. You know before she went to the hospital the two of 'em had a fight and he gave her some poison to drink and she drank the boob drank it and poisoned herself." In this letter there is also a description of the influenza, of a big fire in a nearby town, of what a fine time she had at the beach; mention of two friends who have married men who are in the draft, "poor things," etc.

We have also the letter which she sent to her mother the day after she ran away:

"Dearest Mother, ... By the time you will receive this letter I will be *dead.* Dead do you understand? Give my last and best regards to the kiddies but to John, Emma, and Willie especially but that —— Eva if I only could I would take her into Hell with me. But there is no telling what can happen, strange things happen and as the people say if you hate a person and when your dead why then your ghost comes back and you can take the person you hate into Hell with you. . . . . What is the use I'll live on again and I'll suffer again so it is best to end it all and end it quick. Quick do you understand? But it is not too late now. Before I'd bring forth a baby I'll kill myself and kill the baby too. I can live but I can kill the baby, this boy I know he is practicing to be a doctor in Harvard College has given me some pills you can't buy them if you was going to look all over the U. S. But what the Hell is the use I'll kill the baby and I'll live why no-siree Bob. If that baby dies why I die too. Good-bye Ma. . . . . I hope you will have better luck with your other children. And ma (although I don't deserve to call you that) take a tip from one who knows whatever you do look after your girls. Good-bye." "P. S. It was all a bluff I didn't have any job. I don't even know Mrs. S. I was out Nantasket Beach with three sailors. But it is all over now I will be dead by the time you get this letter. Tillie."

At this point SUMMARY OF CASE and SUBSEQUENT HISTORY follow.

SUMMARY OF STAFF CONFERENCE

PROBLEM: **Delinquencies:** During last few months some stealing from home and employer, obtaining money under misrepresentations, much lying, staying out late nights—several times all night—and once away from home ten days, repeated sex immorality.

PHYSICAL: Good general development and strength. Several badly carious teeth. No venereal disease. Rather over-development of sex characteristics for age. Quiet, unconcerned expression. Rather sensuous face.

MENTAL: (1) **Abilities:** Supernormal in general ability. Language ability very good. Fairly well advanced in school work. (2) **Mental Balance:** No observable signs of mental imbalance. (3) **Personality:** At present apparently remarkable poise, notable indifference to moral issues involving herself and family, unrepentant, selfish, much interested in sex affairs.

BACKGROUND: (a) **Heredity:** Quite negative. (b) **Developmental:** Negative, except somewhat early puberty. (c) **Home Conditions:** Much poverty and crowding for years, but recently conditions much improved. Family atmosphere very good.

PROBABLE DIRECT CAUSATIONS: (1) Adolescence—marked change of character and interests recently. (2) Bad companions, particularly bad girls, earlier, and recently, men. (3) Unfortunate sex knowledge obtained from bad sources, with much ideation developing therefrom. (4) Lack of good parental control on account of father's being ill recently and mother rather weak type, although both very good. (5) Some premature development of sex characteristics, making her attractive to men.

PROGNOSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS: This girl is in a very bad state morally and needs absolute supervision. Upon question of pregnancy depends, to some extent, disposal of case. Unless she quickly demonstrates a complete change of her present attitude, should regard her as only suitable for girls' industrial school or some other training school. At present appears a case for prolonged training, such as only institution can give, with careful oversight afterwards on parole. Teeth badly need attention.

Subsequent History

The mother being fearful that Tillie would run away again, Tillie was held in a working girls' home till the agencies interested in the family could have a conference about the case. It was decided that court action was wisest. The mother willingly made out the complaint in her home district, and the judge, on hearing the facts and recommendations, committed Tillie to the state industrial school.

Tillie was held there only ten months because of her extremely good conduct and attitude while there. It was found that she was not pregnant. The report from the school states, "Tillie is impulsive, easily influenced, responds well to correction. She is orderly, attentive, never disrespectful. As regards school, she is slow, shows little interest, memorizes easily, is subnormal."

While in the institution, Tillie's father died in the hospital; she was a good deal affected by this. The family circumstances, of course, were much as before and they continued to live at the same place. Believing that there might be too lax discipline in the home, the parole department, which studies its cases with great care, placed Tillie in a foster home where she was to attend high school and receive two dollars a week. Here she did very well for four months. But the mother thought that the girl was not well placed from a religious standpoint, so Tillie was transferred to a family, nominally of their own religious sect. Here she assisted in the care of the small child of the household and had various other duties, but she continued at high school, finishing her first year with very good marks. (Contrast this record, as well as the earlier test findings, with the institution's statement that Tillie was subnormal.) The foster mother was reported as rather unsympathetic and as demanding a great deal, but Tillie made no complaints, and there were no complaints about her. Though in a co-educational high school, she showed no interest in boys, and her moral behavior in general in both foster homes was exemplary until she had been about seven months in the second home. Then, following a great deal of irritability and nagging on the part of the foster mother, she attempted suicide by turning on the gas. The parole visitor found that the home life had been very difficult for Tillie; she had been made a drudge by the pleasure-loving, young foster mother, who constantly threatened Tillie with return to the institution. Tillie had previously told nothing of this.

Now the visitor, who had become well acquainted with Tillie's mother and had come to think very well indeed of her, recommended that the girl return to her own people. Her mother had often requested this. Furthermore all felt that Tillie might now leave school and help in support of the family. She herself responded very well to the idea.

Tillie has done remarkably well. She has worked steadily, now nearly two years, for one firm. Her employer considers her very capable and has twice raised her salary. All of her money she turns over to her

nother. She has grown responsible in every way and her mother lepends on her much for advice. Tillie is interested in the younger hildren, and especially in the welfare of her sister Eva, about whom he has consulted the agency visitor in an endeavor to get her care-ully placed in business following her graduation.

The family is on the up grade. The children who are working nave made over the front bedroom into a "parlor" where they may entertain their friends. They now have a phonograph and enjoy the music and dance to it. Tillie and her older brother belong to a good social club in the neighborhood, and they go much together. They sometimes take their mother with them to picture shows. The brother has been sickly and the family still has to receive a small amount of aid. Tillie still likes pretty clothes and she dresses neatly and tastefully. Through her employment she is able to get a discount and to pay for her clothes by weekly payments.

Since her commitment to the institution Tillie has never been known to show the slightest interest in sex affairs. During the more than three years on parole, her attitude toward boys and men has seemed altogether normal; she has neither shunned them nor seemed unduly attracted by them.

A few months ago when her visitor called at the home she found the mother busily engaged in baking and the girls getting the rooms in spotless condition; they were preparing a party. "It's my birthday," Tillie explained. "But really the party is for Janet. She's a girl next door who's getting into bad company. She has a stepmother and things aren't very pleasant for her at home. I remember how easy it is to go wrong. I'm planning it so that she can meet some nice boys and girls."

Recently Tillie came in to see us. She is now quite an attractive young woman, very neatly dressed, and courteous and friendly in manner. Her face has lost its sensuous look and is, indeed, rather strong; her eyes are merry, and she is in general quite vivacious. She speaks with enthusiasm of her work, of her family, and of her recreations. She feels that sending her away was a very good thing. "It brought me to my senses," she tells us, with tears in her eyes. Had she been placed in a family she might have kept right on; she was so foolish then. But also her father's death affected her greatly. That made her realize how much pain she had been giving her family. She doesn't feel that either the school work or the personalities in the institution were great influences on her. The household training there was a good thing for her; now she can prepare the Sunday dinner at home so that her mother can have a little more rest.

She feels sure that she got into so much trouble because she fell in with bad company. "And I was such a fool then." Her mother has done quite differently with Eva. She talked to her about sex things. Years ago when she, Tillie, began to get in trouble "all they did was to scold and holler at me, and all that does is to make a girl worse." But anyway, Eva is a different sort of girl, quiet, and "stay-at-home." She and Tillie have some friends in common and all of the family are encouraging Eva to bring her friends to the house. In

the old days Tillie couldn't do this because they had no sitting roo and her father was so ill. She doesn't blame her parents for an of her early trouble, however. "They always did everything to try t please all of us."

FOOTNOTE OF DISCUSSION

No doubt the thoughtful reader will ask if Tillie could not hav been successfully guided to re-establishment of more wholesome con duct trends through measures other than commitment. Clearly th outlook in her own home was not favorable since no one there coul exert any control and Tillie was badly in need of some method whereb her apparently increasingly dangerous tendencies could be checked Would placing out in a foster home be advisable? Who would b responsible for finding a suitable home and for supervising and guid ing Tillie?

Study of the case had shown that Tillie earlier had good personality traits and that there was a good family background; the case was typically one of adolescent flare-up which might be expected to die down. Should not all this have counted in favor of placing in a good home? Would not removal from bad companions and development of new interests have been all that Tillie needed? Perhaps she could have been controlled by being brought into court and then placed in a foster home with probation used as a means of continued supervision. Certainly this might have succeeded and should have been tried.

The fact is that the feeling of all at the time was that this girl's mental attitude was a most important factor, inasmuch as she showed so little concern or repentance. One could but be fearful about the danger of her repeating her offences while in this mood; she had been so resentful of control. And how long would her unfortunate attitude last?

And then, at the time, stress was laid, perhaps too strongly, on her seeming to be so obsessed with sex ideation. Not enough discrimination was made between sex rumination as an expression of general sex interest and sex thoughts as indication of actual specific sex urge which might awaken temptations and lead to further immorality. Probably we did not take enough into account the possibility that by the time we saw her she had, by her own experiences, satisfied her curiosity about sex affairs. We know that she had not done so when she was at the vacation home; we may infer from her keeping away from a poor sort of girl in the industrial school that by the time she reached there her curiosity was allayed. It is difficult to see how one could have judged about all this; sex stress might have been increased by experiences, sometimes it is, even in such young girls.

The points in favor of commitment to the industrial school were the immediate need of checking the career in which Tillie was starting, the need of a period of tiding over, and the possibility of legal oversight until she was 21, a feature which, at the time, seemed much worth while. The outcome being so extraordinarily good, one cannot

say that the treatment was altogether wrong. This does not imply, however, that institutional treatment was absolutely necessary or that the same treatment should be followed in all other similar cases. We are hesitant to accept even Tillie's judgment that sending her away was what was needed. What is positively indicated in such cases is the absolute checking of the trends, under a control which the girl regards as authoritative, and a period of oversight until it is clear that a satisfactory readjustment in the home is possible.

FINAL COMMENT

Any widely experienced student of delinquency knows instances of extreme misbehavior of the kind represented by this case. To analyze such a case into its diagnostic and etiological categories is the first requisite for the practical ends of therapy. The overt misconduct may be the same in different cases, but the underlying situation upon which should depend both prognosis and treatment may be very different.

As far as the specific misconduct is concerned it might be that of a feeble-minded girl, or of one from an immoral home, or have as antecedent cause long years of definite sex stress, or of bad sex habits. Most important it is to distinguish between sex misbehavior centering about ideation and that based on physical sex feeling. A girl behaving as Tillie did might be "the daughter of her mother," or of her father, inheriting hypersexual tendencies. All these and many other possibilities are to be ruled out if we are to know the case as we can know it, even with what there is of a science of delinquency developed today.

Tillie, as one analyzes her case, stands out as a remarkably clear illustration of adolescent flare-up. To be sure, most similar cases begin their misconduct later in adolescence; however, Tillie herself was already well past puberty.

It is not clear in considering causations in such a case whether to lay most stress upon the individual or upon the environment. Concerning the individual there are: First, the biological issues, principally, of course, the newly awakened activity of certain glands of internal secretion, perhaps resulting in definite sex urge. Second, there are the psychological issues, nowadays variously phrased: (a) instinct strivings, perhaps for the main part newly found ego-satisfactions in feelings of power over the opposite sex; (b) breakdown of habits and release of inhibitions through overwhelming recently acquired knowledge of life; (c) disintegrations and confusions in the mental and moral spheres caused by subvertive concepts of sex relationships and by sex experiences; (d) impulsions arising from powerfully conative ideation; (e) or, perhaps, typical adolescent characteristics—instabilities and ego-assertions. Features of the environment are, particularly, the influences in tenement house life; absence of wholesome recreational outlets; unsupervised, poor companionship; and other conditionings. Any or all of these together may be active in causation.

In such adolescent flare-ups there is remarkably sudden transformation of character, and fortunately, there may be, as in Tillie's case, after a period, a complete reverting to normal standards. And we should know that adolescent flare-ups are found on all economic and cultural

levels, among those living amid privations and those living at ease, sometimes among families where standards of education and religion are high, as well as where there is indifference to the finer values of life.

What shall one say about prognosis? It is no longer generally believed that a girl's sex experiences ever demand wearing the scarlet letter, or that they, in and of themselves (uncomplicated by acquired disease, pregnancy, or change of personality) preclude later success in meeting the standards of society. Particularly we would believe that if study shows a background of good upbringing and a sudden change from previous normal personality characteristics, there is ample chance for regaining balance. The adolescent flare-up should be considered as possibly a temporary manifestation and needing immediate checking, the establishment of good interests, and tiding over the period of urge and instability. If there is not opportunity for the misconduct to become habitual there is likelihood of success.

JUDGE BAKER FOUNDATION

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sive and all-round studies, its staff comprises those working from the standpoint of the psychological, medical, and social sciences. It is only through the devoted service of the entire personnel that the material for the present publication is available.

Readers cannot draw conclusions for scientific purposes from statements concerning localities, names, dates, nationalities, and facts of family history as given because, in the usual professional fashion cases are reported with disguises. But the general facts, even of heredity are accurately transcribed, and no matters of importance for interpretation of causation as it bears on therapeutic possibilities in the individual case are changed or omitted.

The plan of presentation is to offer a first series of twenty studies covering a wide range of problems of interest to educators, psychologists, psychiatrists, sociologists, judges, probation officers, and all who deal with matters involving the adjustments of young people. For teaching purposes, a loose-leaf edition is available so that all pages designated with (a) may be withheld until the factual material of the first study of the case, given in the other pages, is treated by the student as a probem to be solved.

It is hoped that the publications can continue and include consideration of groups of cases representing types of problems in education, in make-up of individuals, in conduct, etc. It is planned at later dates to report on important facts of cases earlier published.

The gratitude of students who benefit by these studies is due to the Commonwealth Fund of New York, a grant from which has made this series possible.

The social treatment has been carried out through child welfare agencies of many sorts, and the spirit of their co-operation has been splendid. It would be a pleasure to give credit to the particular agency in each case, but since, for several reasons, it is inadvisable, we desire here to express our deep appreciation of their co-operation with the Judge Baker Foundation.

WILLIAM HEALY, M. D.
AUGUSTA F. BRONNER Ph. D
Directors.

Case Study No. 10

SERIES I

JUDGE BAKER FOUNDATION
40 COURT STREET
BOSTON

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January, 1923

CASE TEN

Samuel Anders: 15 years, 1 month; born in the U. S.; mother American; father's birthplace unknown.

Introductory Statement

(February 1919). This boy was held by the police of Portland, Maine, as a vagrant. After communicating with a social agency in Boston, of which he gave the name, the police returned him to Boston and the case was placed before us for study and recommendations. The secretary of the agency stated that Sam had long been under their care and for years he had given them much trouble.

Study of the Background

Family

1 (Information concerning various features of the background was derived from the agency which had made an original investigation and now, at our request, obtained more detailed facts. Their records give a moderate amount of detail of their dealings with the boy and of the social background of his family life with his relatives and in foster homes.)

Father: The father and his family are quite unknown. The boy was illegitimate.

Mother: (The information concerning the mother has been mainly given by the maternal grandmother, an elderly woman, who, though friendly and expressing sorrow about her daughter's conduct and apparently endeavoring to be truthful, demonstrated poor memory for details. She is particularly uncertain about dates. This leaves a question about Sam's age; he claims to be now 15, but the agency records make him 14. No birth certificate can be found in Gloucester,

1 Of course the bare fact of illegitimacy means nothing as an indicator of the innate equipment of the illegitimate child. Some one of discernment has recently remarked that the world might profit by a work recounting the accomplishments of notable illegitimates. But there is no doubt that in many instances the illegitimate child's development is conditioned in ways that form very great handicaps. The hazard that illegitimacy is to the child from the standpoint of life, health, dependency, neglect, and delinquency is brought out, perhaps better than in any other work, in the study. *Illegitimacy as a Child Welfare Problem* by E. O. Lundberg and K. F. Lenroot, U. S. Children's Bureau Publications, especially Part 2, which forms Publication No. 75.

In the latter volume, which, very interestingly for us, happens to deal with illegitimacy as it exists in Boston and the state of Massachusetts, we have a thorough-going analysis of such statistics as are obtainable and a survey of the social implications.

We find that in Boston, selected because of the completeness of birth registration and because it is fairly representative of the larger American cities, 4.4% of all live births were illegitimate for the period studied — 1914 being taken as a sample year. The rate for Boston is slightly higher than for the state as a whole, probably because a considerable number of non-resident mothers come to Boston to secure maternity care. (That no birth certificate

where the child supposedly was born. Some facts were derived from other members of the family.)

Sam's mother died at the age of 26. She attended public school in Lowell until she was 14. The grandmother does not remember what grade she reached, but says that she was a good student and that the teachers never complained of her. At 14 she started working in a mill but did not like it and was irregular at her work, earning enough, however, to be self-supporting after two or three years. Then she left home and went to Gloucester to do housework. Her exact age when she left is not known; she was 18 or 19. She returned to her mother when she was about 20 years old, bringing a young baby with her, explaining that she was boarding it for a man whose wife had died. The grandfather was ill at that time and the grandmother taking in washing. The baby cried much and the grandmother insisted that it be placed elsewhere. Her daughter found another home for the baby. Later, under pressure from her mother, she confessed that it was her own child.

The next year the young mother went back to Gloucester and soon wrote home that she was married. Then she returned to Lowell, with her husband, William Gilkey, and after living with the mother for a short time set up housekeeping, taking her baby to live with her. Gilkey proved to be cruel and abusive, and three years later, when she was pregnant by him, he deserted her. She then returned to live with her mother. About a month before the baby was due she became very ill with acute dilatation of the heart, and died before the baby was born. Her mother thinks she had one miscarriage before this pregnancy. The grandmother states that her daughter was "rough and rather wild" as a young girl, and fond of company. She was lazy. Her mother did not know that she had any immoral tendencies. She never told of her life away from home, and if she knew who the father of her child was, she never revealed it.

(A close investigation by the agency has failed to bring to light any record of where the child was born or any other vital facts concerning the mother's health history, particularly whether or not she had venereal disease.)

for Sam could be found may be due to the fact that no one really knows where he was born, perhaps it was not in Massachusetts.)

At this rate of incidence, one wonders why illegitimates do not appear more largely in the statistics of studies of individuals, especially of children where large groups are known. One explanation possible would seem to be the high rate of infant mortality, which, as these authors point out, is three times the rate among children born in wedlock. "No other data give so definite an index of the hardships and social injustice involved in illegitimate birth."

There is much else that might be said by way of general statement concerning illegitimacy, but we are here concerned only with those findings which bear upon the interpretation of Sam's life problems.

This boy's paternity was not established, even the finding of the birth certificate would not have established it. In this respect it was not different from other cases because the law forbids recording on the birth certificate the name of the man whom the mother alleges to be the father of her illegitimate child. Among the 2,178 illegitimate children with social histories given, who were under the care of Boston social agencies in 1914, the facts about the father were found to be unknown in approximately two-thirds of the cases. In considerably less than one-third of the cases was aid in support given by the father in any measure; in many instances support was very slight. The extent to which the dependency of the child leads to its care by agencies is shown by the fact that in 1914 a total number of 2,863 illegitimate children were under the care of Boston social agencies, exclusive of the Division of State Minor Wards, which, during that year, cared for 7,526 children, of whom 1,721 (23%) were of illegitimate birth.

Concerning nationality: Of 2,213 mothers of illegitimate children surveyed in this study, 1,227 (55%) were native born.

Few accurate data are given with regard to the physical conditions or make-up of the children — such facts were not obtainable.

Mentality: "As in the case of physical condition, the information concerning mentality is fragmentary. . . . Most of the agencies had examinations for mentality only for such of their wards as they had reason to think were not normal. The figures as to subnormal children, must, therefore be considered as minimum." Information concerning mentality was available on only 656 children under care of the agencies; among them "at least 17% of those 7 years of age and over were not normal mentally or were very backward in school. 6% had been diagnosed as feeble-minded." This rate of mental defect, the report states, is six times the percentage found in studies of school children in general made by the U. S. Public Health Service. But the weakness of making any such comparison is evident when we realize that very many of the 656 children were selected for examination because mental defect was regarded as a possibility.

Delinquency: Reports concerning conduct were obtained on 656 children of illegitimate birth, 7 years of age and over, who were

Mother's Family: Her father was born in the north of Ireland, in a mill town. He followed the sea for eleven years. The first time he landed in the port of New York he decided to stay. After marrying a girl from his own town he went to Lowell, where the family have lived ever since, and started working in the mills. He died of a complication of diseases. His widow says that he was a good, conscientious man, who drank somewhat but was rarely intoxicated. The maternal grandmother has been a very healthy woman; at 75 she is still able to do housework. She had comparatively little education, but she is a good, hard-working woman. She had been married once before she met Mr. Anders and had a child. By her second husband she had fourteen pregnancies, four of them resulting in miscarriages. The order of these she can not remember. Three children died in infancy of unknown causes, two others when grown up; five of the children are still alive. The whereabouts of one of these who was earlier alcoholic is unknown; the four others are reported by the agency to be good, conscientious, sober people. Concerning the uncles and aunt we have some probably accurate information. The latter is said to be slack and easy-going. One of the uncles is a hard-working, energetic man, supporting his seven children. Another uncle is irritable and neurasthenic and is said to have had a nervous breakdown from overwork in the mill, where, for long, he was a steady employe. However, he is a good man and is the one who has taken the most interest in Sam. He has no children. The remaining uncle has nine children and he and his children are said all to be healthy. None of the family are well off, and the grandmother has, at various times, received public aid.

Developmental History

2 The antenatal and natal conditions are entirely unknown. The grandmother says that when she saw the child first at ten months of age, "He was a sight." The following is almost her verbatim description: His head was big, his forehead high, his neck very small, his chest so thin that you could count his ribs, his abdomen tremendously large, and his arms and legs no bigger round than two fingers. He had one or two teeth at that time. His head had to be propped

under the care of Boston agencies. The conduct of one-fourth of these was reported as poor; the conduct of more than one-third of the children 14 years of age and over was reported as unsatisfactory. "One-fifth of the 849 children of illegitimate birth 7 years of age or over who were under the care of the Division of State Minor Wards presented serious problems of conduct. . . . . Considering only the children of 14 years of age and over, the conduct of 16% of the children born in wedlock was unsatisfactory, while 28% of the children born out of wedlock were delinquent or presented serious problems of conduct."

We thus see that, as far as the facts accompanying his illegitimacy are concerned, Sam's case does not present anything unusual. With regard to the interpretation of his heredity, discussion is footless. The unknown half may conceivably involve very sound stock or be poorer than the rather indifferent maternal heredity.

2 Of course, one naturally thinks of an illegitimate pregnancy as inimical to the development of the unborn child, even by reason of the worry alone. In this particular case we have no knowledge of the conditions, about worry or even in regard to possible physical ailments of the mother. In many instances the determinants of the conditions of the child are complex and are difficult to relate to the findings. Very little, if any, study so far has been made of the effect of illegitimate pregnancy as such upon the child, and perhaps this is too difficult a matter for scientific approach. Such matters as worry cannot be isolated. But there is one outstanding

up. His mother fed him half milk and water and a little bread. He cried all the time. The stepfather says that during his second year he was so weak that it did not seem that he could live; then, after he was given corn and beans, he began to pick up. We know little else about him until he was 6 years old and taken by the child-placing society. When he started school in February 1911 he weighed 41 lbs. and was 3 ft., 5 in. in height. In general he has been healthy. Tonsils and adenoids were removed in 1911. In 1915 an oculist reported that the condition of the eyes which he observed then was probably caused by opthalmia in infancy. At this time, in the physician's office, the boy had some sort of an attack; "he worked his jaw, wriggled his feet, twitched his eyes, became rigid, and almost frothed at the mouth"—this is the report of the visitor who was with him. She states that the physician felt that the attack was due to epilepsy or to chorea. In 1916 Sam had a severe attack of pneumonia and was out of school for two months on account of it. When seen at a psychopathic hospital in the latter part of 1916 he was reported to be "fairly well developed and nourished, with evidences of rickets; neuromuscular system negative; Wassermann negative." (For mental report see later.) In 1918 adenoids were removed again.

Home and Neighborhood Conditions and Influences

3 During the first year Sam was shifted about as stated above. Then until he was 5 he was living with his mother under probably very wretched home conditions. After his mother died he lived for a few months with his grandmother, and then a local charity association applied to a child placing agency in Boston to have him placed.

Sam was first found a home in a village near Lowell, amid very pleasant surroundings. There was a large yard and the house was comfortably furnished and clean. The family consisted of a man and wife and their daughter, who was a young teacher and much interested in children. The boy attended school regularly. There were slight complaints about his behavior and he was taken from this home after almost four years because it was felt that he was not being

fact that proves much; those who have occasion to study illegitimate children not infrequently find the child of remarkably good physical and mental make-up who is the product of an illegitimate pregnancy.

Sam's grandmother may have had a poor memory for dates, as is stated above, but she gives almost a medical text-book description of a rachitic baby. Of course, rickets is a systemic disease due to faulty nutrition in infancy, or even before birth, and affecting the general structure of the body, particularly the bones. It is cured by proper diet, although the alterations of the bony structure are sometimes so great that permanent deformity ensues. The step-father's account of the improvement in Sam's condition after he was given corn and beans, while hardly to be taken as a basis for recommendations in such cases, may contain a considerable amount of truth, inasmuch as it is a diet of vegetables that is mainly needed. Since rickets is a pathological condition which does not always mean later illnesses, we are not surprised to hear that Sam had an otherwise healthy childhood.

We note that at 7 years of age Sam was 8 lbs. and 4 in. under the median for his age. He was just up to the norm of weight for his height at his age, and therefore was not badly nourished, although not well developed.

We can draw no safe conclusion about the occulist's suggestion of infantile disease of the eyes, although, of course, it is quite generally known that ophthalmia of infancy, and particularly of the new-born, is often caused by gonorrhea.

The attack in the physician's office seems to have been very much like an epileptic seizure, but if we are to judge by the otherwise negative report it was an isolated phenomenon. Of course, such seizures are never choreic.

3 Although details are lacking concerning the training that Sam received in his mother's home it is probably fair to assume that it was distinctly poor; we should certainly not entirely omit thinking of Sam's career in terms of his earliest training. Nowadays many writers on the psychology of childhood are emphasizing the great influence which training in infancy and in the very early years of childhood has on later life. This point of view is strongly emphasized by Pflügel in *Psychoanalysis of the Family,* and by White in his book, *Mental Hygiene of Childhood.* But it is equally important to note that the foster homes in which Sam was placed when he was still quite young were distinctly good and offered opportunity for the development of good personal habits and good moral standards. The story of placings shows clearly that Sam had very good homes and chances for a healthy and interesting boyhood life after he was six years old.

Evidently there was no problem of adjustment, no difficulty in becoming used to strangers or taking up with the ways of strange

intelligently handled from a disciplinary standpoint. (For this and later difficulties see Delinquencies, Habits, Personality Traits.)

He was next placed in a home, smaller and less attractive, but comfortable and orderly, in a residential suburb. A young couple who had recently lost their only child wanted to take a boy. The people kept him only four months on account of his unsatisfactory conduct. The visitor felt that this young man and his wife were straight-laced and unsympathetic, but there is no doubt the boy was very annoying.

After a short period in a temporary home he was next found a place in an especially good home, a large comfortable place, where he was able to live a very active life. He was given the chance to act as caddy in a small country club. The people in this home did not wish to keep him permanently and he was removed because a free home and chance for possible adoption had been found for him.

A rather elderly unmarried brother and sister, well off and living in a large house on a moderate sized farm on the outskirts of a village, then took Sam. It was a highly recommended family and they wished to legally adopt the boy if he proved satisfactory. They took boarders in the summer and the boy was supposed to help with the chores. They did keep him for two years in spite of difficulties with him; they really wanted a boy who would be considerable assistance to them. They finally gave him up on account of his serious stealing.

Sam was then returned to his grandmother who was living with her son James and his wife, the agency agreeing to pay the boy's board. Mr. James A. at this time was in poor health and not earning. They lived in the second story of a tenement house in the city. The home was kept in good condition. Sam slept in the parlor, a well ventilated room. Special pains were taken, now the boy was back in town, to find him healthy, outside interests through the church and the Boy Scouts. He was also given another chance to caddy at a country club. The boy had no duties in connection with the household. After nine months his uncle objected to keeping him any longer on account of his excessively bad behavior.

Application was now made to the State Board of Charities

households, because Sam seems to have done better early in his first foster home than he did there later or, for the most part, in his other foster homes.

The implied criticism of the first foster family through the agency removing the boy because they thought him not well disciplined is not backed up by his conduct in later foster homes.

As one reads the account of the various troubles in each of the homes it becomes increasingly clear that Sam was unable steadily to live up to the level of these homes. And yet it does not seem that he was particularly "over-placed"; the homes seem to have been good, but yet not to have involved unusually high standards. In the third home, from which no complaints about him came except of his lying, one wonders whether, had he stayed there longer, there might have been a breakdown in conduct just as there seems to have been in the first and last foster homes. His rather frequent placings are evidently much more a reflection on Sam's personality makeup rather than a criticism of the quality of the homes. And concerning the work of the child placing agency itself, considering his behavior, the changes of home were not very frequent. If Sam had proved to be a very likeable and attractive boy he very likely would have been retained in any one of these homes for an indefinite period, and in the last home would have been adopted. But on the other hand there is no evidence that the agency, up to this time, had regarded him as a very special problem and had selected homes to meet any special needs. The record is exceedingly meagre concerning his personality make-up and traits, habits, companions, and interests. It deals very largely with situations, and scarcely at all with the subtler features of the boy himself. The chief difficulty seems to be that no scientific study of the boy was made either from the physical or mental standpoint and of his special needs and potentialities — there is no formulation of his definite problem. But we must acknowledge that the record of this agency is extremely good and much better than one would ordinarily find, taking the country over, concerning children placed five years or more ago. The modern scientific point of view is only just coming into its own.

When Sam returned to his own people many plans were made in his behalf. It is very interesting to note the change in the stepfather, Mr. Gilkey. Of course, it leads to the query whether this man's earlier drinking and abusive behavior were not at least partially brought about by living with Sam's mother rather than being entirely a matter of his own innate tendencies.

to take Sam, but difficulties arose concerning this arrangement. At this time, the boy's step-father, Mr. Gilkey, came forward and said that he would take him. It seems that the public authorities had looked him up and asked him to do this. Sam was placed with this man with the understanding that if the home was found unsatisfactory he would be speedily removed. Mr. Gilkey had been married again and had a good wife, who proved herself much interested in Sam. There were three children by this wife. Mr. Gilkey was now a steady worker and supported his family, but the home conditions were considerably worse than any that Sam had experienced since his placing. The tenement was crowded and in poor repair and the home was poorly kept, Mrs. Gilkey being rather slack. These people kept Sam for five months, making considerable effort to supervise the boy and give him a fair chance in the world. His step-father began trying to teach Sam how to run an automobile truck, encouraging him to think about earning his own living. Just as he seemed to be interested in this he ran away and appeared next at his grandmother's—about whom he had told to the Gilkey's many stories of abusive treatment.

For seven months prior to the time we studied Sam he had been in the care again of his grandmother and aunt and uncle. The grandmother says that she took him back because he came to her so ragged and dirty and plead so hard that she could not resist him; and the uncle was so sympathetic in the situation that he took out guardianship papers. During this period Sam proved again most unsatisfactory in many ways. His relatives made every effort to be good to him, his uncle and aunt in particular stating that they wanted to be father and mother to him, as they had no children of their own. He was not punished, but was talked to very seriously from time to time. They allowed him $1 a week spending money whether he was working or not, and often Mr. A would give him an extra quarter. Mr. and Mrs. A. report now that they are thoroughly worn out by his conduct and that they feel very badly about him. The grandmother says she has lost many pounds worrying and often cries in the night thinking of him. A week before we saw him he ran away and was arrested in Portland for vagrancy.

Habits, Interests and Companions

4 There is very little mention about Sam's physical habits until he was 13; then he is reported as dirty and slovenly about his person, and offensively dirty sometimes in household habits. There was a great deal of difficulty in getting him to wash himself, and he had disgusting table manners. His relatives report him a very restless sleeper, having a peculiar habit of rolling himself up in the bed clothes so that he tears them. There has been no enuresis. Sam has never cared for smoking; in fact he says that it makes him sick. He has been allowed very little tea or coffee in any home that he was in. He has had an enormous appetite and a great craving for meat. He learned masturbation from an older boy in the neighborhood when in his first foster home and gradually developed this habit, so that by the time he was 13, when he went back to his grandmother, he would so forget himself as to touch himself locally while in front of other people. At this period he was reported to indulge in masturbation excessively, and he was taken to a physician who saw local evidences of it but decided that no operation would help.

We have few data concerning Sam's earliest interests except that he was extremely fond of tearing things to pieces. When he joined the Boy Scouts at 13 he showed great pleasure in his uniform and in the idea of belonging to an organization. He is exceedingly fond of moving pictures, going almost every day when he first returned to his grandmother. He also spent much of his time reading, sometimes at night after going to bed. He was especially fond of wild west and "Jesse James" stories. He also read much in the public library at one time. For years he has been very fond of dressing up, making soldier caps out of newspapers, and he spoiled several of his aunt's hats by twisting them out of shape in order to adorn himself. At his stepfather's house he fixed up a theater in the cellar and gave some shows. For years he has maintained that he wanted to be a sailor. He has a good voice and for a time was a member of a church choir, until they got rid of him on account of troublesome behavior. He was never fond of organized athletics and it is said that he rarely played ball with the other boys, he was never known to go in swimming,

4 It is very striking that so little comment was made by the foster mothers concerning Sam's physical habits in their household. (See also, "Personality Traits.") Had they been as extremely bad as they were later when he was living with his own relatives it is most likely that complaint would have been made about them. There is a very great suspicion that they became considerably worse when he went back to his own people and that the probable explanation of this is that he took advantage of his own family and was ready rapidly to sink down to a lower level. Perhaps this was because his family was not living on the same scale as the foster home families, or simply because they were his own people and he felt less obligation to conform to better standards.

There is nothing surprising, comparing him to other boys, that Sam learned of masturbation very early or even that he practiced it; but there is great significance in the fact that his powers of inhibition were so poor that he gave way to his habit so excessively and so openly.

Concerning his interests it is mainly important to note how long certain play interests, in and of themselves not particularly unusual, persisted. The love of dressing up in dramatic fashion and largely for self-admiration is not so uncommon in children of 9 or 10, but certainly it is rarely found in a boy of 13 or 14. Shall we interpret his dressing up in soldierly fashion and his reading of lurid tales of adventure in terms of compensation for a cowardice noted later, or as compensatory on the basis of physical inferiority following his early mal-development? It may be that some, and perhaps justifiably, will draw conclusions from the account of Sam's lack of interest in sports, feeling that this might indicate either lack of physical courage or fear of competing with others because of a feeling of inferiority, or that he disliked the amount of physical effort involved in sports. Sam did not live up to the opportunities for good interests which he certainly had. He might have selected good reading rather than poor, and through his Boy Scouts and choir affiliations he no doubt had the chance to form good companionships.

The account of Sam's companionship is not altogether satisfactory in its details. One would like to know if the club of boys who met in the cellar and whose leader he was were younger than himself. This seems likely because of the activities in which they were engaged.

but was fond of rowing. He has shown very little interest in girls. It is reported that he was at first fond of the children in his stepfather's home and interested in their games, but soon became indifferent to them. At one period he took delight in making up yarns.

Sam seems to have been ordinarily gregarious when younger. We first hear specifically about companions when he was 13 years old. Then he was the leader of a crowd of boys that met in his cellar, at least he kept an account of the membership of the little club and of their dues. About this time he is said to have definitely sought a poor lot of companions, sometimes colored boys, and his stepfather thought that he ran away to his grandmother because he liked the class of boys in the neighborhood in which she lived. It appears that he never had any special chum or was influenced particularly by any other boy or that he associated at all with girls.

School and Work History

5 Sam entered school at 7 years of age, and notwithstanding his frequent changes, necessitated by his placement in different homes, he progressed normally from grade to grade with the exception of his last year. We have a full record of his marks during each year. He did consistently well in reading through all grades; his marks in arithmetic varied, sometimes being good, but in the last two years they averaged poor or very poor. Spelling, geography, and history are recorded as being always fair or better, frequently being excellent; his marks in music were, perhaps the best of all. In this school system there is a record of general health which in Sam's case is marked steadily as good. There were comparatively few absences recorded, and during several years none at all. Marks in conduct after the first year are not good. He was criticized for laziness and not applying himself to his work. He reached the sixth grade at 12 years of age, and it was during this year that he had pneumonia, but he had received fair marks in spite of his enforced absence. Through changing he missed the last month of school. The next year he was demoted to the fifth grade, although two years before, in the work of that grade, his marks were the best he had ever received. The agency visi-

5 In the light of all his other delinquencies it is unexpected to find that throughout his entire school career Sam was evidently not at all a truant, although he changed schools quite frequently. Then, too, even with the latter handicap he was able to make his grades until toward the end of his school career. This fact seems to indicate that his capacities were such that he could reach without effort the level required by the school work. This may have a bearing upon his not being truant — school was a comfortable enough place for him. Possibly he could even have achieved a better record for scholarship, had he not been lazy, as a number of his teachers stated. His later demotion of one year instead of a repetition of the grade in which he had been is a curious feature of his school record. Of course he was transferred from a country to a city school, where the standards and the curriculum may have been very different, but under the circumstances of his demotion it is not surprising that he lost interest and wanted to withdraw from school altogether. He seems to have done better in content subjects, that is in subjects that are largely ideational, such as reading, geography, and history, as opposed to the more rote work, such as arithmetic.

The poor work record may have been partly due to his being so young for work, or it may be only another indication of his laziness and lack of ambition. In any case he seems in this respect to have shown, lack of manliness and no desire for independence. He was willing to take advantage of his own people who were poorly off, not attempting regularly to contribute towards the expense he was to them.

tor tells us that one teacher offered to tutor the boy in arithmetic, but he never took advantage of her kindness. He left school during term time when he was 13 years and 9 months.

When he left school he was living with his stepfather. He first worked in a mill, receiving $5 a week as a cleaner, but he was discharged because his work was unsatisfactory. After returning to his grandmother the last time he worked very irregularly—"sometimes he held a job only a few hours." His longest time of employment was five weeks. The boss at the yarn mill would not keep him because he said he was lazy and fooled with the other workers.

Delinquencies

6 The earliest complaints of misbehavior were on account of destructiveness, excessive in the second foster home. In one place he pried open a desk and destroyed valuable papers. He also picked to pieces a gold watch and stole pennies and other articles, giving away toys belonging to foster parents' dead child. His petty stealing was noticed already in the first home. In the third home his lying was extreme; he had been complained of as being untruthful before this. In the fourth foster home he was reported as very wilful, disobedient, and untruthful. Here the boy did his first serious stealing; it was in the latter part of his stay and all within a short time. He took $50 from a desk and gave a large part of it to a man in the neighborhood saying that it had been given to him by an uncle and that he wished the man to keep it; the remainder he showed to his foster father, saying that he had found it in front of the house. Later he admitted taking the whole sum. Within a few days he had taken $2 again from the house, and a day or two after that he went into a neighbor's house when the older people were out, persuading the child to let him in, and found a purse from which he stole $15. He told various stories about this, but the money was found in his possession.

During the next period when he returned to his grandmother he stole coal from a neighbor in the tenement and placed it in his grandmother's bin. There he made himself generally disagreeable, at one time breaking the plumbing

6 No one kind of misconduct characterizes Sam's delinquencies consistently in the various homes except the extreme lying which was complained of for many years. Even the stealing, which was severe at one period, was not an habitual affair. In other words, there was no one type of misbehavior that is significant for interpretation of etiology. But the picture as a whole is most significant. It connotes, much more, weak character reactions, inability or lack of desire to live up to normal standards of honesty and effort. His misdemeanor in stealing the coal, his extreme disobedience, his unwillngness to do chores, his loafing, and his false accusatons about his grandmother, who was really good to him, are all of a piece with his excessive lying and are to be considered as in keeping with his weak rather than aggressively vicious tendencies.

and doing some serious damage in the basement. Then when he was placed with his stepfather he is said to have been "nasty with the girls in the neighborhood," he refused to obey, lied much, told unfounded stories of abuse by his grandmother. He stayed out late nights, jumping out of the window and going to shows when he was supposed to be in bed.

Finally, when he was in his grandmother's household again, she reported that he loafed much, lied about his jobs, hung around idle on the streets. He was put out of the church choir for general bad conduct. He was very unwilling to do chores about the house. Just before we saw him he ran away.

Study of the Individual

Physical

7 At first appearance, though he is small, Sam seems older than his years. This is due to the maturity of his features, in spite of the fact that they are rather weak—the upper part of his face and his head are large in proportion to his chin. His attitude is rather slouchy and listless. His voice is low and unenergetic. His expression is responsive, but not firm. He has an irregular prominent scar on his lower left cheek. The shape of his head is fairly good, except for a flattening posterior; the forehead is somewhat high. His ears are very large, but not abnormally shaped.

Weight 108 lbs. Height 5 ft. 1½ in. Thorax fairly well developed except for slight Harrison groove, flaring of the lower ribs in front. Musculature rather well developed for his general size and of good tone. Pubertal development: Moderate amount of pubic hair, sex organs very large. Color moderately good. Teeth not crowded and well cared for, but showing slight although typical erosions of the incisors in crescentic form on the cutting edge and numerous sharp points on the early molars. Vision 20/60 R. and 20/30 L. Movements and reactions of the eyes normal. Hearing normal. No adenopathy. Slight tremor of outstretched hands and sometimes slight quiver of upper lip. Complaint of occasional sharp pains in temples and colors appearing at times before eyes. Heart sounds negative. All reflexes normal.

7 Most important from the standpoint of diagnosis is the fact that Sam shows certain stigmata: the shape of his head, poorly balanced proportions of his face and features, the anomaly between his weak features and their mature appearance, his large ears, his teeth, poorly shaped chest, and the Harrison groove. Some of these are, of course, remnants of his old rickets, while the findings in regard to his teeth are more probably the result of antenatal defect secondary to syphilis, though this is not so well established that one can rule out rickets as an underlying cause. However, this leads to the question of possible relationship between rickets and syphilis, a matter considerably under discussion at present. That the Wassermann reaction was negative is no proof that there may not very early in life have been an active syphilitic process — very frequently the infection is overcome and the serum reaction becomes negative.

Another anomaly is to be noted in his primary sex development; the development of pubic hair is normal, but otherwise the development is precocious, especially as compared with his general size.

Sam is 4½ in. and 19 lbs. below the median of height and weight for his age. But, as earlier, his weight is good in proportion to his height. Tremor of hands and quiver of upper lip, observed at the time when there was no emotional upset, may be thought of as indicating at least somewhat of a neurotic make-up. Then his slouchiness, listlessness, and weak voice, in spite of his good musculature, certainly indicate what might be called poor physical morale. Considering Sam's untruthfulness and the fact that we have no report from any one else concerning his headaches, we are entirely doubtful about them; there is not enough certainty about his complaints of headaches and appearances before his eyes (matters which, of course, were gone into carefully) to justify any conclusion whatever about, for instance, attacks of minor epilepsy. Sam's vision is good enough in one eye, and because of this it is not at all likely that he would be willing to wear glasses. If he were going to do inside work, it might be advisable to urge him to get a specialist's opinion.

Mental

8 (1) *Results on Psychological Examination:*

(Attitude during testing entirely friendly and co-operative, but shows some embarrassment, flushes easily and frequently. Quiver of upper lip noted. Attention good.)

According to age-level tests Sam grades as having fairly good general ability. Intelligence Quotient 96.

Auditory memory span normal.

Motor control decidedly poor both for speed and accuracy. Mental control on language test normal and speed of mental reactions average.

Powers of mental representation about average.

Apperceptive ability, both with language and pictorial material, well up to age. Social apperceptions normal, as judged by conversation.

Language ability in general good. Talks fluently; has a vocabulary somewhat better than his opportunities; shows good choice of words.

Work with constructive concrete material just fair.

School work: Reading and writing up to his grade; spelling not so good; arithmetic not better than third grade performance.

(Examination earlier at a psychopathic hospital gave the following results: "Patient grades fairly evenly at mental age, 11.6 on Point Scale, 11 3/12 on Stanford Binet. Puzzles fairly well done. Shows good learning ability. Co-operated well." Age was stated as 13, although we note this record also contains discrepancies in dates.)

Stanford Binet I. Q. 96; passes all the 12-year tests and all but test (5) of the 14-year series, and passes tests (2) and (5) of the 16-year series.

Visual Memory: Binet geometrical forms, score 100%; Healy form, score 80%.

Auditory Memory Span: 7 digits (backwards 6 digits).

Trabue Language Scale B: score 14—equals median for grade VIII.

Pictorial Completion Test II: score 63—equals median for 14-15 years.

Tapping Test: score 63 squares, 5 errors—median speed for 10-11 years, much below any median for errors.

Easy Opposites (W-W): score average time 1.3", 1 error.

Mental Representations: second cross-line test correct at first trial; code test 5 errors.

Construction Test A: score 10", 6 moves.

Construction Test B: 195", 22 moves.

Learning Test, old form: all 10 symbols correct.

Reading: Thorndike scale, 7th and 8th grade passage 4a, read fluently; 3 out of the 4 questions for comprehension correct.

Writing: According to Thorndike, quality 12—above 8th grade.

Spelling: Dictation based on Ayres scale, 7th grade correct, 2 errors in 8th grade.

Arithmetic: Errors in all four fundamental processes; does not know process of long division.

8 Of course Sam is well within the group of the mentally normal. (The test results probably are not influenced by the mental examination given earlier at a psychopathic hospital, as a period of two years have elapsed. Then, too, a good many psychological tests were now given which had not been used before.) The findings as a whole are even, except those for motor control, which may possibly be correlated with his tremor. Tests for mental control, most important in this case, indicate nothing abnormal or unusual. The poor results in arithmetic are quite in keeping with what one might expect from his school record. They are not poor enough to indicate a special disability; they are, rather, evidence of never having mastered well the early work. There is also no indication of any marked special ability. The main findings of interest are the conclusiveness with which one can state that Sam is not mentally defective in any degree and that there is no mental peculiarity shown.

9 (2) *Mental Balance:* No irregularities or lack of mental control shown on tests. In all ways seems thoroughly well oriented; there is no evidence of defective judgment or perception. Normal emotions. Coherent in conversation.

(Psychopathic Hospital record states: "No delusions or fixed ideas, no hallucinations, school knowledge well retained, responds to questions rapidly, conversation well connected. Shows interest in his surroundings. Appears happy and well contented in hospital, but occasionally little depressed.")

10 (3) *Personality Traits:* We have practically no data concerning Sam's traits until he was placed in his first foster home. There he was spoken of as unreliable, forgetful, and unsually destructive. In the next home he was said to have been even more destructive, untruthful, dishonest, and forgetful. In the third home his conduct was reported to have been fairly satisfactory except for his extreme untruthfulness. When he was placed with the couple who offered him an especially good home with a chance for adoption, he was described as willful, disobedient, untruthful and latterly very dishonest. In none of these homes was he known to be cruel to animals or children. During these periods the school people said he was a careless worker and very lazy.

Concerning the two years when he lived with relatives just before we saw him there is a fuller report of his characteristics, showing similarities in both homes. His stepfather states that at first he seemed fond of the children, but later was indifferent to them; and his grandmother says that only occasionally is he at all affectionate. All insist that he is unreliable and unappreciative; "He does not seem to like any one but himself." Sometimes he is moody and disagreeable, and always lazy. He is fond of company. He is given to telling stories just for the pleasure of doing so; his word can never be relied on. He is cowardly in that he is afraid of the dark and of thunderstorms. His grandmother especially complains of him because of his selfishness and unwillingness to help in any household chores. He would stand for long in front of the glass admiring himself after he had put on his Boy Scout suit and the various headgears which he rigged up. He tried to develop this costume into a soldier's uniform, wearing a sword. Always he has been, however, very dirty and un-

9 It is evident at once that Sam is not insane or even psychotic (see discussion in Case 2 and 3); he is not unbalanced mentally; he does not show disintegrated mental life; nor does he demonstrate definite trends toward erraticism such as would make one call him psychopathic. (The eminent psychiatrist, Southard, was wont to say that the psychopathic personality was one who bore traits which tended in the direction of any one of the well defined mental diseases.) And earlier diagnosis at a psychopathic hospital was: "Not insane; not feeble-minded; psychopathic personality." But we believe here again that this diagnosis involves somewhat loose terminology.

10 By the time we have come to "Personality Traits" (and these we can well consider in connection with Sam's own story), we are certainly ready for the discussion of diagnosis of Sam himself as an individual. For, though we find facts enough to warrant our belief that he is neither a subject of any definite mental disease nor mentally defective according to psychometric tests, yet we are forced to think of him as a person who shows behavior tendencies or traits which mark him as a very unusual personality. He shows these behavior reactions in spite of much incentive to conduct himself otherwise, he shows them under good conditions of home life, quite apart from any question of poor companionship; and there is not the slightest reason to believe that they are resultant from mental stress and worry. In other words, there is not enough in his life situations to account for his attitudes and conduct; a very large factor must undoubtedly be his own bio-psychological organism, his personality make-up.

The picture is plain enough: We see Sam as a little boy taken from miserable surroundings and placed in a good home and doing well for a time. But in that home and in later ones where there were good opportunities, we observe him unable to take advantage of good chances. He is appreciative of the fact that he has been in good homes, we learn by his own story, but it is not in him to continuously follow any path that requires even just ordinary effort and rectitude. The characteristics that he shows are not really vicious; he is very lazy in spite of good strength; he is unambitious, although he has fine chances to advance and has adequate mentality; he is dirty, even though he has had good training; he is unveracious to the extent of becoming known as a chronic liar. Altogether he thus readily sinks to the lower and immediately easier level of behavior reactions. There is an interesting contrast and incongruity between his general disposition toward life and his intellectual appreciations, for he sanctimoniously avers that his delinquencies and lying ought to be stopped, they get him nowhere.

Sam's heavy indulgence in unfortunate habits chiefly betokens his native lack of the usual amount of power to control his own physical impulses and temptations. The type of delinquencies that he engages in are, on the whole, rather childish and weak, and

willing to care for his clothes, which he wore out inordinately fast. His table manners are said to have been atrocious; he fairly shovelled his food in. He definitely picked out a poor class of companions. Sometimes he expressed a desire for better interests, but before these could be even fairly considered his zeal for them had died away. Both families have tried to start him towards some satisfactory occupation, but he never responded.

The description of Sam by the school people as unattractive and not likeable is duplicated by his relatives, who found him a very great trial, although no one reports him as stubborn or deep-set in any of his delinquent trends.

Boy's Own Story

(Sam was found by us very friendly and altogether free in responding to questions about himself.)

He tells us that he was sitting in the doorway of the Salvation Army in Portland when a policeman came along and took him up to a place where they gave him everything new to put on—his clothes were awful. He had walked nearly all the way from Lowell. He was with another fellow part of the time, but left him because he went to doors and asked for food—Sam was too proud to do that. Nights they slept in barns and once they were allowed to sleep in the back of a store. Once up there, Sam tried to enlist, but was underweight. He got food at the Salvation Army or went without it.

"I don't know my father's name. I don't know I ever had one. My name is my mother's name." Sam ran away from his uncle's house. "He has a vertigo that makes him crazy. You can't even move a paper but he will say 'Stop that noise!' For a long time he didn't work, and if it wasn't for his lodges that helped us we couldn't have lived. But he is working now. He is a good man, but I ran away because he is too cranky. I didn't get any privileges. He never touches a drop of liquor. His wife is a fine woman. He doesn't go to church, but I have to; he makes me. I never miss Sunday School. Everybody ought to go to church. I'm treasurer of the Sunday school, but I don't have to handle money; I used to be secretary."

with regard to them he does not show manliness even in the boyish sense of the word.

This is a picture that belongs to a well known type; Sam shows *"chronic abnormal social and mental reactions to the ordinary conditions of life on the part of one who cannot be classified in any of the groups of the insanities, neuroses, or mental defectives."* He belongs to the group of the constitutional inferiors; some authors would say that he shows signs of constitutional psychopathic inferiority. (The attempt in *The Individual Delinquent* to introduce the phrase "psychic constitutional inferiority," in order to avoid the implications of the term psychopathic, has not been effective, and I am now inclined to think that the use of the word "psychic" is not advisable. Healy.) It is very evident, however, that all the above terms and *psychopathic personality* are used quite interchangeably and that there is a deplorable lack of even what is possible in the way of a more precise setting forth of a differential diagnosis in this connection. A psychopathic individual certainly would seem logically to be one who shows a tendency toward the development of mental disease. The inferior individual is the one who shows an inadequate personality.

In considering the earliest definition and diagnosis of this group we must not fail to remember that Koch, who first sketched this type, insisted upon the congenital and permanent nature of the inferiority.

Up to the present a number of authors have described what they think might be included in this group of somewhat abnormal individuals. Scholz and Strohmayer have devoted long chapters to it in their works on the psychopathology of childhood. The latter insists that next to mental defect constitutional inferiority forms the most frequent abnormality to be found among children. The diagnosis is not to be made by a set schedule of signs or symptoms, there may be variations, but reliance is to be placed for diagnosis on the whole picture presented. These writers, not being specifically interested in conduct problems, have said very little about the relation of misbehavior to the different elements in the make-up of constitutional inferiors.

We have been decidedly interested in the fact that psychiatrists in various places being presented with cases involving conduct difficulties have, on the sheer basis of continued misconduct, "diagnosed" the individual as a constitutional inferior even when there has been normality or real superiority, plainly observable, both of the physical make-up and of mental capacity, the latter including sometimes even such elements as strength of will and good working capacity. Such easy making of diagnoses without study of all the possible causative factors that in the given case might have led to the misconduct merely forms a circle that leads nowhere — the individual is a constitutional inferior because he is a delinquent, and he is a delinquent because he is a constitutional inferior.

In making a safe diagnosis the physical side of the individual by no means must be neglected. In particular, there are the signs of defective development, generally harking back to embryonic life.

When Sam was little his mother married again. "My stepfather was an awful drinker. He came home drunk one night and had a fight with my mother. He threw a cup at her, but it struck me and I got this scar from it (pointing to the large scar on his face). I'll never forget that scene." He says his mother died when he was about 4. Then he was with a family at Pentville for about five years. "The people were good to me, but some more boys came to live there and then there was trouble." He was sent to Buxton and then to Whiteville. "I told some lies in these places and took some money. And they didn't like it because I teased a little boy. I called him 'Danny Meadow Mouse.' Then I got taken to Hallerton. That was a nice place. The people were good. I couldn't do anything on Sundays but go to church. I got fifteen cents for pumping the organ. At first I was all right and then I began to tell lies. I said I'd done chores when I hadn't. I was lazy; I am now." It was there he took $5 and $50 from the man he lived with. "I told a fellow that I'd found it and after he got suspicious he told the man. I had the money hid in the hayloft." He spent $1 and then took another $10. "Then I got frightened and got a pocketbook and put the money that was left in it with a note telling what I'd done. I put it where it would be seen by the man the first thing when he entered the barn. They didn't say anything to me, but sent for the visitor. And then I got a horse-whipping—and from a woman at that. I had my plans made for spending the money."

"Then I went to my uncle, and just before I was 14 my stepfather, who was married again, wanted me to go and live with him. He promised to send me to school, but he put me to work in the mills and took all my money. He said it cost him $10 a week to feed me, and I guess it did, at that. But that was his trick; I never was any good to him until I was 14."

Sam tells us of four jobs that he has had, but says "I've loafed as much as I've worked. I got fired for not attending to business." About his honesty he tells us, "The only thing I've taken lately is a fountain pen from my uncle; I hid it on the cellar stairs." And concerning his habits: "I never touch liquor of any kind; it's bad. I never had any money for smoking, but sometimes somebody gives me a smoke. I

In the case of Sam we have some stigmata, not many and not excessively marked. And then we have the evidences of rickets, a disease occurring soon after birth, and we have the other signs pointing to the fact that we have to deal with an individual who is not ordinarily well equipped from the standpoint of physical energy and nervous co-ordinations. Various writers have laid considerable stress upon "episodes" (abnormal isolated behavior and nervous phenomena occurring during the life of a constitutional inferior). While no one would allow the entire diagnosis to hinge on the presence or absence of these episodes any more than upon the fact of stigmata, yet in Sam's case we have several instances of his conduct which savor strongly of episodes, particularly his running away and his own story of his feelings under ordinary working conditions; and we have the epileptic or epileptiform attack in the occulist's office.

One essential for the diagnosis of Sam's personality lies in the ruling out of his experiences, acting through his emotional life, as possible causes of his behavior tendencies. One must consider him in terms of sheer inferiority feeling based particularly upon the fact of his illegitimacy, which he has long known. The feeling of inferiority of a fatherless child must be almost inevitable. We would submit that this is a point hinted at, but not nearly well enough covered in the Children's Bureau publication by Lundberg and Lenroot. But we note great differences in the feelings of different children about this matter, and in the case of Sam we see no evidence whatever that it has created any great emotional disturbance or given him any definitely anti-social attitude. Even his misconduct is hardly vigorous enough to be interpreted in this way. And in regard to his early upbringing as affecting his conduct trends through all his life we can only say that there has been much to offset this in his especially good opportunities and that there is not the evidence in his case that his early defects in training were responsible to the extent one finds in many other instances. One might think of the boy's remembering his step-father's throwing the cup at his mother as possibly affecting his own behavior toward this man when he went to live with him; but the fact is that he behaved just as badly toward his good uncle and grandmother.

If it comes to accounting for the basic facts of constitutional inferiority, of course we turn back to heredity and the earliest features of development life. And certainly all that we learn about this boy's background in these biological matters is not against the conception of him as a constitutional inferior.

Considerable might be said about the compensation theory of Adler (see *The Neurotic Constitution, etc.*, by Alfred Adler,) who has written so much about the psychological implications of organic inferiority; but Sam's case presents no great amount that needs interpretation from the standpoint of abnormal psychology. Perhaps he might have benefited by more prolonged analysis of certain phases of his mental life, but such treatment was not available. Of course,

don't care much for it because if I inhale it, it makes me sick. There was plenty of bad talk and bad acting men in the mills, but I didn't care for their style. I like to play ball or go to the library to read." Sam thinks he would like to be an architect. "My relations have a good many children and don't want to be bothered with me; nobody cares anything about me. I don't wank to go back to Lowell. The trouble there was I told too many lies, but I've quit it; it's no good; you always get found out."

"When I was at work in the mill I wouldn't be feeling well. I used to feel sort of peculiar, kind of restless. If I'd sit down I'd feel like I wanted to tear the whole place to pieces. I would be tired at night. One time I was fired because I was so slow." Then Sam complains about bad feelings in his head and eyes. Rather vaguely he explains to us that sharp pains seem to come down to his eyes from his temples, and he gets dizzy if he looks long at objects, and sometimes different colors come before his eyes.

Sam gives an account of his interest in the Boy Scouts at Hallerton. " I got a Bible there because I went six months without a miss at the church and Sunday School. You can write to the minister about me."

Concerning his future Sam says that he would like to go on a farm. He is fond of animals.

At this point SUMMARY OF CASE and SUBSEQUENT HISTORY follow.

neither his original circumstances nor his physical make-up could be altered, and it was clear that he needed a social setting that might offer conditions under which he could live satisfactorily. It is certainly true that plenty of constitutional inferiors make their way through life without excessive friction, disturbance, or anti-social conduct. Some of them play a very useful part in life's work. When one notes a psychiatrist discussing a series of constitutional inferiors who are hospital cases in the army *(A Study of Constitutional Psychopathic Inferiority* by John Visher, Mental Hygiene, Oct. 1922), one fairly asks if there are not many constitutional inferiors who maintain their places in the ranks and get along very well indeed in army life.

SUMMARY OF STAFF CONFERENCE

PROBLEM: **Delinquencies:** Much petty stealing in foster homes and some recently; earlier considerable larcenies. Much lying. Not holding jobs. Recently running away. Disobedient and troublesome for years.

PHYSICAL: Just fair development and nutrition. Defective vision, R. Listless attitude. Rather weak voice. Some stigmata, including modified Hutchinson teeth. Occasional headaches and slight dizziness.

MENTAL: (1) **Abilities:** Fairly good general ability. No marked special ability as far as tested. Very poor motor control. School work up to grade, except arithmetic very poor. (2) **Balance:** No psychosis. (3) **Personality:** Rather glib talker. Lazy. Carefree. Thoroughly weak attitude to unpleasant situations by lying, quitting work, running away, shirking. Some fabricating. Restless; question of episodic behavior.

Picture typically that of constitutional inferiority, but without psychopathic trends.

BACKGROUND: (a) **Heredity:** Illegitimate. Father and his family unknown. Mother "rough, wild." Her father and brother moderately alcoholic. (b) **Developmental:** Signs of antenatal defect. Rickets severely. Nervous symptoms at 11 years and severe pneumonia two year ago. (c) **Home Conditions:** In many homes. In infancy placed by mother; then with her under very poor conditions. Then placed in good foster homes by agency. Later with relatives. (d) **Habits:** Earlier excessive masturbation.

PROBABLE DIRECT CAUSATIONS: (1) Constitutional inferiority and personality as above. (2) Contributing causes may be (a) early experiences in miserable family life; (b) later possible breakdown of morale through masturbation; and (c) habit formation, especially of lying, shirking, etc.

PROGNOSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS: Under various good influences in homes, church, Boy Scouts, etc., for periods has done fairly well. But with his type of personality the prognosis is problematic. We doubt the advisability of returning to relatives, where he has been doing so poorly. We feel that probably best for him would again be country life, with simple standards and away from city temptations. His sex habits appear to be better nowadays, but vigorous outdoor work would tend to help him overcome them. Oculist should examine eyes.

Subsequent History

The proposed placing of Sam in another home was found to be a matter of difficulty. The agency did not feel justified in spending much money in placing such an unpromising boy; it was felt that he should be self-supporting. On the other hand it was difficult to find a free home, because there was not much to say in Sam's favor. He returned to the home of his grandmother and uncle and lived much as he had been living. The agency from which we have heard at intervals has told of his working at times, sometimes getting on fairly well for a few months, and then perhaps engaging in some very petty stealing from home. He ran away several times and once was not seen for several months. At least twice he was taken in by the police of nearby cities on a vagrancy charge, for his uncle on two occasions bailed him out of jail. Affairs went on in this way until in May, 1920, he enlisted in the navy, of course giving a false age. Just before this his uncle had become so disgusted with him that he had resigned guardianship.

Sam remained in the navy six months. Once he came home on leave and made the best appearance he has ever made for cleanliness and alertness. But at the end of this time he was discharged. The agency visitor thought it was a dishonorable discharge, but Sam himself stated that it was because he was under age. When he went in the navy he was no longer under agency supervision.

Then for four months or so Sam lived in the neighborhood of his relatives, rooming in various lodging houses and working at unskilled labor, sometimes visiting his uncle. During this period he is not known to have been in any trouble. His uncle tried to get him a steady job, but Sam took no interest in his work and his employers would not keep him.

Then Sam fell in with some sailors in Boston and shipped on a whaling voyage. He was gone for five months without touching at any port. When he returned he was in such a filthy condition that his relatives refused to take him in. Then he roomed in a very cheap hotel and obtained odd jobs until he again enlisted in the navy, where he now is.

In July, 1922, Sam came in to see us. We found him looking well, indeed vigorous. He wore a sailor's uniform and was clean. His hands looked strong and his movements were alert. Weight 138 lbs. Height 5 ft., 3½in. His features are certainly much firmer than they were, although his head is still large in proportion.

Sam said that he likes very much what he is doing. "In the navy you don't have to work very hard." He expects later to go to one of the training schools for three years and become an ensign. "The call of the ocean has got me. I guess it comes through my father; he was a captain once." On the whaling voyage he signed up for shares and he was about starved to death. He only got $5 at the end of the trip. He liked the navy when he was in it earlier. Between times he has been doing all sorts of things, sometimes working on boats running in and out of Boston. He has been here about fifteen times from different places. He has not lived with his relatives for three yars. When he

has come on shore he has always gone to see them and the boys in the neighborhood; he always likes to do that. He does not have headaches any more, and generally he feels pretty well. He smokes. He denied venereal disease and immorality. "I did correspond with a girl, but she got in trouble."

FOOTNOTE OF DISCUSSION:

This subsequent history is very incomplete. It has not been practicable to get more details of the boy's life from outside sources; he has been away from home so much. Almost nothing is known of his private life or of his recreations other than what he has told, and in his brief story he shows that he is still not altogether truthful. It seems likely that his sex habits have been either conquered or very much lessened, judging by his active life and his improved appearance.

It has been most satisfactory that he has found for himself a level upon which he can live without getting into trouble. It was a pity that at one period conditions could not be controlled for him, but even with his arrests for vagrancy it is by no means sure that any great harm has ensued. Certainly the agency was not justified in keeping on with him under the circumstances. Possibly a big brother could have had more influence. But, considering his limitations, this young man must be regarded as fairly successful as he has grown older. He has done best under a life that is completely ordered for him, one requiring no initiative or competition.

It is evident that to Sam what are ordinarily called hardships mean little. He has not minded very much the lack of comforts and of the more esthetic features in his environment, such as absence of cleanliness. He has not even rebelled greatly at the extremely bad living conditions of the whaling voyage. And his willingness to quietly abide by the petty regime of the navy is in great contrast to what one finds in some cases of normal adolescents, such as "D" in Case Study 2 and 3.

As time has gone on, Sam has shown really more and more stability, and the tendency in this direction was already shown during early adolescence. Psychotic symptoms, irrepressible ideas and so on, which Kraepelin makes much of as developing in cases of constitutional inferiority, or the psychoneurotic symptoms which form the theme of many chapters of Alfred Adler's works, recently have not been seen at all in this instance. We have little doubt, however, that if this young man were placed in a situation where he were called on for the initiative that is demanded under many circumstances in life he might readily develop neurotic symptoms such as psychiatrists describe. It may be a little hard for the layman to appreciate, but it is a fact that muscular strength such as this boy displays, so that he is accepted for a whaling voyage or in the navy, is not incompatible with essential lack of nervous stamina. The maintainence of Sam's success depends upon his continuing to work and live on the same comparatively low level.

We can still find some evidences of the compensations that persons with inferiority develop for themselves. Note, for example, that this boy has invented for himself a father who not only gives the respectability of paternity, but who lends glamor to the career which he has chosen. But of "the disquieting consciousness of inferiority" and of "the feeling of inferiority which demands compensation in the sense of a maximation of the ego-consciousness," etc., which are the main points of Adler's theme in his extensive studies of inferiority, we must confess that we see but little in the case of Sam.

FINAL COMMENT

A case of constitutional inferiority, one that has been fairly successful, has been included in this series because, firstly, everyone dealing with the problems of conduct should be well acquainted with this type of individual who is so prone to present conduct difficulties, and, secondly, it is very important to get more light upon the possibilities of successful treatment of constitutional inferiors, this being an aspect of the subject that has been very little considered.

We have not taken an extreme instance of constitutional inferiority, examples of which may be found described in textbooks of psychiatry. These frequently find refuge in hospitals for the mentally diseased and are excluded under our immigration regulations as belonging to the category of abnormal individuals. There is need for better knowledge of the milder varieties, who, remaining in the community, present such frequent problems to courts, schools, and other social agencies. This is a group immensely important to recognize because of their limited potentialities and because of the specifically suitable life adjustments which it is often possible to make for them.

There is no need to reiterate the points of diagnosis; these should be gone over carefully. But there should be emphasized the distinction between mental defect or psychotic manifestations and the special mental characteristics of constitutional inferiority, and also betwen the stigmata or physical signs of a constitutional condition and other physical findings. With all the implications that the word "inferiority" carries it does not include physical, or, for that matter, mental weakness in all particulars. We have this boy, for example, with quite good physical strength, and we may have other cases, witness Case 4, a mild instance of constitutional inferiority, with good general and a special supernormal innate mental ability.

No generalization can be made concerning the types of misconduct engaged in by delinquent constitutional inferiors. (Of course not all constitutional inferiors are delinquent; many are very good people, witness again Case 4.) Offenses cover an extensive range. Secondary to the more negative forms of misbehavior, such as loafing and vagrancy, may develop very serious delinquencies. Their conduct in general is characterized, however, by lack of initiative and aggressiveness and savors of reactions that betoken living on a low level of effort and desire.

The general principle of treatment underlying many varieties of actual adjustments would seem to be that the constitutional inferior has the best chance of success when living in a simple environment where rapid adaptations are not required and where he is not constantly compelled to meet competition. Often he gets on by virtue of being

bolstered up by regime and a circumscribed life. Thus in the army and navy constitutional inferiors may well succeed; this case and others in our experience prove this point. The same is true of positions in institutions as attendants, orderlies, waitresses. Or the more or less routine life on a farm, etc., is suitable for some. But it must also be realized that routine which involves prolonged monotony is sometimes almost impossible for this type of individual. The regime of the army and the navy, strict though it is, is often accompanied by many changes. But frequently entirely new adjustments are, from time to time, advisable for the constitutional inferior.

Concerning specific personal treatment, in many of these cases there may be very great therapeutic value in analysis of the mental attitude and adjustments, facing all the life situations, whereby the individual comes to appreciate the essentials of his circumstances and make-up, and formulates some rational plan of self-adaptation.

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Case 11.

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the standpoint of the psychological, medical, and social sciences. It is only through the devoted service of the entire personnel that the material for the present publication is available.

Readers cannot draw conclusions for scientific purposes from statements concerning localities, names, dates, nationalities, and facts of family history as given because, in the usual professional fashion cases are reported with disguises. But the general facts, even of heredity are accurately transcribed, and no matters of importance for interpretation of causation as it bears on therapeutic possibilities in the individual case are changed or omitted.

The plan of presentation is to offer a first series of twenty studies covering a wide range of problems of interest to educators, psyschologists, psychiarists, sociologists, judges, probation officers, and all who deal with matters involving the adjustments of young people. For teaching purposes, a loose-leaf edition is available so that all pages designated with (a) may be withheld until the factual material of the first study of the case, given in the other pages, is treated by the student as a problem to be solved.

It is hoped that the publications can continue and include consideration of groups of cases representing types of problems in education, in make-up of individuals, in conduct, etc. It is planned at later dates to report on important facts of cases earlier published.

The gratitude of students who benefit by these studies is due to the Commonwealth Fund of New York, a grant from which has made this series possible.

The social treatment has been carried out through child welfare agencies of many sorts, and the spirit of their co-operation has been splendid. It would be a pleasure to give credit to the particular agency in each case, but since, for several reasons, it is inadvisable, we desire here to express our deep appreciation of their co-operation with the Judge Baker Foundation.

WILLIAM HEALY, M. D.
AUGUSTA F. BRONNER, Ph. D.
Directors.

Case Study No. 11

SERIES I

JUDGE BAKER FOUNDATION
40 COURT STREET
BOSTON

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February, 1923

CASE ELEVEN

Joseph Pastor: 13 yrs., 2 mos. Born in U. S. Father born in Italy; Mother born in U. S.

Introductory Statement

1 (April, 1917.) This boy was referred to us for study as a school offender. For three years he had been truant, at first occasionally, then more and more often until recently his truancy was excessive. The school principal stated in this respect he was, with one exception, the most difficult boy with whom he had ever had to deal. In other ways he had only given trouble to one teacher in whose room he behaved very badly. The school people said they had made much endeavor to handle the problem, but now in desperation they resorted to court action. The mother appeared in court and told of the boy's intense school dissatisfaction. She, however, stated that she had only just learned that the boy was much of a truant. This was partly because, even when he was truant, he would come home at noon for luncheon and again in the afternoon at the time when he was expected.

Study of the Background

Family

2 (Our knowledge of the family at this time was obtained from Joe's mother and sister and from a visitor to the home. The mother was a sickly-looking woman, pleasant, and evidently fairly intelligent. She was very serious about her son and was judged as giving a fairly reliable account of the whole situation. The sister, Etta, was a very attractive young woman, well mannered, co-operative, and very fond of Joseph.)

Father: Died two years ago from some abdominal trouble at the age of 52. He was born in Italy and was brought by an uncle to this country as a young child. The uncle soon died and he was taken care of by an American family and changed his name from Pastorello. He received a grammar

school education and then went to work for a mercantile firm, where he remained many years, principally working as a foreman. He was healthy, of good habits, and was a thoroughly good man.

Father's Family: Not much information was forthcoming about the father's family, because nearly all of them had remained in the old country. Joe's father had heard from them occasionally; he was one of eleven children. His widow says that she has heard considerable about them and always to the effect that they were healthy, normal people of good reputation.

Mother: 48, born in U. S. Graduated from grammar school and then went to work until she was married at 18 years. She has been a busy housewife with her many children, and has been well until the last two or three years, since when she has been suffering from chronic anemia.

Mother's Family: Her parents came from Ireland a few years before she was born and died when she was a little girl. She was then brought up by her only uncle. There have been no cases of epilepsy, insanity, or feebleminedness in the family.

Children: (1) Mary, 28. Cashier for a business firm. Lives at home. (2) Anthony, 27. Married. "Always a good boy." (3) Died when two days old. (4) Julia, 25. Works in dressmaking establishment. (5) Etta, 22. Keeps house. (6) Vincent, 18. Quiet, home-loving boy, not strong, Works in shipping room of wholesale concern. (7) Miscarriage. (8) Lucy. Died at 2 years of scarlet fever. (9) Joseph.

All but Vincent are thoroughly healthy. None of them had convulsions. None except Joseph ever gave trouble either in regard to general behavior or school attendance. The two oldest and Vincent went to work after graduating from grammar school. The others continued in school for a year or two longer.

Developmental History

3 Normal pregnancy and birth. Walked at 11 months. Talked at a little over a year. No convulsions or serious illnesses. Never had a doctor except following an accident,

when in babyhood he fell from a second story window, vomited, and for a few moments seemed dazed. He has complained somewhat of having headaches in school.

Home and Neighborhood Conditions and Influences

4 The home consists of six rooms on two floors of a three story frame house. They are fairly well furnished and very neatly kept. In the parlor there is a piano and victrola. Joe's sleeping quarters are good; he shares with his brother a room that is well ventilated. They have several cats and dogs.

The income is at present adequate from the earnings of the three children who work and live at home. There has been no economic stress since Joe was a little boy, though with such a big family there was some stress earlier.

For many years the family lived in the same neighborhood. It is rather a poor district, consisting of several blocks of frame dwelling houses near freight terminal yards. It is not a congested district, although it is unattractive. The houses have only small back yards. There are no public vicious influences in the immediate vicinity, but Joe attends a school which is in a much more congested neighborhood where there are notorious theatres and many movies. There are some very interesting settlement houses with clubs for young people about half a mile away, but they are frequented largely by foreign speaking people and it seems never to have entered into the ideas of this family to attend such places.

The father was reported as having been quite strict with the children and as obtaining obedience very quickly. One glance from him was sufficient. But the mother has never been active in discipline of the children and now, since she has been rather sickly, she is even less forceful than formerly. But the children have all been brought up to respect her, and the sister says that the only one who has ever given the mother any anxiety whatever is Joe. Vincent has endeavored to exert some control, has cuffed Joe about a little, but himself is not strong, and altogether there has been very little effort to discipline the boy.

The family atmosphere is one of affection and indeed

1 On account of its extent, truancy with us in America is rightfully regarded as a big problem. Its seriousness as a form of delinquency is not to be gainsaid—the truant not only loses the benefits of schooling by his absences, which alone is a fact important enough to warrant the usual regulations of compulsory attendance, but he is in his truancy cultivating tendencies in a most harmful way towards misrepresentation and towards lawbreaking. And even more, substitutive activities for school attendance are nowadays in city life of themselves distinctly pernicious, attendance at cheap and sometimes really evil shows, poor games, often cards and dice in alleys or other out-of-the-way places, and above all associations with poor companions, the evil communications between which make for acquirement of unfortunate knowledge, establishment of bad practices, particularly sex habits and smoking, and the perpetration of actual delinquencies. Whatever the joy of hooking from school to go fishing or to be off in the woods, such as many a man glories in as he looks back at rural school days, such wholesomeness does not obtain for the miserable activities that are often the only resources of the city truant of today.

Some one has aptly called truancy the kindergarten of crime because it is commonly true that even when truancy is the primary delinquency it leads to a wide variety of other offences that, though secondary to it, may be of great consequence. Bad habits, both of conduct and attitude, are built up that become stronger, of course, the longer they exist.

The extent of truancy in various cities of the country is difficult to estimate, for nowhere have figures been compiled that give a picture of conditions in this country as a whole. Nor is it possible to make comparative statements from published reports of individual cities, because even terminology varies and the individual who is considered a truant in one city is not necessarily so designated in another. Figures from New York (See *Report of the Bureau of Attendance for the Period Between July 1915 and July 1918.*) show that in the school year 1917-1918 354,657 cases of absence were investigated by the Bureau of Attendance and that 47,674 of these were instances of truancy, that is, willful absence without the consent of parents. During that year 6,962 truants were held on probation from the Children's Court and 867 truants were committed to institutions, upon complaint of the Bureau of Attendance.

In Chicago, according to Abbott and Breckenridge (See *Truancy and Non-Attendance in Chicago Schools*) in the year 1913-1914, the last year for which they give figures, there were classified as "willful truants" 3,399 children. Besides this, 58,064 cases of absence were referred to the truant officers and classified as "returned to school." During that year 499 children were brought to the juvenile court as truants, of whom 346 (or 69%) were committed to the parental school.

In Boston, the figures for willful truancy for the school year 1917-1918 were 2,528 and in 1921-1922 there were 1,420 truants. For the latter year this is about 1.1% of the school population.

From our study of reports we see that it is quite impossible to

sentimentalism. Joe, when little, was babied much and petted. He was never severely punished, even since causing so much trouble. According to the probation officer, even at the present "the mother babies him and the beautiful sister weeps over him."

Companions, Interests. and Habits

5 Neither the mother nor the sister can give any account of close companionships on the part of Joe. The family does not know that he associates regularly with any boys; they certainly do not think there are any bad companions who are influencing him. He brings no boys home. The school principal reports that he believes that Joe's truancy began with some bad companions, though he does not know the extent to which Joe goes with bad boys or whether he associates with them at all. The attendance officer tells of one lad, somewhat younger, with whom he found Joe truanting once earlier.

Joe has never been fond of reading at home. He plays games, mostly checkers, with members of the family. They have music in the evenings and considerable home life among themselves, going out but little. The boy "is crazy for the movies." He also likes working. He frequently goes on errands for the neighbors, earning a little in that way, and he has worked on Saturdays. He is fond of animals and brings home the stray dogs in the neighborhood. Outside of the hours when he is at school, or supposed to be at school, Joe is practically always at home. The principal says that Joe takes absolutely no interest in school work; "He shows no concentration." The family reports that he has never taken much interest in school and that his interest has grown less and less, until now he has a very intense dislike for it. In illustration of this his mother says that sometimes in the morning he lies on the couch and says, "I can't stand school," and on Friday afternoons he is prone to say, "Thank God, it's Friday and school is over" or "Thank God, I can have a little peace."

Joe always has a poor appetite in the morning. He often goes to school with little or no breakfast. He drinks two cups of tea a day. His mother thinks he smokes a little; his

make valid comparisons because the basis upon which complaints are made to attendance or truant officers varies tremendously, the number of such officers varies greatly in proportion to the school population, and the classification itself is by no means similar. However, incomparable though the figures are, they indicate clearly that the problem of truancy is huge.

The amount of truancy in America contrasts very unfavorably with the situation abroad. In Germany, in pre-war times, the statement was common that truancy there was practically no problem whatever, because parents were held immediately and directly responsible.

In London (See pp. 27-28 in the New York report cited above) a marked yearly decrease in truancy has followed upon prosecution and conviction of parents, the report says because information has gradually become diffused concerning the attendance officer's ability to evoke the penalty of the law. We note that in 1900, 28,000 parents appeared before the court for violation of the school attendance laws, and nearly all were fined or imprisoned. By 1910 a marked change had taken place, and in that year less than 8,000 such prosecutions were made. In the meantime the amount of truancy had steadily decreased. It must be remembered, however, that in London the resort to the courts is almost always direct; no preliminary hearings are held by the school authorities as in New York.

Very little knowledge is forthcoming from published reports concerning the efficacy of treatment in America, on account of lack of really good studies.

As showing the importance of truancy in relation to delinquency or to the development of the more serious forms of delinquency, we may give figures for truancy among delinquents studied by us. We now have for comparative purposes four groups each of 1,000 young repeated offenders; 2,000 studied in Chicago, and 2,000 in Boston. Among the first 1,000 seen in Chicago, between the years 1909 and 1915, 32% of the boys and 7.5% of the girls were or had been truants; of the second 1,000 seen, 1915-1917, 43% of the boys and 4% of the girls came under the same classification. Of two similar groups of 1,000 each studied in Boston, 1917-1919 and 1919-1921 approximately, 43% of the boys and 16% of the girls, and 41% of the boys and 17% of the girls, respectively, were or had been truants. It must be distinctly understood that truancy in our classification means repeated offence of this character, not merely rare willful non-attendance. (Lest anyone should be lead to draw unwarranted conclusions between truancy of girls in Chicago as compared to Boston, we should say that there probably are many reasons why our particular findings show this difference, and we are by no means prepared to give the explanation of this at present. Without very careful study we should not feel justified in drawing any inferences concerning the whole situation.)

Aside from the two publications mentioned above there exists in the literature very little, aside from magazine articles a few pages in length, that bears on the subject of truancy. Two exceptions are

brother has found remnants of cigarettes in his pocket. His mother calls him "nervous" or "restless." For years he has been biting his nails; recently he has been biting them excessively. The boy has shown no evidence whatever of bad sex habits. He sleeps well and gets up promptly in the morning.

School History

6 *Description of School:* Joseph entered a public school in which he has been for the most part ever since. It is a school that has about 2,000 pupils, averaging about 40 pupils to a teacher. The rooms are well ventilated and not crowded. The school, situated in a very congested district yet has a fair-sized school yard and there is a roof playground used by classes at recess. It draws from a district where a number of nationalities are represented. The school has a standard curriculum with no modification or special classes for truants or other disciplinary cases.

There is an especially good *esprit de corps* in this school and the principal himself takes a keen interest in his problem cases. Truants are called to his office and quite a formal occasion is made of his talk to the boy; perhaps it is agreed that no further action will be taken, not even the family will be notified if there is no repetition of the truancy. Sometimes he arranges for special help if there is some subject in which the boy is behind his class. If there is further truancy the attendance officer is notified; it is his duty to visit the family. If it is found that home discipline is weak, the principal is apt to give a boy a whipping once or twice for repeated truancy, but never more times. When this fails he makes use of the disciplinary school or the juvenile court. No case studies are made and no records are kept of the details of treatment for any individual truant. This principal states that his method is very effective, since on the average he has not more than five cases of truancy in a month.

Joseph did not enter school until he was almost seven because his mother was afraid to have him cross some railroad tracks which were near the house. For the first two years there was nothing whatever remarkable in either his school work or his conduct. His attendance was almost perfect, and he received promotions. In the third grade he began to be absent occasionally, but whether his absences were accounted for is not stated. (His mother stated that there were earlier absences on account of her illnesses when she needed the boy at home.) In the fourth grade he changed schools for a few months because the family was broken up

the following: Elizabeth A. Irwin has written a pamphlet, *Truancy, a Study of the Mental, Physical, and Social Factors and the Problem of Non-Attendance at School,* based on the study of 150 cases. It deals with conditions found in two districts in New York City and is not concerned primarily with the relationship of truancy to other delinquency. A study of a hundred cases of truancy was made in Philadelphia by James S. Hiatt and published by the United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin 29, *The Truant Problem and the Parental School.* The study is of 100 most flagrant and persistent offenders, chosen from ten school districts. There is also included a summary statement of the facts concerning thirteen parental schools in as many different cities, including both day and residence parental schools.

All those interested in efficacious treatment of truancy must be also interested in *causations of truancy.* Now it appears that there is no unanimity of opinion concerning even the main causes of truancy, nor for that matter concerning the efficacy of different methods of treating it. Reports and studies have too little in common to make it possible from comparisons to evaluate the effectiveness of different measures, whether or not related to special causes. Hiatt gives comparatively the judgment of school people and investigators on his 100 cases after there had been a home visit and an interview with the child. The judgments run as follows:

	Teachers	Investigators
Bad companions	26	20
Fault of home	17	29
Dislike of school	14	26
Desire to work	3	10
Illness	3	4
Fault of boy	1	11
Not stated	36	..
	100	100

Hiatt concludes that the causes are difficult to ascertain. In any case they are complex. And there are contributing causes, for instance 30% of this 100 lived in a poor neighborhood, 25% had no father, 11% no mother, and in 40 of the cases the mother was working out. (Thus poverty, not mentioned at all, is indirectly a big factor.)

Olive M. Jones, from her seventeen years experience in New York (School and Society, Sept. 23, 1922,) offers some brief statements concerning the causes of truancy. The trouble is either in the school, street life, or the home. It is due to general social conditions, childhood nature, physical or mental conditions. But of course this is merely a general statement and we are forced back to the point made by Miss Irwin that "so many different causes have been found. . . . only an analytical method of treating these cases can bring about an intelligent and effective handling of them."

In connection with the problems presented by this particular case

temporarily when the father was very ill. His attendance, however, was fairly satisfactory in this school, and when he returned to his former district he re-entered the fourth grade and was promoted at the end of the year. But in the fifth grade considerable trouble began. The principal's usual methods were utilized, but Joe gradually truanted more and more and was hard to manage because he made so little attempt to do his work. He failed of promotion. He seemed discouraged by this and was transferred to the Parochial school the following fall. However, there his conduct was so unsatisfactory and his attendance so poor that before the middle of the year his mother begged to have him returned to the public school, and he was placed with a teacher who had been unusually successful with truants. In spite of being still somewhat truant he received promotion at the end of the year to the sixth grade. The next year he was nominally in the sixth grade, but his attendance was extremely poor. He was present only about half of the time until the April when we saw him. It was during this year that on one or two occasions his class conduct was so extremely bad.

Delinquencies

7 From all sources it is stated that Joe was in no way delinquent aside from his truancy. He was never out late nights and he was not known ever to have stolen. He lied, usually in self defense and to hide the fact of not being in school. The extent of his truancy and an account of some misconduct in the class-room are related under School History.

Study of the Individual

Physical

8 Joseph is a very mild looking boy, with rather delicate, clear-cut profile. His expression somewhat frowning and anxious. His posture is normal and he appears not at all restless.

Weight 81 lbs. Height 4 ft., 9 in. Thorax and musculature fairly well developed. Color good. Teeth well cared for.

which we are studying we have made some very specific inquiries concerning the situation as it exists in Boston, a city of particular interest in the matter of truancy because of the fact that here has been a steady decrease of 44% in the number of truants from 1917 to 1922. One very capable principal, who is highly successful in handling truancy, believes that the matter is largely in the hands of the school principal and depends on his activities; the very slight amount of truancy in his district is due to the fact that he personally deals with the problem. (But we do not know that there has been any widespread personal attention given to truants by principals during the last few years in Boston that might account at all for the decrease in truancy.) The supervisor of special classes draws attention to the fact that a large share of those who come to the special classes have previously been truants and that in the special classes there is very little truancy. The enrollment in these classes is from 1,400 to 1,500 out of the school population of 130,000 or more. The attendance department, although it has issued no printed report, feels very strongly that it is personal effort on the part of attendance officers that has made for this betterment of conditions. There are 29 attendance officers who call at the schools each morning and obtain the names of absentees. Through these officers social agencies are frequently called to aid in the family life. Persistent truants are placed in the disciplinary school, but that is rarely filled to its capacity of 45. Those who do not then attend are complained of in court, and during 1921-1922, 35 were taken to court, and of these 17 were committed to a parental school. (Amid the various recommendations for the treatment of truancy, and in the face of Hiatt's report which credits Boston with having a parental school, it is very interesting to note that Boston discontinued its parental school in 1912. The "Training School" of another county is at present utilized for the few cases which are sent away.) The highly personal work of this attendance department leads them to believe that in 90% of cases the causes of truancy are yielding to a momentary temptation, such as being late to school and afraid to go in, meeting a companion who urges staying away, or going to the movies, or swimming, or to a ball game, etc. There is frequently recommendation on the part of this department of a change of teachers because of dislikes which have grown up. It is by their immediate investigation and taking action, they think, that has brought about the marked decrease in truancy.

The acting chief of this department believes (and see also the New York report) that the truancy law could be much bettered by making the parents legally responsible in all cases through direct prosecution if necessary.

2 In the family history, incomplete though evidently reliable as far as it goes, we see nothing that appears significant for interpretation.

3 The accident in babyhood is, of course, of doubtful significance. Headaches occurring only in school make one suspect a situation reaction.

Reflexes normal. Vision and hearing not defective by ordinary tests. Nose and throat in good condition. Heart sounds negative. No signs of pubertal development. Head fairly well shaped. All other examination negative except moderate enlargement of posterior cervical glands and small epitrochlear glands bilateral. Nails badly bitten. (Wasserman negative—reported a few days later.)

Mental

9 (1) *Results on Psychological Examination:*

(Mental attitude not unfriendly or sullen, but boy frowns much and keeps his head turned away a great part of the time. He is plainly uninterested in many of the tests and shows special disinterest in those involving or resembling school work, demonstrating positive zest only when working with concrete material. Joe is apparently quite easily fatigued or bored; his attention flags after a moderate amount of work; he becomes restless and squirms about in his chair, gazing at the ceiling. On account of his attitude the tests were given for brief periods on two successive days.)

According to age-level and other tests he grades as having fair general ability. On Binet-Simon 1911 scale does through 12 years, except for one test. Yerkes-Bridges co-efficient of mental ability 119.

Visual memory, poor.

Auditory memory span, good.

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[1] Binet-Simon 1911 series: all 10-year tests correct except test (2), geometrical forms; all 12-year tests correct.
Yerkes-Bridges Point Scale, score 86; C. M. A. 119, equals adult intelligence.
Visual Memory: Binet geometrical forms, score 60%.
Auditory Memory Span: 7 digits.
Trabue Language Scale: score 9, equals median between grade 3 and 4.
Pictorial Completion Test I: 2 errors, 1 illogical; Pintner and Anderson norms: score 521, equals 16-year norm.
Tapping Test: 78 squares, 2 errors (second trial 82, 9 errors) equals median for 13 years.
Easy Opposites: average time 1′ 9″, 0 errors or failures.
Mental Representations: Cross-line tests: 1st, correct first trial, 2nd, correct second trial. Very slowly done.
Construction Test A: score 37″, 14 moves; second trial 16″, 6 moves.
Construction Test B: 163″, 27 moves.
Visual Learning Test (old digit-symbol form), all 10 correct.
Knox-Pintner Cube Test: 7 lines correct, equals 11 to 13-year norm.
Spelling: 6th grade passage adapted from Ayres scale, correct.
Arithmetic: Courtis Test VII, 8 attempted, 1 correct (next day 6 attempted, 1 correct), lower than median for grade 3. Process known, but many inaccuracies.
Reading: 6th grade, Thorndike scale, all words correct, but not fluent.
Writing: Thorndike scale, quality 8, grade 3.

4 The home evidently has many good qualities and conditions that should develop a boy's life normally. As time has gone on Joe has had to meet some circumstances not altogether favorable for his development, particularly the death of his father who seemed to control the children very well; and this death came at a time when the boy needed such a steadying influence. The mother, never especially strong, has become more and more sickly and weaker than ever in control. Besides this, Joe is the youngest of the family, the other members are considerably older. It is evident that on account of this he has been considerably spoiled; indeed this unfortunate family attitude toward him has been definitely observed. Nevertheless the happy home life, although the family have not been able to cope with his truancy, has probably largely saved him from many bad concomitants of his truancy. His home is attractive enough, so that he does not find greater pleasures elsewhere, as many truants learn to do. And very important, too, is the fact that the discipline offered by the family is not so stringent that he is tempted through fear to remain away from home following his truancy. Both these points are features of this case which differentiate it from many other cases of truancy that we have studied.

It would be interesting to discuss at this point what such a family could do in the situation. For example, could they, through close co-operation with the school, have been more effective; by daily or at least very frequent conference with teacher or principal or by planning to have a daily report of attendance sent home? And could not some member of the family each evening have checked up with the boy his lessons for the following day, in this way seeing what he had done in school and noting his progress with his class? All this apart from devices of reward that might have been incentives to doing steadily even a disagreeable task, such as a pleasant excursion or treat on Saturday if there had been regular attendance throughout the week. Clearly though the family were fond of the boy they showed no resource in devising any constructive plan for meeting his problem, and evidently the school people did not suggest anything of the sort to them.

5 This account shows that the family was none too familiar with Joe's life outside the home. Continuing discussion of what they might have done, it would seem that if the family had made an effort to have Joe cultivate good boy friendships in connection with his school life it might have helped in the truancy. They could have invited the boy or boys to their home and so have established pleasant associations with school comrades, and this might have carried over to school life.

The attitude of unsociability towards a boy's friends we have found very common in families where the children are showing delinquent trends. It is a very striking fact and marks a distinct line between an intelligent and an unintelligent attitude towards children's welfare. Our social visitors have repeatedly found that some mothers express

Apperceptive ability, with language poor, with pictorial material only fair.

Motor control, fair.

Mental control, normal, but somewhat slow in response.

Visual representations, fair.

Work with concrete material, about average for his age.

Learning ability for visual associations, at least as good as average.

Follows directions imitatively quite well.

Writes legibly, but in childish fashion.

Spelling, correct for 6th grade.

Reads 6th grade passage slowly but with fair attempt at expression and good comprehension.

Arithmetic very poor; makes many errors though he knows all four processes.

(2) *Mental Balance:* No evidence in mood, judgment, or volitional powers of any psychotic tendencies.

(3) *Personality Traits:* The family report that there has been no change in the traits that Joe has displayed. He has always been a good boy at home, obedient to his mother except in this matter of going to school. He is always helpful, doing chores willingly, and he has always been honest. He has never been known to take a single thing that didn't belong to him either in his own household or outside it. He goes on errands for the family and always brings back the correct change. He is thoroughly kindhearted, fond of animals, quite generous, and not selfish in any way. He has never had any outbursts of temper at home and the family regard him as having an extraordinary good disposition. If his temper is ever aroused it is over in a minute. He is not a lazy boy, but is changeable in his interests. "He is always going from one thing to another." He is a boy who is well liked in general. Both his mother and sister say that he is "nervous" at home. He has been observed sitting in a chair chewing his cap.

His mother says that earlier in school he was reported as being playful, his teacher claiming that he tried to make the others laugh. The statements from the school now deal mainly with his actual misconduct and specifically with his

pride in the fact that they do not allow the child's companion to visit in their home.

Since the family knew that Joe was so fond of movies, it might have been much better for them to have gone occasionally with him in the evening so that he would have had less desire to go to these shows in school hours. And they should have known that this was how he spent many of his truant hours.

That Joe often goes to school with little or no breakfast would seem possibly to be an important point for causation of his school dissatisfaction; he could hardly be expected to have a feeling of well-being in the school room in the morning. But people differ immensely in their need for breakfast, as witness the no-breakfast cult of a few years ago—some people maintaining that they did much better without an early meal. There would be several points to consider in this case: how appetizing the home breakfast was; whether his lack of appetite was not due to emotional disturbance at the thought of going to school; whether a school lunch during the morning might not have made him feel more cheerful about the school situation.

Nail-biting is a habit that has many causations and in some cases is almost a life long practice of very little known significance. In instances of sudden onset or where excessive, a definite cause is naturally to be thought of and sought. The newly established clinics (See D. A. Thom, *Habit Clinics for Children of the Pre-School Age,* Mental Hygiene, July, 1922.) are very promising in regard to the gathering of data that will throw light on this question of peculiar habits.

6 The special significance of Joe's truancy is enhanced for us when we learn that it was so severe from a school where there was so little tradition and practice of truancy.

As emphasized in the New York Bureau of Attendance report, it is true that in many cases small irregularities in attendance frequently precede or are the immediate cause of specific truancy. In this instance we wonder what was the effect of Joe's absences in the third grade at the instigation of his mother. Did they give him a poor evaluation of the seriousness of non-attendance, even though the direct stimulus to truancy itself was not experienced till much later? That there was such a stimulus occurring at a special time we may infer from the fact that the beginnings of Joe's truancy can be definitely placed.

Just as we asked what could have been done through the family, we may now fairly inquire what the school could do in any such situation. But it must first be acknowledged that the methods used in this school have borne most excellent results, as judged by the small amount of truancy. The point left to consider is, then, what can be done, over and beyond the use of such ordinarily efficacious methods to modify such obdurate instances of truancy. We may at least suggest to ourselves the following: (a) Definite early study of the beginnings and probable causes, so as to put in operation counteractive

peculiar and intense hatred of school, which the principal and teachers find it so difficult to understand.

As observed by us Joe is a quiet boy, not unfriendly but evasive except in stating his enormously strong attitude toward the school situation, under which he seems genuinely to chafe and rebel. Most striking in contrast is a firm feeling of confidence in his ability to meet the world and to succeed without academic education. This Joe plainly states and also shows particularly in his approach to tests other than those for school work.

Boy's Own Story

11 (Seen at first interview boy was judged to be not frank. He persistently kept his head averted, talked rather mumblingly, and frowned much.)

Says that he used to like school, but he doesn't now. He thinks he liked it in the first three grades, but since then he has never cared for it. He likes spelling pretty well, but all the rest of the school work he hates. He states that he was never truant until about one month before school closed last year. (Of course this is not true, but we are not sure that the boy did not mean more than occasional truancy.) This year he has been truant as much as a couple of months all put together. He was away for three weeks at one time.

Nothing happened to make him begin being truant and he always goes alone. He hangs around on the streets and sometimes goes to the movies. Sometimes he gets a chance to go on errands in the afternoon and he goes to the movies in the morning with the money he earns. "I don't like to work at the things they have at school. It gives me a headache and a belly ache, makes me dizzy like. Everything you do at school makes me feel sick. I feel better on the outside." In the school room you have to sit still too long and you are all shut in, and it's hot. He doesn't feel well there, and it takes too long to do things. He likes the manual training, but they have that only once a week. He is never truant on Friday morning, the time when this manual training comes. He wants to go to work. He likes working. He does errands after school and works on Saturdays at a florist's and at shoe-shining. After school he plays baseball

measures at the most advantageous times, namely before there has been long formation of habit. (b) Strong effort to work out some scheme of prevention with the family; this was not done in any constructive way in Joe's case. (c) Every endeavor to prevent growth of any feeling of inferiority, which is likely to develop and be in the background of the consciousness of truants, and is undoubtedly indicated in this case by such over-compensations as Joe displayed. (See Own Story and Subsequent History). However, a mere changing of schools for this purpose we see in his case may accomplish nothing; the boy's essential difficulties were not met by this bare procedure of relieving the boy from his local reputation. (d) In the presence of a marked revolt against school, the usual regime of school life occasionally must be altered to win the boy, but the determination of just what to do should depend upon really good knowledge of what the case needs. (e) Should the school authorities be able to hale parents to court as contributors to delinquency, when nothing radical is done by the parents to prevent the truancy?

7 Now we come to what is the chief peculiarity of this case, a peculiarity that leads us to be able to study truancy here as an uncomplicated problem, so far as delinquency is concerned—Joe's truancy was his sole offense. (Of course, there was the lying in self defence, but that is so completely secondary and obtains in nearly all instances of repeated misconduct.) We ourselves have had few chances to study cases simply of truancy. Nearly all instances, even of those who are classified as merely truants and who are complained of as such, prove upon study to have complicating forms of misdoing, begging, thieving, gambling, indulgence in much smoking or bad sex habits, staying away from home at night, etc., many of which delinquencies have been contributing causes to the truancy itself.

Going over our own statistics we find that of our two series, each of 1,000 young repeated offenders in Boston, only 9 boys and 2 girls, and 4 boys and 2 girls, respectively, were instances of uncomplicated truancy.

8 Joe is 4 in. below the median height for his age and 3 lbs. under the norm for his height. He is 18 lbs. under the median for his age. Thus he is considerably underdeveloped for an American boy. In spite of his alleged "nervousness" we find no signs whatever of any abnormality of the nervous system. Some slight glandular enlargements make us think of some constitutional disorder, but syphilis is largely ruled out through the Wasserman test being negative.

9 Joe shows a carrying over of school hatred to tests that is now and again seen in boys who really dislike school. Joe's attitude of being bored is undoubtedly secondary to this attitude; in our short sessions with him he had no cause for fatigue.

Concerning the tests: The Stanford revision and extension upwards

with the boys, but not during school time. There are other boys in his neighborhood who are truant, but he never goes with them. They play cards, but not for money.

He began smoking last year about two months after he began to be truant. He doesn't smoke much, just a couple of cigarettes a week.

There are not many things he likes except working. He doesn't like to read books. He plays checkers at home. Everybody is good to him at home. He sleeps all right. "I never dreamed in all my life." Boys around the neighborhood swear, but they don't talk about bad things. He has heard boys at school say some bad things once in a while. He has never been shown bad pictures and nothing of that sort ever comes up in his mind. He doesn't know what he wants to do except go to work. He thinks he might like it better in a manual training school.

Seen later by another person Joe appeared plainly evasive and impatient; perhaps he was fatigued. He did not tell all the truth about himself; he acknowledged that he didn't. When asked about his headaches he says he's got one now, and he always has one if he is in school. He gets one even in five minutes. Nothing ever bothers him except school. He hates that. Everybody bothers him about it. There was a boy that he got in with when he was about 7 years old who told him bad stuff, but he doesn't even remember now what it was. Nothing comes up in his mind about it. He never remembers anything like that. He always goes alone. He doesn't believe that he can ever be happy in school. He readily promised to come into see us the next day.

(The next day the boy came in promptly and seemed interested and friendly. He was not so evasive as the day before but he picked much at his nails.)

He says he feels nervous this way when he is talking to anybody. He never had but one bad companion and that was the boy that he told us about yesterday, an older fellow who lived in the neighborhood for a few weeks. He doesn't even remember the boy's name and he has forgotten all that he told him except that he was the first boy who told him bad stuff about girls. This boy never did anything bad with him and nobody else ever has. He knows one little club of boys.

of the Binet tests was not being used by us when this boy was studied. The Yerkes-Bridges scale we gave up later because it obviously grades too high in many instances. We no longer use Pictorial Completion Test I; we found it too unreliable in several particulars. The Knox-Pintner Cube Test we also have discarded from our usual schedule because of the variability that is shown in repeated performance.

Altogether Joe is clearly normal mentally, and we do not note evidences of any special defect — which is a very important point for us who have his school dissatisfaction in mind.

About drawing conclusions from the fact that Joe does not get credit for a 10-year performance on the visual memory test, we must remember that it is but a single test, exposure of the figures is but 10 seconds. Suppose Joe happened to be in a perverse mood just then! This brings up the whole question of validity of relying on one single test in passing judgment on even a single ability. Certainly one would prefer not to do so.

Joe's retardation in school subjects is what we might expect as the result of poor school attendance and poor school effort and there is no reason to believe that he has any innate disability for any branch of academic work. The results due to lack of interest must not be confused with the results of inability to learn.

10 The main points to be noted are Joe's pleasant and really good traits as they contrast with his truancy and recalcitrancy in school, and the fact that he presents no problem in the dynamics of personality; he is an even-natured boy.

Of course one thinks of Joe's confidence in his ability to get along without education simply as a reaction to his dislike of school, but his remarkable self-confidence is shown in other ways, in his general feeling of independence and of ability to do other kinds of work. But even so, all these may have been first developed by way of overcompensations for his school failures due, in turn, to school dislike.

11 Of course, in studying any Own Story, we are mainly interested in causations, as bearing upon therapeutic endeavor. We have, here, the following points to note:

It is not safe to conclude anything from Joe's repressed attitude at the first interview other than that it may have been due to a shamefacedness about his truancy and lying. We find no evidences of anything in his mental life causing a conflict or worry; indeed Joe is pretty much of an extrovert, his troubles seem to be merely in his relations to the outside world.

The physical symptoms that he makes so much of may well all be quite secondary to his mental discomfort in school; we hear nothing of them under other circumstances, except that they occur just before school time. And then thinking of these symptoms as possible evidence of a psychoneurosis, particularly in regard to his having such strong reactions towards restraint, to having to sit still and being shut in school, we wonder whether he has a mild equivalent of

They are good; they won't stand for anything bad, not even smoking.

Joe insists that he will leave school when he is 14. He could become a messenger boy and learn the city. He is happy at all times except when he bothers about school; that's the only thing that bothers him. Arithmetic makes his head ache and makes him dizzy; but it is not only that, he dislikes everything in school. "When I'm at work I can do what I want to. I can move about and open windows." It is hot in the school room. Going to the movies doesn't give him headaches. He has a cranky teacher this year, but he didn't like school before that. Sometimes when he is working in school he doesn't know whether he is sitting down or where he is. He plays with a good bunch of boys. The little smoking he does he doesn't do when with them. They don't let him.

(The above is the gist of incomplete notes made at the time. Other questioning seemed to lead nowhere by way of explanation. The boy was not at all analytical and we felt that this was the best that we could do at the time.)

At this point SUMMARY OF CASE and SUBSEQUENT HISTORY follow.

claustrophobia, the fear of closed places. But what about the shut-in conditions of moving picture theatres? We do not learn that Joe is distressed by these.

And about street life with its attractions as being the prime cause. We have no evidence of that either. Of course, Joe has to go out on the street if he is truant; he has nowhere else to go . But we have no indications of his being especially addicted to the activities that are possible only in street life. With the attraction of movies it is different. We hear that he is very fond of them, as many another boy is, and goes to them with his small moneys earned. But whether they are the main cause of his truancy is not clear. However, even if his feelings towards school life is the main factor in his truancy such an enjoyment as the movies may be a contributing element, for, after all, if there were nothing more enjoyable than school life he probably would not be truant. Such a contributing cause to truancy we saw even more plainly in Case Seven, the runaway boy so successful in street life.

Altogether it comes out clearly that Joe obtained very few satisfactions in his school work. The half day that he enjoys cannot be prolonged into five whole days; the curriculum cannot be upset for one individual. Joe has a good deal of self-feeling, this is clear, and gets in school life very few of the ego satisfactions which he craves. He doesn't do well enough in his studies and isn't important enough in the class room. His self confidence that apparently brings him satisfactions in contemplation is not bolstered up by the poor work which he does because of his developed attitude towards the school.

We may rule out many possible causes. So far as we know Joe is not influenced by bad companions — such a marked cause of truancy in Case Six, by inner mental conflict, sex habits, day dreams, a special grudge, or many other possible causes which we have found operative in other cases.

SUMMARY OF STAFF CONFERENCE

PROBLEM: **Delinquency:** Truancy for three years, recently excessive.

PHYSICAL: Poor general development; fair nutrition. Some enlargement of glands. Complaint of headaches. Harassed expression. Clear cut features.

MENTAL: (1) **Abilities:** Fairly good general ability. Learning ability apparently fair. No special abilities or disabilites noted. Poor in most school work. (2) **Balance:** Normal. (3) **Personality:** Many good characteristics. Stubborn and untruthful only about school life.

BACKGROUND: (a) **Heredity:** Negative, incomplete account. (b) **Developmental:** Practically negative. (c) **Home Conditions:** Father dead two years. Home well kept and in many ways good. (d) **Habits:** Slight smoking. Allowed tea. Bites nails.

PROBABLE DIRECT CAUSATIONS: (1) Extreme school dissatisfaction. (2) Satisfactions in street life and movies. (3) Family control inadequate since father's death.

(Origin of school dissatisfaction we have considered in terms of (a) physical condition, fatigability, nervous instability, eating no breakfast, (b) intense dislike of indoor life and sitting still, (c) possible development of feeling of inferiority in school life through inconsistency between achievement and evident pleasure in self-confidence.)

PROGNOSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS: Ultimate prognosis seems good, though possibly boy will not succeed over period when he must legally attend school. He should certainly be placed at once in a school where industrial work is featured, and should have special help in arithmetic. Perhaps playground work would help his general development and increase stability. Should stop tea drinking and endeavor to eat more breakfast. Adjustments should vary according to his changing needs. Should spend summer in the country. Effort should be made to interest him in education since he is so small and poorly trained. But when legally permissible to withdraw, if still uninterested, light work would be better than forced school attendance with bad attitude. If family do not co-operate in recommendations we advise placing for at least a few months. Wassermann test should be made.

Subsequent History

In court Joe was placed on probation and ordered to go to school regularly. The school principal, who regarded it as impracticable to transfer the boy to a pre-vocational or other school where industrial work is emphasized, so near the expiration of the school year, felt that his school could offer nothing more for the boy; and with this as explanation transferred him in May to the disciplinary school for truants.

The disciplinary school occupies four rooms on the top floor of a modern grammar school building. The rooms are well ventilated and the classes are small. There are especially selected teachers, but there is no special equipment or modified curriculum. The rationale seems to be that the truant should be taken away from association with his companions and should be given special help, in case he is retarded through truancy, so that he may later rejoin his class. Carfare is furnished, and a nutritious warm lunch is provided.

Mrs. Pastor attempted to co-operate. She allowed Joe no more tea and tried to induce him to eat somewhat more breakfast, although he was never hungry in the morning. His family urged him to attend regularly, but during the few weeks that school was still in session Joe continued sometimes to be truant.

In the summer all went well with Joe, as it always did during vacations. He spent about two months in the country, most of the time with his mother. She reported that he was quite happy, but she dreaded the time when school would open.

In September Joe re-entered the disciplinary school. After the first week he again began his truancy. The probation officer found him selling papers during school hours and the boy offered a glib explanation why he was not in school. However, he promised to attend, but inquiry two days later showed he was not in school that day. Also the report came that there had been some friction in school and the boy had sworn at the teacher. Joe's mother at this time said that it just seemed as if the boy could not go to school. For two days after meeting the probation officer he had not eaten anything, so far as she could tell. She locked him in a room for punishment and took his clothes; he made his way out and went away clad in nothing but overalls. He seemed very much out of sorts every morning, complained of headaches, and he would lie on the couch and say, "I just can't stand school." His former principal was now approached about some new adjustment for Joe, but he insisted that before anything else could be considered the boy must "make good" at the disciplinary school.

Once more the boy came in to see us. He had gained about four pounds. Joe still declared stoutly that he didn't like school; that he didn't think any boy did. He felt confident that he could learn more outside school than in. He could get a job now without any trouble; he could work in a garage or with machinery. (Some brief testing showed that he was up to his age in mechanical dexterity. Stenquist

Assembly Test, true score 55, equals the norm for 13 to 14 years.) He denied that any special trouble with his teacher was responsible for his beginning truancy; he "just got not to like school." He reiterated that his truancy began something over a year ago; the first day he was out he went to the circus. He acknowledged that he had lied much about it all. He spoke with enthusiasm of his summer in the country, the fishing, etc., and said that after his return he obtained his former job with a florist, where he worked until school began.

Following this interview with the boy, a conference was held with the probation officer, who now wondered whether the boy should be committed to a correctional institution. (At that time all truants were sent to X, the institution mentioned in Case 8.) We felt that this was inadvisable because the boy was so immature and because he would be thrown with offenders who had been engaged in more severe types of delinquency. Yet, on the other hand, the chances of success under present conditions were decidedly poor since there was no reason to believe that his attitude would change under compulsion to attend the disciplinary school. The best practical adjustment, we felt, was placement in some country home, where he could have plenty of outdoor life and get his schooling in a country school, where, perhaps, his attitude would change and where he could be tided over at least until he could fulfil legal requirements concerning age and school grade. We felt that it was no use to study the boy further at the present, but that a definite effort should be made to bring about in him a more socially normal attitude by changing his circumstances.

(In such a case as this where there is a deep-rooted feeling against schooling as it is forced on the individual, compliance with even such regulations as this excellent school principal formulated may not be at all conducive to the development of good character tendencies. Of course, the school people's patience had been exhausted by the time they took court action and their expectation that this action in and of itself would make the boy cease truancy was not fulfilled, and of course it was not to be expected that it would better his attitude; such a conception was quite unpsychological.)

The mother and sister once more came to see us. We obtained from them no more information concerning causation. Aside from his truancy Joe was really a good boy at home and everybody liked him. The sister felt that the trouble he was causing would break the mother's heart; she was quite sickly now and was unable to assert much control. There had never been any behavior like this in the family. The boy often promised to do better, but in a couple of days it was always the same. They were quite willing for him to be sent to the country; for they conceded now that they could not influence him.

In about two weeks Joe was brought into court and put on a suspended sentence to X, with the understanding that he was to be given the opportunity to go to the country and attend school there. He was placed on a farm which is used by the court for boys who have special needs and where they stay for longer or shorter periods. It is a large, well conducted farm offering many and varied activities and recreations. There were at the time several boys there under the immediate charge

of a housekeeper, and a man who acted as the boys' leader. Various vocational and educational adjustments were possible for the boys; some attended school, some worked on the farm, some at a nearby factory. The older boys are paid for their labor. Joe was assigned a few chores at the farm and the family paid a small sum for his board.

Joe immediately entered the sixth grade of the town school, which is about a mile distant. It is a small wooden building on a hillside just off the main street of the town, with woods and open country in the immediate vicinity. The four rooms are well lighted and ventilated and are made quite attractive by pictures and exhibitions of the work of the children. Only the fifth to the eighth grades inclusive occupy the building, and the classes average from forty to forty-five pupils. The children come very largely from American families of fairly comfortable circumstances. The school day opens with exercises at which the pupils give recitations, and there is music on the phonograph. The afternoon session begins with fifteen minutes of stories read by the teacher. The curriculum itself is very similar in other respects to that of the city school which Joe had attended. Manual training is given once a week in only the two upper grades. The children are allowed to move freely about the room, going to the blackboard or even outside the room without special permission. But the discipline in this school is very effective.

(Of course no one would allege that all the features of this school regime would be possible in a city school which houses 2,000 children very largely of foreign parentage. The latter conditions require much more formal discipline. In the smaller school it is possible to have a degree of sociability that begins with the teachers and is apt to permeate the whole school, and which would be very difficult to duplicate with the sixty or seventy teachers of the city school who live far from each other and know each other comparatively little.)

The sister went out to see Joe after he had been at the farm for only two days. A couple of days later she came to us and said that she didn't see how the family could possibily get along without Joe. The mother had never been separated from him before and "everybody can see how she is fading away, and the family need her so badly." She said that if he now came home he would go regularly to school for the few months until he was 14. For the sake of her mother she wanted him at once. Appreciating that this was a very weak attitude on the part of the family and that it demonstrated their own tendencies toward spoiling the boy it was stressed to them that there was a big risk involved in his returning home, since he would have to continue in school till he completed the 6th grade. The family was gradually induced to take more rational attitude, although during the next few months the mother apparently really suffered through the separation; however, she had felt perhaps even more keenly his troublesomeness earlier.

We received frequent reports about Joe and his progress. From the beginning he liked his new school life. He remained on the farm throughout the school year, and not once was he truant or absent. In scholarship he received all A's and B's, and at the end of the year was

promoted to the seventh grade. He never once during the school year asked to stay at home, nor did he complain of headaches.

In his home life on the farm there was some little mischief with the other boys and he occasionally smoked surreptitiously. At first he was rather unpopular because he was a good deal of a baby and he tried by teasing to get extra favors, such as permission to go to the movies, which was only allowed once a week. He was a good worker at his chores, and the people at the farm felt that they were gradually winning him, although he still prevaricated in self-defense. With other boys he got into one scrape through some depredation in an empty house on a neighboring farm. He was reported as being very generous. He grew well physically during the year. He was frequently visited by members of his family and it was only at their solicitation that he left the farm in the early summer.

A later special interview with the teachers of the school in the country, made because of our interest in the boy and his success, brought out the following points: The teachers had a very cordial attitude towards the boys from the farm, wanting to be helpful to them; indeed one of the teachers visited the farm and dined with the boys. (This is in great contrast to the attitude taken by some city and suburban school people when boys who have needed special help have been placed in the community.) Then Joe himself was found to be a very likeable boy; he gained a little popularity by his ability to sing the latest popular songs, although he had no particular talent. Also he was found responsive to appeals, as, for example, once when he was found smoking in the building and it was pointed out to him that he was setting a bad example he was never known to do this again. Joe developed a friendship for a girl in another class and bought her presents. This was a frank, open, and nice affair.

After Joe left the farm he spent the rest of the summer in the country with his mother. Then he came back home and went to work. From this time on until about a year later his work record is irregular; he held three positions and was idle for weeks at intervals. It was a period of unemployment and Joe could not find work that he liked. He was still on probation and because of his withdrawal from school and irregularity of work his probation officer felt that he was not a very great success, although he was in no delinquency of any kind. During this period Joe's mother died, his two sisters married, Joe and his brother going to live with one of them in a well furnished home situated in a better district of the city.

Then Joe enlisted in the army. (We do not know where, and of course he must have given a false age.) After a period of training he was assigned to the army of occupation in Germany, where he remained for about two and a half years. He kept in touch with his family and had, as far as is known, a perfectly good record. After himself asking for a discharge he returned home procuring work with an automobile company as a tester of machines. Some months later he came in to see us and interestingly discussed with us the development of the causes and the cure of his truancy. We had previously learned from his sister that he had returned home a healthy young man of no bad habits,

as far as she could judge, and that he had at once proved industrious; in the household he was good-natured and easy-going and fond of home life.

Joe, as we now saw him, was clean and boyish looking with a decidedly good profile and well shaped head. He was thoughtful, serious, with quite a keen sense of humor, still fairly self-assertive, and still remarkably self-confident about his capacity to meet the world, although not at all aggressive. He now weighs 140 lbs. and in height is 5ft. 6 in. He readily co-operated in doing a few tests and we found him now at 19 years of age grading on the Stanford-Binet tests as I. Q. 100. It was an even performance, except for a very poor record on the vocabulary test in which he did not even get a 14-year credit. However, he told in interesting fashion objective facts about his life abroad, but it was plain to see that he had not acquired in the least any interest or any power in analysis in his own or other social situations. He really appeared remarkably naive and unsophisticated, considering the conditions under which he had been living.

The main interest for us, of course, was what he could formulate about his truancy and its causes. He was himself interested in this attempt and he thoughtfully tried to remember all that he could. He now thinks that he never missed a day in the early grades at school and that in the beginning he liked school. His truancy began by hooking one or two times with a couple of other boys, after which he always went by himself. Their only influence was that he hadn't "spunk enough to hook alone" in the very beginning. "I was smart enough, I know that, but I would feel sick in school. I would get a headache and watch the clock. As soon as I was outside I would be all right." Once he had stayed out he was afraid to go back. He remembers only one teacher whom he disliked and he thinks that he began his truancy in that grade (but later seems uncertain about this). He can remember very well the first time he hooked — he went with these other boys to a picture show. Because there were a number of them the manager thought there was a holiday and let them in. "It was a corking show — some Buffalo Bill show. Perhaps if there hadn't been that picture I wouldn't have started." He never in his life disliked anything so much as school. He never disliked the discipline of the army. Now he thinks that his hatred of school was because of a still-existing dislike of being shut inside a place. He has told his people about that ever since he was little. Even now if he were working in an office or a factory he would be smoking or biting his nails or restless all the time. He wouldn't work in an office for all the money in the world. In the army he and a couple of other fellows nearly always slept out even when it was pretty cold.

He never had any fright or disturbing experience in school. He doesn't believe that he has had ten dreams that he can remember in all his life. He cannot remember that as a boy he had any bad sex experiences; doesn't think that the boys with whom he hooked that first time talked bad or that there was any bad sex situation in the school. He knows that to him school was like a jail. One trouble was that there wasn't enough to do in school. "You could do about all the work there in an hour if they would let you." Then the teachers always

scold. "They are against you if you do anything wrong." When he was truant he thinks he would go riding on autos or walk about by himself, or when he had money go to the shows. Is quite sure that he had a much better time when he was out of school; he had his freedom. Thinks this was the main reason for his truancy; he had a pleasanter time out of doors than in. He remembers his life out on the farm very distinctly. He had no thought of hooking there, although some other boys did, but there was more to do in the school and he liked the people better. He remembers that he liked the exercises in the morning and the reading of stories, and that altogether it was more interesting.

About his own home he remembers nothing that was unpleasant. He cannot quite place the year that his father died, but he thinks that if his father had lived it would have made no difference about the truancy; he himself would have come to dislike school just as greatly. He had in those days no bad habits except biting his nails. He never played craps or cards; never has cared for gambling or smoking. He never has cared much for reading and has not read more than three books since he left school.

(In only very few particulars does Joe's story now disagree with his earlier statements. From what we know of testimony and the powers of remote memory, one would expect at least as much variation as we here find. In the main he corroborates his earlier account and adds no new features of causation.)

Joe says that he is very well satisfied with his job of testing automobile motors. That keeps him out of doors, and he expects to stay at out-of-door work.

Discussion of Treatment

Since leaving school Joe's record largely speaks for itself. There is every indication that the diagnosis made earlier, namely that his trouble was simply due to a school attitude, was entirely well founded and that treatment directed toward this was effective.

The army career shows that Joe was not rebellious of discipline as such; he was no chronic dissenter or objector.

It is distinctly worth while to speculate on the reasons for Joe's changed attitude when he went to the country schools There was the greater friendliness, the informal, pleasant exercises opening the morning and afternoon sessions, the greater freedom in classroom procedure; there was the walk in the country to and from school and the woods and the fields about the school itself; there was his popularity as a singer of up-to-date songs, and his special friendship with a school girl; then, too, he probably ate a heartier breakfast after his morning chores; clearly he was well received in the school — his teacher later remembered and spoke well of him; then, of course, he had no indulgent family to fall back on; and furthermore he was unable to obtain through teasing, which he early tried, any favors at the farm. And there may have been other factors in the changed situation which are less obvious than these.

FINAL COMMENT

This case is valuable for study because of the total picture it presents. As far as misconduct is concerned, it is an instance of almost uncomplicated truancy. To elaborate such a case based on some obvious causes would not be worth the trouble. But here in the causal background there are a number of salient features of a sort more subtle, taken singly or as interwoven, than is found in many cases. And these causes and their variations are worth knowing well by those who would deal successfully with truancy.

The failure of the school to provide sufficient satisfactions (in spite of considerable attention to the case), the failure of the family to make intelligently directed constructive effort, the possibilities of out-of-school substitutive pleasures—this was the triad of conditions to which the boy's personality reacted.

Before the diagnostic study none of these conditions was reckoned with; in the later adjustment at least two of the conditions were essentially modified, whereupon truancy and, still better, the bad school attitude ceased.

The main point is that some difficult cases of truancy can only be understood through analysis of the whole situation and can only be efficiently treated in the light of such understanding. Success, as in this case, may be worth much.

JUDGE BAKER FOUNDATION

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...nal, vocational and ...ought for study by ...urt, school, and all ...ning to make inten- ...hose working from the standpoint of the psychological, medical, and social sciences. It is only through the devoted service of the entire personnel that the material for the present publication is available.

Readers cannot draw conclusions for scientific purposes from statements concerning localities, names, dates, nationalities, and facts of family history as given because, in the usual professional fashion cases are reported with disguises. But the general facts, even of heredity are accurately transcribed, and no matters of importance for interpretation of causation as it bears on therapeutic possibilities in the individual case are changed or omitted.

The plan of presentation is to offer a first series of twenty studies covering a wide range of problems of interest to educators, psychologists, psychiarists, sociologists, judges, probation officers, and all who deal with matters involving the adjustments of young people. For teaching purposes, a loose-leaf edition is available so that all pages designated with (a) may be withheld until the factual material of the first study of the case, given in the other pages, is treated by the student as a problem to be solved.

It is hoped that the publications can continue and include considereration of groups of cases representing types of problems in education, in make-up of individuals, in conduct, etc. It is planned at later dates to report on important facts of cases earlier published.

The gratitude of students who benefit by these studies is due to the Commonwealth Fund of New York, a grant from which has made this series possible.

The social treatment has been carried out through child welfare agencies of many sorts, and the spirit of their co-operation has been splendid. It would be a pleasure to give credit to the particular agency in each case, but since, for several reasons, it is inadvisable, we desire here to express our deep appreciation of their co-operation with the Judge Baker Foundation.

WILLIAM HEALY, M. D.
AUGUSTA F. BRONNER, Ph. D.
Directors.

Case Study No. 12

SERIES I

JUDGE BAKER FOUNDATION
40 COURT STREET
BOSTON

Copyright March, 1923

CASE TWELVE

Abigail Hardell: 16 years, 6 months; born in Vermont. Both parents of old New England stock.

Introductory Statement

(November 1917). Abigail had been well known for over four years to the staff of "Boston People's Institute," an educational and recreational institution for young people. She had been a great favorite there, was herself very fond of the Institute and its workers, and had at times been given some responsibility in the purchasing of supplies and in handling the money involved. In this she had been considered very faithful. They themselves and the girl's mother, however, now sought the advice of the judge of the juvenile court because a large sum of money had disappeared and it seemed plainly indicated that Abigail had taken it. Not only this, but the girl had been suspected the summer before of purloining a piece of valuable jewelry and other articles from a shop where she worked at a seashore resort. The Institute people had not believed this about her at the time, but just now she had confessed to taking some of these articles and they had come to the conclusion that she had been lying excessively then, just as she had lied about this last stealing.

A complaint was filed on the advice of the judge. Abigail's mother was not all of one mind about what should be done; the judge thought the whole situation demanded the most careful consideration and study; the Institute staff wondered just what was back of this girl's recent development of lying and stealing, and what further efforts they should make for her. They felt, naturally, much discouraged at the outcome of their long friendly interest in her.

Study of the Background

Family

1 (Our knowledge of the family and the family background is very incomplete, due to the mother's reserve and other peculiar personality characteristics. But much information rela-

ting to her and to her children was obtained from the staff of the Institute. The mother impressed us as truthful to a certain degree, but concerning the matters which had embittered her life she was somewhat contradictory, as well as withholding. From a relative who had visited the mother, the Institute people gathered that the main facts about the families were mainly as the mother told them.)

Father: 52; born in Vermont. Attended a village school, then worked on a farm for a time until he became an apprentice in the house painting trade. As a man he engaged partly in this work in his home village, and partly in farming for himself on a small place. "He was smart enough," and he was strong and healthy when young. But he drank heavily, especially of hard cider. He was a spendthrift, supporting his family very poorly and deteriorating in character as he grew older, becoming very bad tempered and showing more and more indifference to his family, though he was never abusive to the children.

Father's Family: Very little is known to us of these people. The mother tells us that it is a small family of "good folks" —all of them except her husband. They are rural people in northern Vermont. From Abigail and her sisters there were hints of one of their uncles having left an estate of some consequence, but the mother gave no such fact. She was sure, she said, that there were no cases of insanity, epilepsy, or feeble-mindedness in the family.

Mother: 47; born in northern Vermont. She went to a village grammar school and was then at home until she married at 19. She became "converted" soon after her marriage and joined a religious sect which held many week-day prayer meetings. She herself states that it was her nightly attendance at these meetings as well as her husband's alcoholism that caused their dissensions. She paid much attention to her religious life over many years and managed to tolerate her family situation till Abigail, the youngest, was 4 years old. Then she left her husband and went to work in a factory in a town about thirty miles away until about a year later when she came to work in Boston. The four children were left behind (the second son had recently been killed in an accident, and her oldest boy, at 16, was just about to enter the navy);

but there were relatives on both sides living nearby to care for them. When Esther was 13 her mother sent funds for her to come to Boston. After about five years away, her husband during this time not having changed his habits, she decided to take charge of the two other girls, and suddenly appeared on the scene in the village where they lived and brought them to Boston with money she had saved. Abigail, who by this time did not recognize her mother, she "kidnapped" on the street, so sudden were arrangements made. The maternal grandmother accompanied them to take care of the new home. Mrs. Hardell had readily obtained work in Boston and for eight years held one position as matron in charge of the dressing rooms of a women's club.

As we observed her, the mother is a neatly dressed, sparely built woman, with rather hard features and expression and a typical Vermont manner of speech. She tells with pride of her strength and continuous work record. By her children and others who know her well she is reported as fanatically religious, believing all pleasure a sin. She is very difficult to live with, being a great nagger and scold. She has a furious temper and has been seen beating her grown up girls, even, with a broom handle. She is saving to the point of parsimoniousness and she demands all of her children's earnings. She talks of money continually and displays a very hard attitude toward her children, looking upon them as economic assets.

Varying opinions have been given about this woman. One employer calls her "a nice hardworking woman"; another, who knows her in connection with her family life calls her "hard, headstrong, unreasonable, and, about her own affairs, untruthful." We had proof of this last fact in the variant accounts Mrs. Hardell gave to the court, to others, and ourselves concerning her husband and herself. To the judge she seemed really shocked at her daughter's delinquency and helpful in her attitude towards it. Towards the trouble which her other daughter got into when she was working away from home she was unsympathetic and mercenary. To those who know her well this mother in her mixture of traits seems difficult to understand.

Mother's Family: The mother's father died many years ago. He was a farmer in a small way, a good man, and very relig-

1 In considering this father and his alcoholism, we must remember that the cause of alcoholism itself is a matter of considerable interest. The explorations recently of medicopsychology make hitherto unsuspected reasons come to light; and, indeed, these unearthed causes form the basis of some most successful treatment at the hands of analysts nowadays. It appears that alcoholism is often a means of flight from reality and in this particular case we wonder whether, as in many another, conjugal dissatisfactions form the reality from which refuge is taken in drink.

Of course the deterioration of this man's character, the development of his indifference, may be the direct result of prolonged poisoning of nerve cells.

And was the mother's religious fanaticism also a refuge? Of course there are other evidences that she is an eccentric person, for her religiosity does not function at all well in her family life; her behavior there certainly does not represent religious ideals. But perhaps her chief peculiarity is more concerned with her relationship to her children. That she deserted her children under her circumstances when she could not support them and knew that they would be cared for by relatives was, perhaps, not so strange, but that she did not visit them for years, and that she treated them in such unmotherly fashion after she voluntarily brought them to Boston with her very sharply reveals her peculiarities. Of course, some mothers would not have left them at all.

It may be noted, in the case of this mother, how inadequate may be a court-room judgment of a personality, and how a vital causative situation may be overlooked.

We do not know of any study of deserting mothers, as there has been of deserting fathers; the subject would offer a very interesting topic for research.

Concerning this mother's going away, we have no knowledge of how deeply she might have been upset by the death of her boy just prior to this time.

The fact that the eldest boy went away from home and remained away is not at all surprising. The immediate background of the delinquencies of the older sister are rather hard to judge. She undoubtedly had an unfortunate life away from protecting parents, and under these conditions it is easy to understand her getting into trouble. Her conduct throws little light on family tendencies, as such, but whether the force of example affected the younger sister is to be noted, if possible. The rebellion of the other sister is an altogether different matter; a much more rational reaction, inasmuch as she frankly refused to be coerced.

ious. Her mother was earlier vigorous, but now is deaf, decrepit with age, "nervous" and "difficult to get along with." She is "full of back country notions." The three other children of this couple are said to be normal and of good character, but they live very meagerly indeed in remote country districts.

Children: (1) Matthew, 27. After finishing grammar school and working for two or three years on farms he enlisted in the navy and has remained in it, having served for many years in China and been advanced to quartermaster. The family seldom hear from him. (2) Esther, 23. The mother reports that this daughter graduated from grammar school at 14, but she herself says that she had to go out to work in a family in the village when she was 12. Her mother obtained work for her in a family in a suburb immediately upon their coming to Boston. Esther was dishonest there, but proved very faithful in making restitution under probation, for she was taken to court. A few years later, while working in another household, she became pregnant. She worked up to the very day of confinement. Her mother influenced her against keeping the child, arranged a financial settlement from the father of the child, and took the girl home again. At the time we saw her sister, Esther was working for a mercantile firm and handing over to her mother every cent of her pay, receiving a very small allowance. (3) Luke—"a good little boy," killed in a runaway accident when he was about 10 years old. (4) Naomi, 20. Finished grammar school in Boston, then worked in a shop for two years. A patron of the Institute, who had become interested in this girl, gave her an opportunity to take a course in a business college. She then obtained a position for herself, but would not disclose to her mother where she was employed. In spite of her mother's demands she would not turn over her wages, but instead paid board at home. Once, angered at the situation, her mother put her out of the house, but when she found the girl determined, she took her back again after a few days. (5) Abigail.

Developmental History

2 Father was alcoholic at time of conception. Pregnancy and birth were normal. Breast fed. Measles severely in

2 Students of eugenics are much interested in such facts as are available concerning alcoholism of parents at the time of conception. In this case we have a sample of the information that is usually obtainable; we really do not know whether the man's system was definitely poisoned by alcohol at the time the germ cell was released that started this girl's life, so that embryonic tissue was to that extent damaged. A man might be given to drinking in general, but at any given time his tissues might be fairly free from alcohol. Many queries have been raised concerning this matter. Some of the earliest observations have been in regard to children born as the result of conception taking place at the time of the grape harvests in Europe when there is so much drinking. It has been stated that many defective children are produced as the result of this. But then we have the more scientific study of Pearson and Elderton (*A Second Study of the Influence of Parental Alcoholism*) which shows that the findings tend to be negative. But these writers did not attempt to work on the point whether or not actual poisoning at the time of conception resulted in offspring who showed defects

young infancy. Walked and talked very early. No convulsions. Throat infections several times until tonsils and adenoids removed at 14 years. Menstruation established at 13.

Home Conditions and Influences

3 Until she was about 9 years old Abigail lived in a very small village. During the first four or five years of her life there was much family friction on account of the facts given above. After her mother left, the home was managed by the relative who lived near at hand. Her father was still drinking, but there was never any report of bad conduct on his part toward the children. Only the most meagre living conditions in all respects were available.

In Boston the mother naturally could afford only a cheap tenement. It was recognized as unsuitable and in a poor neighborhood, but in order to save carfare the family had to remain in a district not far from the center of the city until recently when they moved to a section of the city farther out. The mother, from the first, worked long hours, usually until seven or eight at night, week days and Sundays. The total family income has usually been very small. Even when both the older girls are at home and working it does not amount to more than $25 a week; and for long, when they first came to Boston it was not more than $10 or $12 a week. This has meant that the children have had almost no spending money and very little for clothing. Abigail has worn made over things obtained from various people interested in the Institute.

At home all along there has been much unhappiness and dissension due to the conflicting personalities of mother and daughters and due also to the presence of the grandmother whose physical conditions requires a great deal of care and attention. The mother herself is very unsympathetic toward the girls; she never takes their part when they are in trouble. Mrs. Hardell persuaded a girl from their home village to come down and live for a time with them, and to her the mother seemed to show partiality. Between the sisters there is some affection, but they,too, quarrel much and each more or less fends for herself.

The mother's discipline is most severe. She expects absolute obedience even if it involves misrepresentation. The mother

of any sort. Naturally, the only experiments that can be done are those with animals, and Stockard (Journal of Experimental Zoölogy, 1918), Macdowell (Journal Exper. Zoölogy, 1921) and Arlitt (Psychological Monographs, 1919) working with others have shown that the effect of alcoholic poisoning upon certain animals is very definite in producing defects in offspring.

3 It is obvious that from the modern point of view, which stresses even unconscious influences of parental and familial relationship, conditions in this household were poor from the beginning. There was poverty, but this was probably not nearly as important a feature as was the lack of harmony. There was little likelihood that the children could have much respect for either parent or much personal happiness. One might expect emphasis on the religious or ethical training by this religious mother, but while this may have been good in some respects we see that even here her standards are open to question (as witness beating the girl for telling the truth about her father). Later the domination of the home by the mother and her lack of maternal affections were extreme and quite enough to justify reaction on the part of her daughters. There was little chance for gratifying normal desires, in the family life, for acquiring self-respect, or experiencing increasing independence and freedom, which normal adolescence and young maturity require.

We may well ask at this point whether the judge who perceived the mother in apparently normal motherly distress could possibly know the inimical features of the family without competent study.

Abigail's opportunity to develop other standards and to experience pleasanter family life through her residence at the Institute was no doubt two-fold in its effect. While it gave her a glimpse of better things it must also have inevitably lead to greater discontent of home — a point of great importance in all social treatment which removes an individual to better living conditions and then returns him to the old conditions unchanged. This may not be so harmful when the individual is returned at an age when dissatisfactions may act as a driving force for better achievement, but it is difficult indeed for younger people who have to submit to the disagreeable without a chance for altering the circumstances.

preferred to maintain the fiction that the father was dead, telling on occasion alleged circumstances of his death; and once when Abigail was 15 she beat her for saying that her father was living.

The home is very poorly furnished. Abigail shares a room with her sister, but, during four years she has been much at the Institute, frequently living there for weeks at a time, her services after school hours being considered worth her board.

The mother has not maintained her excessive religious observances in Boston, but church attendance is regular with all members of the family and Abigail goes to Sunday school.

Habits, Interests, Companions, Recreations

4 For several years Abigail's chief interests have centered about the activities of the Institute, where she has indulged in much reading, particularly stories. She apparently liked the life there. At one time it was felt that perhaps she was taking too much interest in the boys who came, but this phase soon passed. In general, she has few girl friends, although at one time when she was away she wrote profusely to school girl acquaintances. At about the period we saw her Abigail was admiring an older girl to the extent of giving presents to her.

So far as known she was never in the least influenced towards delinquency by any companions. During the last year Abigail had developed a great fondness for pretty things, especially pretty clothes. No bad habits of any kind were noted. Of her school work she enjoys most her English course, especially writing compositions, some of which have been regarded as evidencing superior ability in this direction.

At the Institute Abigail, naturally, has had very good opportunities for well supervised and wholesome recreations. She has been very little indeed to motion pictures or other theatres. In the summer she has been for four years to the camp of the Intitute for a vacation of at least two or three weeks.

School and Work History

Abigail was in the second year of high school at the time we saw her. So far as we know there had been an uneventful school history previously. During her first year in high school

4 Abigail's reading of many stories of course fed her phantasy life, just as it does with everybody. Any further influence of the reading of fiction depends upon the personality of the reader and the circumstances of life. In most of us satisfaction enough is gained through vicariously living in a story; we obtain sufficient pleasure from that. But as in the case of the boy who pretends to be Robinson Crusoe after reading Defoe's story and plays "desert island" from the inside of a washtub, there may be, for the sake of enhancing the pleasure of an imagined reality, a carrying over into the active world. But fabrication sometimes becomes, as in the present instance, a serious matter. It is no evidence that the reading that Abigail was doing was intrinsically unhealthy; the trouble was with the insufficient outlets for her own nature, especially as it was reflected through her acquired ideas.

The needs of adolescent girls, particularly for pretty things, is almost a threadbare topic, although too often neglected by those who are undertaking social service for girls. The similarities of this case to Tillie Mardon's, Case 9, makes an interesting comparison; we may note also the differences of opportunities which the two girls had in recreations and good interests.

The admiration which Abigail bestowed upon an older girl is evidently a typical "crush" affair, a bit of hero worship for a member of her own sex. This is a phenomenon familiar enough to students of girls' lives. A recent writer has even attempted to chart the emotional evolution of a girl in phases that would include rotation past a dependent attitude toward the mother up to 10 years, to a second period when a girls' school fellows occupy a dominant position in her emotional life, from 10 to 15 years. However artificial such limits may be, and however many variations of individualities there are, yet this emotional development is quite characteristic of what happens on what this author terms the homo-sexual plane. (See H. Crichton Miller, *The New Psychology and the Teacher*).

she was reported as only a fair student and had received some tutoring in one of her subjects. But she was much interested in the school activities, in which she took quite an active part. When the family moved she was transferred to a different high school, where, for a time, her class work was not altogether satisfactory; recently her marks had been very good—B in every subject. Some of Abigail's compositions had been read before her class and once, in assembly, before the whole school.

In her work after school hours and on Saturdays at the Institute, Abigail had been considered capable, trustworthy, and altogether honest until just now. For part of one summer she had found employment with a family at their summer home where her duties were to assist in caring for two small children. And the past summer she worked in a high grade "specialty shop" at a seashore resort, boarding with a family well known to one of the directors of the Institute.

Delinquencies

5 Abigail's immediate and most serious delinquency is concerned with her larceny, which she does not deny, of about $200 in cash from the Christmas Savings Club at the Institute, a club made up of young people who put aside money during the year. She is known to have spent a large part of this sum on clothes for herself; she has lied much about the details of her purchases. It has also been discovered that recently she has made some small false charges for supplies. Minor misrepresentations at the Institute have also come to light as well as certain curious fabrications to the school people during the last few months. Abigail had also certainly stolen some articles of clothing and, perhaps, jewelry from the shop last summer. Soon after leaving there she had telephoned, assuming the voice of the other sales girl, inquiring if the things had been found.

Study of the Individual

Physical

6 Abigail is a very neat, cleanly, and altogether healthy, wholesome-looking girl of strong posture, rather attractive features, well shaped head and decidedly responsive expres-

5 These delinquencies seem peculiarly mean in character because they involve injury to the Institute and Abigail's own friends. But such lack of consideration is not so uncommon at adolescence. At this special period of life there are often found extreme contradictions in behavior, for while it is a period when altruism begins to be strongly shown, it is also a period of great ego-centrism and selfishness.

Her stealing seems to have a sudden beginning and to be not at all in consonance with earlier conduct. This suggests at once the need of knowing if it is based on sudden impulse, or is due to conflict, or to strong dynamic associations as in Case 5, or to recently acquired companionship or ideation. Clearly it is not comparable to Case 1, where stealing is a part of the conditions of street life, or to individual B. in Case 2, and 3, where stealing is a habit existing for years, or to Cases 6 and 8, where it is part of a bad crowd situation.

The fabrications constitute another problem; they are of a kind that have certain features in common with pathological lying, for there is little difficulty in detecting that they are untrue and they must in the end injure, rather than help, the reputation of the individual. (See Healy, *Pathological Lying, Accusation, and Swindling*). Together the lying and stealing indicate that things were going wrong with this girl and suggest at once the need for discovering the facts of her mental life.

The tendency toward fabricating we may think of in relation to Abigail's ability for composition, not only since both indicate a gift for invention and story telling, but more especially in relation to treatment. The talent for writing may offer a splendid means of directing the impulse toward story telling into story writing, either in the form of an imagined autobiography or a biography.

6 Here we have a picture of a healthy, sturdily developed girl with no defect other than vision.

sion. Although normally girlish, she has a notably direct way of looking at one and a firm manner in speaking.

Weight 128 lbs. Height 5 ft. 1 in. Broad shoulders. Strength very good indeed. Color good. Vision 20/40 R, 20/60 L. All other examination quite negative.

Mental

7 (1) *Results on Psychological Examination:*[1]

(Co-operative; a steady worker, not keen or quick in attacking tests, but intelligently deliberative.)

According to age-level tests grades as normal, of about average ability. Intelligence Quotient 95.

Auditory memory span, poor.

Motor control, fairly good.

Mental control, in general normal, though one special test with numbers poorly done, and reaction time rather slow.

Language ability, very good; vocabulary only fair.

Apperceptions, normal both with language and pictorial material.

Visual mental representations, good.

Work with concrete material, very good.

School work, about normal as far as tested, though no tests of work up to grade were given. Is in second year of high school.

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[1] Stanford-Binet I. Q. 95; passes all the 12-year tests and (1, 3, 4, 5, 6) of the 14-year, and (2, 3, 4, 6) of the 16-year tests.

Auditory memory span: 6 numerals forward (5 backward).

Trabue Language Scale D: score 18, better than median for grade XII.

Pictorial Completion II: score 63, median for 14 to 15 years.

Tapping Test: score 88 squares, 1 error, median for 14 to 15 years.

Easy Opposites (W-W): score, average time 1.7", I error.

Kraepelin Continuous Subtraction Test: (7 from 100), 55", 4 errors; (6 from 101), 100", 3 errors.

Mental Representations: code test, one error; clock hands and enclosed boxes readily correct.

Construction Test A: score 15", 6 moves.

Construction Test B: score 44", 11 moves.

Knox-Pintner Cube Test: 8 lines correct, median for 14 and 16 years.

Spelling: all words correct in passage based on Ayres Scale grade VIII

Writing: Thorndike Scale, quality 11, about grade VIII.

Reading: Thorndike Scale, difficult high school passage 5, intelligently read, but distinctions hardly grasped. Only 2 of 4 questions answered correctly.

7 So far as she was tested, this girl showed herself to have very good language ability. This is quite in accord with the report of her interest in writing and with her school performance in composition. Perhaps she has a very specialized ability in this field, but she should be tested at much greater length before judgment is passed on this. Otherwise the rather brief range of tests given indicates that while she is quite normal, she is not an unusually bright girl and that she is a slow, somewhat deliberate worker, rather than keen and quick in her approach to mental tasks.

(2) *Mental Balance*: No evidence whatever of mental abnormality.

8 (3) *Personality Traits*: "Abigail always makes a good impression." To us she appeared pleasant, but direct and forceful, displaying energy and vitality in full proportion to her good physical make-up. It was reported to us that in camp it was found very hard to keep her quiet enough. At the Institute she was a good worker, responsive to directions given, but officious at times. For long they had regarded her as loyal, affectionate, and wholesome. At one high school she was rather a leader in the girls' activities; when she changed schools the little notice that was given her led her to say that the girls were "stuck up." She made herself disagreeable in camp, so much so that last summer she had to leave, because "she held her head so high,"—she considered herself far superior to the other girls from the tenement district and so antagonized them.

Abigail was reported as growing sulky and reticent, "easily miffed," if things went wrong. And she was rather quarrelsome in the clubs to which she belonged at the Institute. She was critical, finding something wrong in almost any situation.

In general Abigail must have been honest, for the accounts at the Institute had in the past always checked up correctly, and the only lying that the Institute workers knew of when they started the inquiry was done in self defence. But it came to light that to her companions and in the school room Abigail had been indulging in well concocted fabrications. She had told tales of rich relatives, of an uncle who had a large estate near Manchester, Vermont, where so many wealthy people live, and of how sometimes he drove down to Boston to see them, always putting up at the Copley-Plaza. And to some she declared she was engaged to a young Vermonter who was an officer in the army and wealthy. Once she came home with a bouquet of violets and orchids (this was about the time when she had the stolen money) and said that it had been given to her at a party where she was the guest of honor. In the school room one day she burst into tears and gave a graphic description of the heroic death of her father at Ypres. He had, she said, earlier had training in the militia and joined the Canadian army soon after the beginning of the war.

8 The traits shown are those of a strong personality. Her disagreeable characteristics at the camp are probably due to a feeling of self-importance in relation to the activities of the Insitiute based on her association there with the directors and with having had responsibilities, leading her to feel herself rather set apart from the rest of the young people and somewhat of an authority. Perhaps this is the more likely result because of the lack of opportunity for the development of anything of the sort at home. That she is "easily miffed" may indicate merely sensitiveness, which, together with other traits displayed, such as being critical and dictatorial, are characteristic of adolescence.

The details here given of Abigail's fabrications indicate that her lying is in the nature of wish-fulfilment, or at least is indulged in as a means of giving herself some social status. This is perhaps a natural reaction to her circumstances in view of her strong personality. Her lying bespeaks the need for finding satisfying conditions in real life.

Altogether, the traits shown may be of great value; obviously they might lead this girl to become a great success, but on the other hand if badly directed they might lead her to become a great trouble maker. They are not likely to be altogether repressed without leading to considerable harm.

Girl's Own Story

9 She remembers her home in Vermont. She is quite sure that she was in no trouble there when she was little. The only wrong thing she did that she remembers was when she was five years old she spent for candy a penny with which she was to buy a newspaper. She is perfectly sure that she has never stolen from then until this past summer. Off and on for the last four years she has lived at the Institute. Two years ago, while she was there, a great deal of stealing went on among a crowd of little girls. She heard a good deal about it because it was talked over in her presence quite frequently. She is sure that this did not affect her in any way. The following spring she had charge of buying the house supplies and a large sum of money was entrusted to her; she was always honest with this.

This summer she was working at M., a seashore resort, in a shop where an older girl of about 24 was also employed. They sold beautiful laces, jewelry, and women's apparel. This other girl used to talk a great deal about how unfair it was that wealthy people could buy all these things. She used to say that they had everything and didn't care at all about others; that the poor people who had to work hardest had the least. Sometimes when a customer would buy many things she would say that it was absolutely wrong that one person should have so much. Abigail told her about the household where she had lived the summer previously; how many fine things the woman of the household had. She knew this because in her laundry sometimes there were clothes that belonged to Mrs. L. She used to return these, but in this way saw how many pretty things Mrs. L. had.

The girl this summer put the ideas of injustice into her head and once in a while they would seem to be true. She recalled the family of last summer; they were really very kind to her and she liked them very much, but she remembered how much more they had than they needed. Abigail thinks that these ideas must have been in her mind the day she took the things at the shop. She maintains that she took them all on the same day. She didn't wear these things, and many a time after taking them she felt worried and wondered how she could get

them back. She denies absolutely that she took the brooch which it is claimed she stole.

After she came back home this fall she had no temptations whatever to steal. She had been going regularly to the N. High School. She has never taken a thing there. She hadn't planned the stealing at the Institute. That afternoon she was in and out of the room where the Christmas Fund was kept. During the afternoon the worker who had charge of the money was counting it and had later put it away in Abigail's presence, stating that she would, the following day deposit it in the bank. As Abigail was leaving to go home she went into the room to get her wraps and "it flashed into my mind that I wanted the money." The idea came very suddenly, without any thought of what she wanted it for. Without hesitating she took the money and hurried out of the building, and when she was half way home she began to think of what she could do with it. After she had considered a number of things which she could buy she became rather frightened and thought only of getting rid of it.

She hid the money at home and the next day after school came in town and bought expensive clothes, a handsome pin which she had monogrammed with the initials of the older girl friend of whom she was so fond. The clothing which she bought she had sent out in her own name but in care of this girl friend.

Until this year she went to a Boston high school where she knew most of the girls because she had gone to the same grammar school with them. She always stood near the top of the class and took part in all the class activities. In the high school in N. she has not been at all happy. The girls have not made friends with her; she feels strange; has had no part in the social life there, and she has felt all along that she would rather be somewhere else. She has never had any association with anyone who stole, and the earlier talk about stealing, she insists, "never got on my mind." Long ago in Boston she first heard about sex affairs and it was at first a "dreadful shock." She thought about it good deal because it seemed very terrible to her for a time, but although she has never talked to any adult about it she has long since got over her first shock and she is quite sure that for a long time now she has never thought about such things. She knows a good

many boys, especially those who come to the Institute. She likes them all well enough for friends, but she isn't at all boy crazy and is never bothered in the least by sex ideas or sex feelings.

About her home she says, "We are one of those fighting families; there's fighting all the time." Both her mother and grandmother are hard to get along with and Esther has a most violent temper. The family want her to go to school, at least to finish high school, and her own ambition is to then become a kindergarten teacher. She remembers her father; knows that he and her mother didn't get along. She doesn't feel unhappy about this or ever worry about her father; why should she, he didn't worry about them. Sometimes she does feel badly about the way she has to dress. She thinks she looks as nice as the average girl in school. But she would like new things that she herself selected.

Abigail denies stealing the jewelry last summer until she is told that she will never make any headway about conquering her temptations until she is willing to face the truth. Finally, after some more denials and with an evident struggle she says that she will tell the whole truth. She did steal the brooch. She took it with the other things and after she wore it a few times she lost it. Ever since she came home this fall she has been seeing the garments which she stole last summer. "They are in my dresser and I keep on seeing them. Many a time I have wished them back and never had the courage to send them."

(Second interview, the following day.) Today says she has been thinking since yesterday about the past and she is absolutely certain that she stole nothing until last summer. She enumerates again as before the stolen and purchased articles and again insists that she lost the pin. When she came home this summer she had some of her pay saved. She gave part of it to her mother, but kept out $10 with which she bought some clothes for next summer; these she hid in a trunk because she knew that her mother would never buy them for her. She cannot save out of her spending money (twenty-five cents a week), because after she pays her church contribution she has only five cents left. She can recall all the details of the day on which she stole the money at the Institute; there was no unusual stress or trouble of any kind; she had been busy

9 In this Own Story there is very much for the careful student of motivation of conduct. In spite of what might be expected and what does occur in many cases we see no evidence here of the influence of early childhood conditions and experiences as related directly to the misconduct. But we have presented very clearly a picture of the impressionability of adolescence. We see an instance of persistent ideation, with a cumulative effect, leading to an impulse suddenly given way to. Following this stealing we wonder, what, during a period of natural instability, would be the influence of a feeling of guilt that necessarily was frequently with her because of her possession of the clothes which she had taken and the fact that she had deceived her mother to buy some things which she had hidden. Would this be likely to make her give in all the more readily to further impulses to steal? We may wonder whether worry about these episodes might not be undermining of morale, or, on the contrary, might not such a situation act with many as a deterrent. The subtleties of the mechanisms about such matters are not well known, although we must all acknowledge that even in a girl as well poised as this one there must have been a pretty constant state of turmoil. And her dissatisfactions with herself and her conditions were much accentuated recently by her unhappiness at home and at school. More than likely what was in the background of her consciousness at the time that she took the large sum of money at the Institute was a feeling that if she had more money and were better dressed she might be much more of a personage at school, where she was unhappy because she was not shining as she had among her former classmates. Indeed all of her misbehavior, including her fabricating is quite in line with her desire to be somebody. One might conjecture that subconsciously there was justification of her means to this end because the world offered so many examples of people who had more things than they needed.

Very frequently those who meet lying in boys and girls find that there is truth telling very curiously up to a certain point and then the tendency to untruthfulness reasserts itself. The reasons for this are not at all clear; there may be the springing up again of the desire for a certain amount of self defense or self-justification, the recurrence of an habitual tendency to lying, or the desire not to involve others, the desire to retain a certain element of importance in the eyes of those interested in the misconduct, etc. (In this instance see what comes out later in Subsequent History.)

all afternoon. But she has been much upset recently, and about a month ago she had told one of the workers at the Institute that she could not stand it at home any longer; she found life there too intolerable. But her friend had urged her to stick it out until summer when she would be away again and perhaps some other permanent plan could be worked out. Today she tells again how keenly she has felt her position in school; no one has seemed to take any interest in her. She has neither girl nor boy friends there. Only one girl apparently seemed sorry for her and invited her to a valentine party, but it was an after-thought, because all the others had favors and there was none for her. The girl's older sister saw this and gave her a bouquet of orchids which she had been wearing. The older girl that she is so fond of was a volunteer worker for a time at the Institute. Abigail sees her only very occasionally.

At this point SUMMARY OF CASE and SUBSEQUENT HISTORY follow.

SUMMARY OF STAFF CONFERENCE

PROBLEM: **Delinquencies:** Recently stealing considerable sum of money and rapidly spending it; earlier stealing wearing apparel and jewelry; recently lying and fabricating.

PHYSICAL: Rather short but very sturdy; strong and healthy in appearance; rather attractive features; defective vision.

MENTAL: (1) **Abilities:** Fairly good general ability. No special ability noted in brief testing. (2) **Balance:** Normal. (3) **Personality:** Attractive, neat, wholesome, adolescent girl; reported energetic worker; considerable desire to be somebody; rather sensitive; fabricator for self-aggrandizement.

BACKGROUND: (a) **Heredity:** Father excessively alcoholic. Mother peculiar personality. Both families reported negative, but perhaps incomplete account. Older sister delinquent. (b) **Developmental:** Father alcoholic at time of conception; otherwise negative. (c) **Home Conditions:** Crowded quarters, neatly kept; inadequate income; much friction on account of domineering mother, nagging grandmother, etc.

PROBABLE DIRECT CAUSATIONS: (1) Personality as above. (2) Home conditions as above, affording very few satisfactions. Mother dominating, repressive, and she and older daughter, at least in truth telling, offer poor example. (3) Acquirement of different standards through life at the Institute and through employment, with little opportunity for maintaining these standards in own home. (4) Adolescent impulses, desire for self-expression and for self-realization—finding little natural scope for these. (5) Possible influence of companion this past summer. (6) Delinquencies thus largely based on motives of wish-fulfillment.

PROGNOSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS: Girl's ambitions and capacity for hard work speak for a favorable outcome. Repressive treatment, especially institutional, is certainly contra-indicated. Against returning home is the fact of her mother's attitude, which must be taken into account; it is doubtful if mother's ideas and habits are susceptible of change. Friends at the Institute have a place for her in an educated family away from Boston where she can continue school as a member of the family. This should be tried, and in connection with this we should strongly advocate interesting activities where she can feel herself of some importance. She needs plenty of opportunity for physical activity and for active modes of self-expression. She should make restitution out of her own earnings if possible. As an outlet for phantasy life she might be encouraged to write stories. Eyes should be examined. As an adolescent needs tiding over period, how long we are not sure. The girl's ambitions for a teaching career should be furthered.

Subsequent History

The judge, in conference with us, the Institute people, and the mother gave this case a great deal of consideration. The Institute staff presented their plan for the girl and said that if all thought it advisable they were willing to continue their friendly relations and close oversight of her. The judge placed the girl on suspended sentence to the girls' correctional school and ordered her to pay restitution through her future earnings.

(A point that has not been brought up in preceding cases concerns itself with the fact that treatment really begins with court action or arrest or any official meeting of the problem and that a study of the case is another step in treatment. Such action connotes to the offender the seriousness with which his misconduct is regarded and that it entails certain consequences.

Furthermore, adequate study, when causes are sought for, is always in itself, directly or indirectly a therapeutic agent. During the study there is almost inevitably an attempt to make the individual, through better understanding of his own tendencies and circumstances, see the way to alteration of his conduct trends. Not that any of this alone is usually adequate, but it forms a basis upon which other treatment is built.

So, then, in spite of difficulties in the way of knowing with exactness the details and efficacies, if any, of the treatment of Abigail so far, one would naturally expect some therapeutic effect already. There was the upbraiding by her mother; in spite of the girl's bitterness towards her family, this might have brought her to some self-realization. And the girl's friends at the Institute, indirectly by their inquiry and by direct statement attempted to make her understand how disappointed and sorry they were, and the seriousness and despicability of stealing the savings of poor people was earnestly dwelt on. Then we attempted very definitely in our approach and in our reasoning with her to show her the value of self-revelation and the hope that there was in getting her to meet face to face all of the details of the background of her temptation. The judge most kindly, but also most firmly, warned her of the danger to herself of repeating her offence or of failing to make restitution, and as concrete expression of the fact he emphasized that he had placed her on suspended sentence.

Realizing how little one really knows of the value of sermonizing, admonition, exhortation, or warning, in many cases, and that careers frequently go on in spite of these, or even when a suspended sentence has been given, we are forced to question whether these measures alone, though they are elements in therapy, are sufficient, except in rare cases, to check misconduct tendencies.)

Abigail's new place was in the family of a college professor and his wife, young people of moderate means, who had an attractive little home in a town on the Hudson River. The plan was for her to assist in the care of the two small children and to attend high school. The woman of the household had visited at the Institute and had met

Abigail and her sisters; she said she would be willing to try to develop the best there was in the girl.

Before Abigail left there was some trouble with her when her purchases were returned to the shops for refund. Her mother had a quarrel with her because she wanted to retain a dress, and this made her mother comment the next day that she felt that perhaps a mistake had been made in not putting Abigail away, that she had not learned her lesson yet. Then the girl gave two dollars to a friend to be used in buying flowers for the girl friend of whom she was so fond, and when the money was returned because of the extravagance, Abigail was much annoyed and said, "What's money!". She was finally persuaded to turn in this sum toward what she had stolen. But she left without saying goodby to the Institute people.

(In spite of the above forms of treatment given, Abigail had still an unchastened spirit.)

Almost immediately after her arrival at the home of the M's Abigail wrote to the judge that she wished to confess having taken ten dollars from one of the workers at the Institute about a year ago and also having charged to a director of the Institute, a month or so before she had been in court, several articles of clothing. Then other facts were discovered about the stealing of the previous summer; the brooch was found in the possession of one of Abigail's school mates, who, however, was not implicated in any dishonesty about it. At about this time Abigail wrote the head of the Institute that she now wished to tell absolutely all that she had done. Besides the ten dollars she had also taken several dollars on each of three occasions.

When all these facts were brought to the attention of the judge he naturally felt much inclined to revoke his earlier decision and commit the girl, but the point was made that since she was in such a splendid home it would be well worth while to observe her reactions there for a time. Moreover we questioned whether commitment would be the proper constructive treatment even though the extent of the delinquency was greater than when first known.

After a few months we learned some details of Abigail's life with the M's. She was regarded as a member of the family, sharing in their evening reading and in their recreations. The foster mother made the girl's clothes, which, while simple, were equally as good as those worn by the foster mother herself. Her teeth and eyes had been attended to by specialists, and she had entered high school, to which at first she felt that girls of the best families did not go, but when the foster mother talked over the situation with her, telling her that she herself had attended this school, Abigail changed her views and was very happy in her school life, and her marks were very good indeed. She showed great patience with the children, who were very fond of her. She had some free time in which she could go on walks about the neighborhood, and during one vacation period she went with Mr. and Mrs. M on a sight-seeing trip to New York. She had little time for much friendship outside of school with young people; this, Mrs. M. felt their own family life replaced. It was insisted that she attend church regularly.

It was learned that Abigail was at this time writing letters to Boston girl acquaintances about the magnificent home in which she was living, describing its luxuries, the fine motor car, etc. Then it became known that Abigail's story about the bouquet received at the party had been entirely invented. Mrs. M. now had a long talk with the girl, telling her that there would be no use in her staying on in their family unless she could stop her propensity for lying and Abigail promised that she would seriously try to control this fault. She promised also to stop writing to these former friends. Mrs. M. wished her to write stories, as we had suggested, but the girl never carried out the idea. Mrs. M. was disappointed, but Mr. M. very sagely remarked that one should not expect that a girl, because she had been delinquent, would do differently from other girls in a matter that required such special effort. From this time on Abigail began to improve much in her truth telling in the household.

(It is worth noting that admonition by the foster mother seems to have been effective, but of course other measures of treatment were also carried on. Abigail was a member of a household where simplicity and genuineness prevailed, and, treated like a member of the family, she was expected to live up to these standards. There were outlets for self-expression in her relationship with Mr. and Mrs. M. and for responsibility with the children. They were interested in her school career and in her ambitions, and particularly Mrs. M. was understanding about the girl's desire for better clothes, seeing that this desire was gratified. Then there was unity in the girl's life; there were not the cross currents and conflicts to which she had been subjected in her own home.)

That summer Abigail went with the family to the mountains and in the fall returned again to school, entering the third year, where her marks were excellent. During this fall and winter there were no complaints about her and she regarded herself as a member of the family, to all of whom she was much attached. In the spring she was compelled to withdraw from school because Mrs. M. and the children were seriously ill. Abigail rose to the emergency splendidly, nursing several members of the household, even when she herself was not at all well. That summer she went away again with the family, but she seemed unhappy and ill. She could not eat and she lost greatly in weight. To all inquiries about what the trouble was she would only reply, "Oh, nothing!"

The head worker of the Institute, who came in to talk over the situation at this time wondered whether Abigail might be worrying about home affairs. Soon after Abigail went away her sisters had left home following a scene brought about because they had spent money for cake. Upbraided for their extravagance, they left their weekly pay envelopes addressed to their mother and departed, remaining away for several months. Just now, following another quarrel, they were again living away. The older sister was associating much with a man of undesirable reputation. Word had also been received that the father was dying in the county poorhouse. It was quite likely that these recent events had been written to Abigail. Question arose whether the girl was in need of a change from this household, where there was now a third

child and considerable responsibility. Then the girl herself had been eager to pay restitution more rapidly. She had paid some, saving for this her spending money, usually not more than fifty cents a week. Because of her withdrawal she had not finished the third year of high school, but she still talked and wrote much about taking a kindergarten course. During the summer Abigail had shown on two occasions her old tendency to fabricate, telling some acquaintances that she was to inherit quite a sum of money when she became of age. She also wrote to an acquaintance in Boston that on her eighteenth birthday she had been given a party to which eighteen guests had been invited and described in detail the splendor of the affair. The Institute people had learned, however, that the older sister had been wont to tell neighbors and fellow employes about wealthy family connections; the mother had ventured the opinion that it was from this that Abigail had derived the notion.

Because of the several uncertainties in the situation it was felt best to have Abigail return home, at least temporarily, and by re-study to determine the next step in adjustment. Abigail looked much older, and her face had much harder lines. She was very neatly dressed, friendly, talkative in a natural way, not at all dramatic. Weight 116 lbs. Height 5 ft. 1 in. Teeth now in good condition. Vision corrected by glasses.

Abigail says that she has had a very happy time and adds that she "wouldn't take a million dollars" for what she has learned. She has profited a great deal by her life with the M's and is really grateful for all they have done for her. They have been very good to her and she is very fond of them. The last eight or nine months have been in some ways hard because there has been so much sickness in the family. Even in the evening there was always plenty to do. She has had little time for reading. She was sorry to be compelled to leave school for she had been making fairly good marks. Among young people she had very few friends, although this summer people were nice to her and she went to a few hotel dances. She insists that nothing has been worrying her. She has not been homesick or distressed about her family in any way. Occasionally she has heard from her sister, Naomi, the only member of the family who is really at all congenial. The trouble is, she thinks, that she has been over-tired. These few days since she has been at home have been very unhappy. She likes is even less than she did earlier. She isn't at all like her people; she doesn't understand them and they don't understand her. Her sister Esther is getting along all right as far as she knows; she gets on better with her mother than any of the others. Neither of the others wants ever to live at home again.

Her great ambition still is to become a kindergarten teacher. She is very anxious at present to take care of herself, and she would prefer either to go to work and attend night high school or to live in a family where she would be allowed to go to school. She says she still tells some untruths, but thinks she is less untruthful than she used to be. This summer she did get irritated with the children and scolded them sometimes.

It was decided that since the M's badly needed some one who could

give full time work in their household, Abigail should not return there. She could, perhaps, earn sufficient to support herself by working after school and Saturdays. It was out of the question for her to live at home. A room in a well supervised students' house was obtained for her and a place was found where she was able to earn $7 a week and obtain her dinner. She re-entered the third year of high school. Shortly it was learned that Abigail did not tell her mother her address. In a few weeks Abigail got into a little difficulty through loitering, talking to the girls, and she resented correction. She stayed away from school one day and lied about it. Besides this, she became rather slack at the place where she worked. It seemed as if it was almost too much for her to carry the two things, and perhaps it would be best for her to occupy her entire time at work. Abigail was allowed to decide for herself. She chose taking full time employment and going three times a week to night school. She was very will liked at the place where she worked —a high class tea room. She was advanced in position. While employed at the tea room she pluckily went through a painful operation, the cost of which she paid. After a couple of months she began "yarning" to the girls about attending gay parties with rich young fellows. She was cross-questioned, and when her fabricating was discovered she was dismissed.

Through her still interested friends in the Instituted she obtained a position as assistant teacher of small children in a girls' summer camp. Here she was able to form normal friendships with young girls of her own age, teachers and counsellors in the camp, and to make acquaintance with a group of nice young men, workers in a boys' camp a few miles away. She found herself popular and some attention was shown her, particularly by one young man. She did well during the summer and when she returned in the fall the friendships she had formed continued with these young people who also lived in Boston.

In the fall she obtained clerical work in a private school and continued in night school. Her friends at the Institute thought her much changed. She seemed serious and happy, and she herself definitely stated to her friends that now she was thoroughly satisfied to be herself and not pretend to be any better. She still talked of taking a kindergarten course and was saving her money for it. She wrote very appreciative letters to her former foster mother.

For two years Abigail held this same position, going to the same camp again the next summer. Things went very well with her, except that occasionally she showed a tendency to exaggerate situations in which she played a rôle. She completed her restitution, including the amount she owed her mother. In the fall of 1922 she was accepted into a kindergarten training school of excellent standing in New York and her record there has been splendid. She is regarded as very capable, studious, and popular. The cost is partly defrayed by her own savings, and partly by a scholarship. For two years now there has been no knowledge of her fabricating, and of course, since her court appearance there has been no indication of stealing or of obtaining by misrepresentation.

From the school, from her friends at the Institute and from the M's,

where she spends her holidays and week-ends, come reports that she is a very attractive, steady, stable young woman who shows no evidences of fabricating or even of boasting and who has a serious, satisfying purpose in life.

Abigail has kept in no close touch with her sisters. She writes occasionally to Naomi, who has since married. Esther works and lives away from home. But although between her and her mother there is little in common. they correspond regularly and exchange presents. The details of her life and her problems are talked over with her good friends, the M's.

(There is no doubt that the friendships this girl has found and the continuing confidence, even from the time of her court appearance, that has been bestowed upon her by the Institute people have been strong forces in her satisfactory development.

Interesting to a student of the psychology of conduct is the gradual evolution of this girl's character tendencies from attempted ego satisfactions, through phantasy and dishonest acquirement of possessions, to satisfactions derived from reality as she has found it possible, through outside help and through her own efforts, to obtain a place for herself in the world.)

FINAL COMMENT

This case has some highly valuable teaching points. It shows how individualized treatment may bring success even in a very difficult problem. The delinquent tendencies have been gradually overcome by numerous specifically corrective influences and adjustments made from time to time as need has arisen. A more routine procedure under the law would most likely have broken the girl's spirit and neglected her good possibilities—and her tendencies toward misconduct might not have been checked. We can show examples of such poor results.

And the case is an instance of what can be done to head off a career of pathological lying and swindling in a girl who might have been eminently successful in affairs of that sort. She had the background incentives in personality, capabilities, and unsatisfying circumstances that have led others whom we have observed into a prolonged career of misrepresentation.

One may say that the case is not an ordinary one, in that the dishonesty was not of the usual kind; nor was the girl a weak character, who, as is so common, derived her misconduct tendencies through suggestion; nor had she any interest in the most frequent delinquency of girls, sex misbehavior. But then, those who develop pathological lying are very apt to differ markedly from the ordinary run of delinquents in personality characteristics and behavior trends—and that is wherein there is need for special understanding of them.

The family situation again looms up as important in this case. To know by careful analysis the family background of such a case is not only to achieve theoretical understanding, but also to bring about some practical conception of how a rational therapy should be conducted. The ideal of modifying the essential family situation was probably not realizable, but still we may leave this with the reader as an open question—it certainly is the goal towards which good social work should aim.

JUDGE BAKER FOUNDATION

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se working from
the standpoint of the psychological, medical, and social sciences. It is only through the devoted service of the entire personnel that the material for the present publication is available.

Readers cannot draw conclusions for scientific purposes from statements concerning localities, names, dates, nationalities, and facts of family history as given because, in the usual professional fashion cases are reported with disguises. But the general facts, even of heredity are accurately transcribed, and no matters of importance for interpretation of causation as it bears on therapeutic possibilities in the individual case are changed or omitted.

The plan of presentation is to offer a first series of twenty studies covering a wide range of problems of interest to educators, psychologists, psychiarists, sociologists, judges, probation officers, and all who deal with matters involving the adjustments of young people. For teaching purposes, a loose-leaf edition is available so that all pages designated with (a) may be withheld until the factual material of the first study of the case, given in the other pages, is treated by the student as a problem to be solved.

It is hoped that the publications can continue and include considereration of groups of cases representing types of problems in education, in make-up of individuals, in conduct, etc. It is planned at later dates to report on important facts of cases earlier published.

The gratitude of students who benefit by these studies is due to the Commonwealth Fund of New York, a grant from which has made this series possible.

The social treatment has been carried out through child welfare agencies of many sorts, and the spirit of their co-operation has been splendid. It would be a pleasure to give credit to the particular agency in each case, but since, for several reasons, it is inadvisable, we desire here to express our deep appreciation of their co-operation with the Judge Baker Foundation.

WILLIAM HEALY, M. D.
AUGUSTA F. BRONNER, Ph. D.
Directors.

Case Study No. 13

SERIES I

JUDGE BAKER FOUNDATION
40 COURT STREET
BOSTON

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CASE THIRTEEN

John (Jack) Long: 15 years, 6 months; born in U. S. Father born in South America, has lived in U. S. since early childhood; mother born in U. S.

Introductory Statement

1 (October 1918). Jack Long was felt by the court to be a desperate young offender, too dangerous in his criminal proclivities to be committed to the correctional school for boys, to which two of his companions in delinquency were sent. It was doubted whether Jack would be reformable by methods used with juveniles and it was thought an injustice to subject others in the institution to the influence of his reckless tendencies toward criminality. The court took counsel with a social agency which specialized in helping children and the agency suggested a thorough study of the case.

Accompanied by his mother and the agency visitor Jack was brought to Boston, but in charge of a police officer in plain clothes. Before leaving home he told his mother that he didn't want to be "examined"; he would just as soon be sent straight to the house of correction. The police felt that the boy would make an escape if possible and that they were responsible for him, since his case was merely continued. The officer had a tussle with the boy in the station and found him difficult to manage on the train from the seaport mill town where the family lived, and when they arrived he declared it would be necessary for him to sit in the room with the boy. He insisted that Jack was probably the hardest young criminal in southern New England and that the strong arm of the law was the only thing of use in his case. Upon our refusal of his arrangement he remained in the waiting room and two or three times poked his head in the door to see if Jack had not escaped, he was so quiet. Then later, when he found that the boy was working most amicably with a woman in another room further along the hall, where he could readily escape, he was amazed but convinced and agreed with us that he might as well spend the rest of the day around town, until we were ready to dismiss the boy.

1 There is no doubt that in some juvenile cases the feeling is justified that if the delinquent is sent to a correctional school he will do much harm to others. The recklessness of certain individuals and the number of delinquencies in which they have engaged give them a teaching power that is most undesirable. It is not an uncommon practice in some metropolitan courts to hold to a grand jury boys who are severely delinquent, or, if the juvenile court has the power, to send such an offender to the reformatory for young adults. In Jack's case there was the added feature of his companions' having already been sent to the correctional school.

He was certainly a broad-minded and far-seeing judge who would turn to other than an official public source for help in a most difficult case. Of course there has been a growing recognition of the values of other than state service in handling such problems, but this has been mostly in centers where the definite study of delinquents in clinics is undertaken. In general it is the supposition that for handling the case in all ways the authority of officialdom is necessary. In very many places such a boy as this would be turned over to a sheriff or to the police to be held in the county jail until the trial by jury.

Here we have a clear picture of immensely contrasting approaches to the problems of delinquency as represented in a caught offender, and what on the part of the offender, happens in response to these contrasting approaches. We have the police concerned mainly with their custodial function, afraid of losing the prisoner, and not in the least concerned with understanding him. This very naturally arouses — it does in anybody — active antagonism as against an enemy. But the difference, that we have witnessed now so many times, is immense as the offender is approached from the standpoint of inquiry that is directed towards his welfare (which also, it should always be understood, represents the welfare of society; it isn't philanthropy or sentimentalism, it is common-sense to attempt to find causes in order to cure). During scientific study of the case we have observed hardly a single attempt to escape. Occasionally there is lack of co-operation but the great rule is that the offender is interested enough in himself and the possibilities of his future to try at least to help in discovering his potentialities and in considering a plan for his future.

Though the police represent prosecution and punishment as their usual and historic function there is no reason whatever why they should

Concerning Jack's own attitude, it was obvious the minute he entered the office that he was in a turbulent mood, indeed, in spite of his reputation for recklessness he appeared almost frightened at the prospect of "the examination." But his whole demeanor changed within five minutes, when quietly in the next room it was firmly explained to him that this was not an office for the examination of "crazy people," and that we wanted to help him to help himself, to help him to be his own best friend—we didn't care what he had done, we merely wanted to find out everything that had been causing him to get into so much trouble, so that we could all help him to find what he needed in life or what he wanted that was best for himself.

Study of the Background

Family

2 (The facts in this case were secured in interviews with the mother and visitor and from reports of the boy's father, brother, school principal, employers, and probation officer. The accounts contained no contradictions.)

Father: 50; a man of rather good features and refined appearance, but who looks old for his years. He has been a steady worker of temperate habits; of recent years he has earned good wages and has been saving so that now he is a man of a little property. He obtained a meagre education in a grammar school in a small mill town and went to work early in the mills. He was brought as a very young child by his parents to New England, and when he was 12 years old, the family moved to Y, the city where he still lives. He has gradually worked up to the position of foreman. He very evidently is a man of fair intelligence. He has a good disposition and has shown towards his family the attitude of a frugal, steady working mill operative who believes in little more than legal educational requirements for his children.

Father's Family: Mr. Long comes of decidedly healthy stock. His father still lives in old age, a man of Portuguese and French ancestry who emigrated from South America to work in the mills. Nothing is known derogatory to his character, unless it is that he occasionally drank to excess earlier in life. His wife who died recently, came partly of Irish stock

not be educated to the point of being agents for the prevention of delinquency and crime. They really, for the most part, do very little that is constructive; they show very little in the way of friendship for the individual who is in trouble or who is likely to be in trouble. But they have a wonderful chance for the development of this function. And there has been some slight attempt in one or two places to utilize the police in the rôle of social service and as preventive agents in delinquency, as where troublesome boys have been used as police aides, with reported success.

As in the case before us, winning the individual before study is highly important — indeed the attitude of mind that is engendered in him through the explanation or motive that is offered him when he comes for study makes a great deal of difference. This is to be observed in so-called clinics for the study of delinquents and in the out-patient departments of psychopathic hospitals. We have considerable data that bears on this point; that an individual reacts according to his own state of mind is proved by his performance at different times, not only on tests, but in response to the inquiries that are necessary in order to get im hto rationally analyze his own situation in life. It is only in very rare cases that the individual cannot be won. Jack really had some very good personality traits or he would have been so set against us by the affair on the train and being accompanied by a police officer that he would not have been willing at all to co-operate.

And it is particularly interesting to find that Jack's recalcitrancy to the officer was really based on fear, although no one would have expected this as connected with such a reckless fellow. Not that this is so very unusual; even an ordinary physical examination, actual or in prospect, frequently upsets even strong men, causing well marked emotional disturbance found even in heart action.

2 We do not know that the facts of nationality and race have any bearing upon the production of such trends towards reckless delinquency as our present boy displays. We have known others much like him who have had quite other blood in their veins. The desperadoes of the country are representatives of many different nationalities.

Any interpretation of insanity in the family must be made with caution. The mental disease of the uncle sounds much like paresis, the result of an acquired infectious disease, with no more relationship to heredity in his family than if he had had an attack of typhoid fever.

The hermit uncle no doubt evidenced a peculiar personality. Even though we do not know anything about his mental or social experiences that, quite aside from his innate tendencies, might have led to his taking up with a life of solitude, still he shows a reversal of the herd instinct that betokens in him some extraordinary streak — his tendencies do not fall in line with what the vast majority of people would enjoy doing.

The mother with her excitability and superstitious fears must be of a peculiar make-up, even though unclassifiable by us from a psychiatric standpoint; but even so we are not sure how much goitre may have

She was quite normal and healthy until shortly before her death. They had ten children, seven of whom grew to adult life. One was a sailor, another a saloonkeeper; the others went into business or trade for themselves after working in the mills for a time. Several are in comfortable circumstances. One of this fraternity was "smart and kind hearted," but used to wander about much and finally went to Canada and lived by himself in a shack among the Indians. Another, who, up to this time, had been a good man, a foreman in a mill, at the age of 45 became violently insane and died a year later. "The doctor said it was paralysis."

Mother: 48. She was born in a New England mill town. She received less than a complete grammar school education, began to work in the mills as a girl, and was maried at 19. She had nine pregnancies in rapid succession. She reports herself hard-working and always strong and healthy, until latterly she has developed a goitre, accompanied by much nervousness. As observed by us appeared excitable, high-strung, jocose, rather coarse fibered, sensible in some ways but superstitious; she reports herself much afraid of ghosts.

Mother's Family: Her father was Irish, a carpenter, excessively alcoholic, and died of an accident in middle life. Her mother, French Canadian, is alive in old age, " a good woman, not afraid of ghosts or anyone." This couple had seven children, most of whom worked in mills early, and then, as in the case of the father's family, went into other occupations. They have been steady people, and most have comfortable homes.

Children: (1) Manuel, 28. Married; has two children. A mill foreman. (2) Joseph, 27. Married; has one child. Working in the mill since return from the army. (3) Alice, 26. Married. Has taken a motherly interest in the younger children. (4) Girl, died in infancy. (5) Harry, 17. Works in the mill. For two years was away from home at a church school. (6) John. (7) Peter, 14. Just graduated from grammar school. All these children are reported to be in good health and all of normal mentality; but at least some of them are high-strung and at home quarrel somewhat with each other. None except John has been delinquent. (8) and (9) died in early infancy.

been responsible for her excitability and concerning her fear of ghosts, that belongs to ignorance and perhaps to childhood impressions rather than to the sphere of mental abnormality.

Of course, we are much interested to learn that none of the brothers and sisters in this family, with the same heredity and living under the same conditions, have been delinquent.

(From the best report available it appears that there have been no court records for this family, no delinquent conduct except as mentioned above, nor other cases of insanity, nor any of epilepsy or feeblemindedness.)

Developmental History

3 Pregnancy and birth quite normal. Weight at birth about 9 lbs. Bottle fed from the start, but no nutritional difficulty. (Details on agency record: Sat up at 4 months. First tooth at 7 months. Crept at 8 months. Walked at 14 months. Talked at 18 months. Reached puberty at about 14 years.) Never had convulsions or any serious illness or accident. From 1 to 10 years said to have had a tapeworm; treatment was unavailing until that time. The mother understood that this caused the boy's diurnal and nocturnal enuresis, which, however, has persisted with gradual betterment up to the present time.

Home and Neighborhood Conditions and Influences

4 For ten years the family have lived in the same tenement house on a broad, well-kept street closely built up with houses of the same type. It is a typical operatives tenement district of the better sort with no mills or factories nearby. The home consists of six rooms and bathroom, all in good repair. It is comfortably furnished. Earlier there was crowding with all the children at home, but recently Jack has had a sleeping room to himself. Still earlier there was inadequate income when the children were young and not earning; the mother then aided by taking in washing. Of late years the family income has been very good and the father has accumulated a little property. The children have been very loyal in the family life and have regularly turned over their wages to their mother. They have been brought up to attend church regularly. There has been considerable friction in the home life due to the high-strung temperament of the mother and some of the children; for example Jack and his brother quarreled much because of the necessity for their sleeping together at one period. The mother is quick tempered toward the children. She speaks in a peculiarly strained voice and gesticulates

3 Of course such specific details as are given in the agency report about the boy's development are unreliable. Here is an ignorant mother called on for very definite time-facts about one of her nine children. Can any one believe that she really knows these things? In even an intelligent family a baby record-book would have to be consulted. It is best usually simply to inquire whether it is remembered that there was anything unusual about the time of teething, etc. The approximate age of walking and talking is apt to be better remembered.

With our knowledge of the frequency of the diagnosis of worms as the cause of many children's ailments and the infrequency of the positive proof, particularly in the case of tape-worms, we must be allowed considerable skepticism concerning this boy's having a tape-worm over all these years. And we are still more skeptical about its being the cause of his enuresis, which, it will be noted, continued after the tape-worm is said to have disappeared.

4 It seems highly doubtful whether there was anything more in the home life influencing Jack's trends towards delinquency than had been operative in the lives of his brothers, who never engaged in bad conduct. Even the friction at home can hardly be considered as a causal factor. But of course, on the other hand, there was nothing in his home life to counteract outside undesirable interests or to meet in any way his special needs. The little that was attempted was unintelligent, for a boy of 15 is unlikely to respond well to punishment by a brother unless for some special reason this brother is supposed to have authority in the family life. Then, too, such teasing by the brothers, who played upon the boy's fears, was not calculated to bring about any good attitude toward them.

much. She undoubtedly has much affection for Jack and a real interest in him, but she takes no intelligent attitude toward his problem; she feels that he has caused much trouble and should therefore be punished. The father is more intelligent, but acknowledges his incapacity for managing the boy. He is anxious to have him turn out well and is willing to bear the expense of any present plan for him. An older brother has undertaken to discipline Jack and on one or two occasions a regular fight between them has resulted. The father has frankly approved of this, thinking it saved him the necessity of whipping the boy. However, he has recently made some attempt to better the boy's tendencies by sending him to a married son who lives in Bridgeport. In fact, the father about two months ago, seeing how things were going with Jack, himself sought the court for advice and help, and, two weeks ago, before the boy was arrested, through the probation officer, he consulted the agency which is now interested.

His older brothers have recently been telling Jack that his girl cousin who is dead will come at night and pull his toes. He has come in to his mother in the night with his eyes popping out of his head, saying that he has seen her.

School and Work History

5 Jack entered public school at the age of 6 and was in the seventh grade when he left, at 14 years, to go to work. Evidently he was retarded in his advancement because of the changes incidental to his having been sent away with his brother Harry to a church school or academy for two years when he was 9 and 10 years old, at a period when his mother was worn out with the care of the children and the family were in better circumstances. No record of the early school career is obtainable, but at 11 years Jack was in the fourth grade and advanced one grade a year after that. His health record all through was "good"; his attendance was good, indeed he was not truant at all; his scholarship was reckoned "fair" until the last half year, when it was called "poor"; but his conduct for two years was graded as "poor" and "very poor." It seems that to have a record of "conduct very poor" in this school is "almost unheard of," and the principal who knew the family and the boy personally very well and en-

deavored to influence him states that Jack was the worst boy he had ever had in his school. He did not consider him mentally deficient in any way, but the boy would pay little attention to his studies, was very hot-tempered, and was continually being sent to the principal's office for misdemeanors. He considered Jack undoubtedly the ring leader of a crowd of boys. The principal blamed Jack's home conditions as being unfavorable for his training; he thought the only hope for Jack was to have a man of strong character over him; he needed discipline.

At just 14 years Jack went to work in the mill for eight hours a day. He was a good worker, but changed his jobs frequently, five times in one year. He earned as high as $13 a week. When he was about 15 years old he obtained employment in the stock room of a large grocery store. The manager reported the boy to have been unusually quick in learning, but after about five months he left of his own accord. Jack then obtained work as a teamster, but found it too hard, and at the time we saw him he had been out of employment two or three weeks.

Interests and Habits

6 According to all reports Jack's main interests are certainly those that call for exciting adventure, and he really seems to have found a great deal of pleasure in adventuresome burglaries with his companions. The probation officer had felt, when the father complained of Jack, that the boy had such an interest in criminalism that it would be better for him not to report at all at the court house. He likes activity. He has a bicycle and sometimes goes on long rides into the country. He occasionally swims in the summer time, but he has never gone in for athletics much. Of late he has been much obsessed by reading "Diamond Dick" stories and the "Detective Story Magazine." He has had no interest in other reading, and, as the school principal said, paid very little attention to his lessons and seemed very considerably to enjoy the mischief and the leadership in mischief which he perpetrated in the school. He often attends moving pictures when scenes of adventure and of the West are depicted. He has shown "a great faculty for drifting to poor companions ." In attempts to offset his

street life the boy was allowed to go to a poolroom with a brother. At home he would be happy for long playing with his little nephew, a child about a year old. He has very definitely stated that his one big desire is to live in the "wild West." His brother states, however, that his immediate aspiration is to be the toughest boy in Y.

Jack very curiously is often fearful of sleeping in his room alone, and then he closes the windows, even in summer, and sometimes keeps on his clothes. Occasionally he brings his bed out into the kitchen so that he can be nearer the rest of the family. He is a nervous sleeper and sometimes walks in his sleep. He goes to bed about ten and gets up pretty regularly at six o'clock. He smokes cigarettes to some extent and has at times, with his crowd, done some drinking. His appetite is said to be large, and he eats inordinately of butter and meat, shovelling in his food. No sex habits have been observed, and his mother states that he has no interest in girls.

Companions

6 For years Jack has been going with much the same crowd of boys, about six in number, who were earlier in much petty mischief in school and at least some of whom have been associated with him in delinquencies. All of these boys are said to come from decent homes, but are characterized at "toughs." Two of the boys, Sulno and Brighton, are said to be his special pals, but the leader of the crowd was thought to be Graylor. It is supposed that he has done the planning. The life of this gang and the excitement of adventures with them are said to have had a greater hold upon Jack for the last few months than anything else.

Delinquencies

6 For two years or so before he left at 14, Jack was extremely troublesome in school, creating much disturbance in the school room and frequently having to be disciplined by being sent to the principal's office. Since then he has been almost constantly in trouble. At home he has been unruly and disobedient. Once with his crowd he went on a freight train to New York State. He has been in a street fight with

5 The school record and situation are not specific enough to permit of critical comment. There is no indication that Jack's retardation in school had anything to do with his conduct. His reaction after return from boarding school on being placed in so low a grade, probably with younger boys, we do not know. Nor are we better informed as to just what the school principal did — how he met Jack's misconduct, why the "ringleader" and his followers were not separated, what appeals or punishments were utilized — such specific facts are not given in the school report which was sent to us.

In these respects the information is no different from what is commonly obtainable. Bare records give no picture of personality nor of the treatment of the human element. But perhaps we are asking too much of school people and school records in these matters.

Concerning Jack at work we note that his beginning work at 14 did not curb his over-activity or injure his health. One is surprised to find him selecting the hard physical labor of teamster by the time he is 15 years of age, but that is another indication of his very special attributes. We imagine that the principal made no objections whatever to his leaving school to go to work.

6 Discussing interests, companions, and delinquencies together, because they are so much of one piece in this case, we see clearly that Jack's trends towards criminalism were largely a demonstration of his special tendencies towards certain activities and interests. Love of excitement in cases like this is comparable to the satisfaction of scaling a difficult or forbidden wall or climbing a dangerous peak — the elements of danger and difficulty lend excitement; and such excitement is certainly enjoyable to some people of special natures. The innate challenge of the difficult thing to Jack is shown even in his work interest; he wants to have a hard and difficult job. (See Own Story and Subsequent History.)

In his gregariousness Jack is again representative of a certain type of individual with criminal tendencies. And in his delinquencies he is not shrewd and self-seeking; it is the predatory activity that he goes in for, the bandit gang, enjoyment of loot together, and so on, — these mark a very special sort of criminal. And given his tendencies, one can see how stories of outlaw life which he read and saw in moving picture theatres would fascinate and inflame him. His recklessness is shown by the new delinquency perpetrated while his case was pending.

an older man. And he has steadily been going with a crowd of bad companions. He has been out late nights much, and his family know that on several occasions he has been drinking. Fearful and really suspicious of more serious troubles, two months ago his father took him to court, where he was placed on probation. But there was no change in his conduct; the boy rather boasted of his night life and escapades. A week ago he and several of his companions were arrested at night, breaking into a store with a kit of burglar's tools. Gradually, investigation brought to light the fact that this crowd, of which Jack was thought to be the leader, had, during the previous year, been involved in a large number of burglaries, audaciously planned and heretofore supposed to have been the work of experienced criminals. In court and while out on bail Jack showed indifference and recklessness. Indeed, with another member of the crowd he was caught in the middle of the night under suspicious circumstances in a suburb and was held there in jail. When the agency visitor, at the request of the judge, called on the mother, she disclosed the fact that she had been fearful of his developing marked criminal interests for a long time. She related how one night she woke up to find him crawling through her room over to the dresser, where he secured a little sum of money which he might have had for the asking.

Study of the Individual

Physical

7 Jack is very alert physically, quick and active in his movements. He shows much over-use of his facial muscles with forced pressing and other movements of his lips; he laughs frequently in a nervous way. His features are normal, but he has very broad nostrils. His head is fairly well shaped.

Weight 106 lbs. Height 5 ft. 1 in. Thorax poorly developed for his age, but his muscles are unusually well developed for his general size. Boy is evidently very active and strong. His color is fairly good. His teeth are in excellent condition. No stigmata of any kind found. Reflexes all normal, but he shows a marked tremor of the outstretched hands. Vision 20/50 each eye. Turbinates large, but no nasal obstruction.

Says he does not suffer from headaches or dizziness. Pubertal development: considerable pigmented pubescence, almost adult. All other examination negative.

Mental

8 (1) *Results on Psychological Examination*:

(After being reassured about the examination and having the purpose of testing explained to him Jack became very co-operative and pleasant.)

According to age-level and other tests, he grades as having only fair general ability. Intelligence Quotient 89.

Visual memory, good as far as tested.

Auditory memory, poor.

Language ability, poor both in vocabulary and in the use of language.

Apperceptive ability with both language and pictorial material, average.

Speed and accuracy of hand movements, average.

Mental reaction time in general, rather rapid, though language reactions rather slow.

Visual representations, good.

Work with concrete material, on simpler tests, decidedly good.

Learning ability, with visual material, good.

Writing, spelling, and arithmetic about up to seventh grade performance.

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[1] Stanford-Binet I. Q. 89; passes all 12-year tests and (3), (4), (5), and (6) of the 14-year tests and (6) of the 16-year tests.
Visual memory: Binet geometrical forms, score 100%; Healy form, score 100%.
Auditory memory span: 6 digits forward (5 digits backward).
Trabue Language Scale B: score 12, equals median for low 6th grade.
Vocabulary definitions: Terman 12-year credit, 42 words.
Pictorial Completion Test II: score 66, median adult performance.
Generalization of fables, Terman: A and B correct. Reply on C, "Look out for yourself, people are foxy."; On D, "Never be a squealer and blab on somebody else."; on E, "Be good-natured and help somebody out."
Tapping Test: score 82 squares, no errors, median for 15-16 years.
Easy Opposites Test: average time 1.8", 2 errors
Mental representations: Second Crossline, correct first trial; Clock hands and Code correct.
Construction Test A: score 18", 6 moves; second trial, 6", 5 moves.
Construction Test B: score 55", 14 moves.
Learning ability, old form: 10 symbols correct.
Writing: Thorndike Scale, quality 13, above 8th grade.
Spelling: Sentence based on Ayres Scale, 7th grade, all words correct.
Reading: Thorndike Scale, passage 4A; read somewhat slowly but all words correct and comprehension good.
Arithmetic: Does correctly the four fundamental processes.

9 (2) *Mental Balance*: Jack undoubtedly shows some hyperactivity, physical and mental, but holds himself well in control on occasion and presents no undue flow of ideas. His excitability is mostly displayed in temper reactions, and that sometimes is violent. He cries readily, but, as reported, it is only in sympathy with his mother. His ideas which seem rather obsessive center merely about his desire for adventure and his notions of the West. None of his notions are in the least delusional, however, and his night fears cannot be interpreted as hallucinations. He shows quite normal will powers.

10 (3) *Personality*: Jack's only peculiarities as a little boy are reported to us as extreme liveliness and troublesomeness on account of this; he was always a self-willed boy, not noted to be any worse when he came back from the boarding school. Concerning his more recent characteristics his mother reports him as very affectionate, to the extent that he likes to be petted; very fond of young children; never at all cruel or vicious. But he is "nervous" and changeable, forgetful, quick-tempered and cross on occasion. Sometimes he goes about the house saying that he would like to "show" anyone what he could do if they attempted to boss him; he is always saying, "No one is going to boss me." But he is really easily influenced by his mother and others. When he shows violent temper at home he gets over it quickly. Recently he has been antagonistic to his family and even at times somewhat rough with his mother. Is fearful at night, superstitious and afraid of ghosts. Has often expressed to his family his love of adventure and his desire for a change.

The school principal says that when Jack was 11 or 12 years old he was repentant after his misdeeds, but that lately he has become quite hardened. Also the boy shows an ungovernable temper. At one time he got into a street fight with an older man. The agency visitor has noted that he is boastful about his delinquencies; he takes pride in his exploits and shows no sense of wrong-doing. Jack has told her he changes jobs frequently for the sake of excitement, and he adds that an easy job makes him look like a baby. The visitor and others have always found that he responds well to kindness. Indeed he has shown himself grateful. Even his brother reports him amenable if properly handled. He is so sympathetic that he

7 Jack is very short and not heavy for his height. The median at 15 years is 5 ft. 6 in. and 129 lbs.; and at this age the median weight for 5 ft. 1 in. is 104 lbs. This is of much interest to us because the boy is so active and strong for his size and is so anxious to do hard work. As a boy with great need for activity he shows great contrast in size to the instances presented in Case 2 and 3. We have often found that there is little correlation between the size of an individual and his desire for activity, or even between size and physical vigor. Jack showed signs of great nervous activity and that is something to be reckoned with by itself; there were, however, no signs of abnormality of the nervous system, such as are indicated by abnormal reflexes. The tremor of outstretched hands which he showed is often found during examination; we have been obliged to discount this as meaning anything very definite. His vision is defective enough to need study by a specialist.

8 It can be seen from the range of tests given that Jack was not studied for special capacities. To have done this would have necessitated his remaining in the city for some time. Besides, in this particular case it was obvious that decision about adjustments would have to be based upon much more than the question of abilities. Testing done was sufficient to show that Jack was normal mentally and that there were no marked irregularities in findings. On account of his poorly inhibited emotions, tests for his mental and motor control are particularly interesting as indicating no peculiarities. The replies on the fable test are of interest because of the light they throw upon some of the boy's personality traits.

9 Of course in a case with such a history as this, one considers the possibility of mental aberration, whether a fully developed psychosis or not. It is easy enough to rule out juvenile paresis, choreic psychoneurosis, manic-depressive states and probable dementia praecox. More weight has to be given to consideration of constitutional mania or a hypomanic state. Indeed more observation would be necessary in order entirely to rule these out, although Jack's quiet, well-controlled behavior in our office spoke against these conditions. The question of whether or not he is a psychopathic personality with rather manic trends must certainly be left open. Specifically one perceives that he is not a well-integrated personality, although his superstitions and his almost obsessive ideas may be based more upon experiences than upon innate causes.

cries if his mother weeps, and always gives in to her immediately if she resorts to tears. His employers have remarked upon his great energy and the vigor and indeed success with which he attacks a new job, they say, through a desire to appear manly. The boy is thoroughly gregarious and loyal to his crowd.

As observed by us Jack appeared a very talkative lad, outspoken, anxious to tell his opinion about all sorts of things. He showed no evasion about anything. In some ways he seems extremely boyish, but is sophisticated about certain matters, such as his adventures in crime and somewhat about sex affairs. He is naïve and uncritical in his ideas about the West. He does not reflect about things, is not analytical. He seems to be little disturbed about his delinquencies. In his story he shows himself loyal to his crowd and anxious for their approbation. Above all he does not want to be regarded by them as cowardly. But he has childish and peculiar fears when alone. The reports of others as well as his own statements show that he is quite suggestible, at least to his gang.

Boy's Own Story

11 (We found Jack very talkative, outspoken and really anxious to tell his opinion about all sorts of things, and to go into the details of his associations with his bad companions. Only a bare outline of his long story can be given.)

Boy began by talking freely about his school career. He was 9 when he was sent away to boarding school managed by Brothers. There were three or four hundred boys there; they were rather a rough crowd. They slept in a big dormitory, boys of all ages in the same room, and there was a great deal of petty stealing of things from the trunks of the boys. Of course there was some bad talk about girls and sex matters there, but Jack doesn't think he was in the least influenced by this or by the stealing. He was there for two years.

On his return he went to a public school and soon began going with a crowd of boys with whom he has associated ever since. There are six fellows in "the bunch," and they are all of about the same age. Most of them were in school together, but they met outside and have been going together since their school days. "Graylor is the brains of the gang, but I am the

10 Most marked in this case are the extreme contradictions in personality traits displayed. We see the boy's fears about sleeping alone and about ghosts, as contrasted with his reckless bravery shown when with his delinquent crowd; he shows little emotional reaction to his own behavior and to his arrests, but he even weeps readily about his mother's distress; he is observed to be hardened and to show outbursts of violent temper, but he responds most readily to kindness and loves to play with little children; he has great ideas of manliness, but his actual conduct is often very childish; he is obstinate in some matters, but is suggestible, particularly with his companions.

Most noteworthy is the fact that Jack has not shown any marked change of character at any period. One feels that as it is now, some of his traits are only superficial and due to bluster. One would like to observe him under other living conditions. His fear of ghosts can only be interpreted as acquired; we remember that his mother has the same ignorant fear. When we receive an account of traits from persons with narrow spheres of observation such as the school people, we must remember that characteristics shown may be only part of a whole picture. In this case it is notably so.

No well-rounded view can be taken of this case unless it is remembered that the boy just now is passing through adolescence and very possibly is unstable by virtue of that fact. This may be a very important matter for prognosis.

11. In Jack's own story there is no indication of any direct influences that lead to his delinquencies until his association with bad companions. Of course there is a possibility that his experiences at the boarding school form a background indirectly influential and which leads to his later experiences taking root. One may ask why on his return he selected this particular group for his companions. Obviously, in any case, it was crowd associations that were mainly effective in his conduct.

How much of his desire to be "brave," "manly," "to do hard work" is really compensatory for his consciousness of being exceedingly fearful in many situations is an interesting question. Clearly it is not the end results of the delinquent affairs themselves that appeal to him, but rather the excitement with the crowd and the satisfaction of gang approval.

In general the story is very straightforward with no suggestion of disturbances from hidden mental life, for Jack is notably of the extrovert type.

next one, and when Graylor isn't around they call me the brains." Graylor never went to school in Y. He works in the mills. "He has crooked ever since he was little, and so have some of the others." Jack says that of course he used to take little things, yes, things to eat, but he doesn't call that anything. In the beginning he didn't like to crook, but the others would say, "Come on, Jackie," and he didn't like to hang back. He had seen the others do things, and Graylor and the others would tell him what they had stolen and how nice it was to have things come easy. When he himself was nearly fifteen, he thought that he would like to try it. But he never crooked alone. Billy Andell was a member of the crowd, "and, gee, he is almost a professional! He can make almost any kind of a skeleton key, even by just looking at the lock. We have a little outfit in a cellar, saws and files and things, and we usually make two sets of keys, and we divide, three going in one place and three in another." Jack went on to tell about their breaking into places, going into stores largely for money. Often there isn't much money left around at night and so they have to get into more than one place in an evening. He thinks they have broken into at least twenty stores. They divide the money and spend it together. They have a regular place of meeting after work or after supper and they plan the stores they are going into. The others persuaded him to put outside some bottles of "booze" when he worked in the grocery, and they used to drink it. "Andell drinks like a barrel." Saturday nights they raid beer teams and on Sundays sometimes they have broken into beer shops.

Jack says that he has been in court twice before, once when his father complained that Jack had fought with him, and the second time when "we stole booze and drank it."

Talked with at length about his enjoyment of associations with these companions, he says that he wants to prove that he is game. He wouldn't want the bunch to think he had a yellow streak. He sometimes goes where he really doesn't want to go rather than say so to the other fellows. He doesn't really care about breaking in. It's no temptation to him. He plays dice on Saturday nights with the fellows, but he doesn't care much about gambling. About the stealing, he never has any temptations to take anything. Of course there are plenty of things a fellow wants and if he lived in a large city he

knows that he would feel like crooking because there would be so many things around that he would like. Very probably he would get in with a stealing crowd and go with them if he were in another city. But what he really like is the excitement of it. He likes to be brave.

These other boys all come from good homes. In school they were the kids who would throw paper wads and notes to each other and get the class upset. He was never truant; he has never stayed out over night with these fellows.

In talking about girls Jack becomes sheepish, but is apparently quite frank. Some of the crowd are bad with girls, especially Billy Andell, "He's just crazy about girls." "He's been with a lot of them. He takes them to the woods and jokes about it. About every kid talks of that." Says that the crowd will be out together on the street and will meet girls, "tough nuts," and pass them and call out, "Say kid." Then they will begin to talk and all go round together. Says he has done bad things with girls two or three times. He tells us particularly about two "tough ones," they call them the oil twins because their name is something like that. But he doesn't care anything about girls and that sort of thing is no temptation to him, he just does it with the gang. With these fellows he has been to burlesque shows; "that's about the worst." By paying the usher half a dollar they have been permitted to go back to the dressing rooms. He says there have been no bad sex affairs between these boys themselves. He smokes very little.

Jack makes much of the trouble he has at home. His older brothers call him "Big Nose." They are too fresh with him. He is treated like a dog in the family. His mother doesn't want to give him any spending money. Since they have known that he has stolen they are always kicking him about. He doesn't want to stay at home. But Jack is willing to acknowledge that it is partly his own fault and that he has been rough, even to his own mother.

There is only one thing he wants to do and that is to go on a ranch out West. He wouldn't want to be in the country around here; it's too quiet, it's too dead. And the people probably go to bed at six o'clock and there is nothing to do nights. If he was put out on a farm he knows he would run away. It would be different on a ranch; he has read a lot of

stories about the West and knows just what it is like and that he would like it. "I want the real rough, tough West, where you get strong and healthy. I want to get out in the cowboy country where they have guns and revolvers and excitement."

Jack says he is not lazy; he likes work. Even if they did say he did all right at the grocery store, it was "sissy work" inside. The only job he ever had that he liked was on a truck; it was heavy work and he liked it. "I want a man's job."

At this point SUMMARY OF CASE and SUBSEQUENT HISTORY follow.

SUMMARY OF STAFF CONFERENCE

PROBLEM: **Delinquencies:** Earlier much bad behavior in school. Within last year repeated burglaries and larcenies. Some drinking earlier and sex affairs with girls. Persistent association with bad companions. Fighting.

PHYSICAL: Short, but very strong and active. Quick nervous movements; much use of facial muscles. Moderately defective vision.

MENTAL: (1) **Abilities:** Fair general ability. Works well with concrete material; no other special ability noted. (2) **Balance:** Some suggestion of psychopathic trends—hyperactivity, and poor organization of judgment, ideation and affective life. (3) **Personality:** Great contradictions—immaturities and sophistication, fears and desires for adventure, tender-hearted although "tough", suggestible and yet aggressive. Gregarious; desirous of crowd approval. Excitable, high tempered, poorly controlled emotionally.

Final diagnosis concerning psychotic trends and permanence of personality traits must be held in abeyance.

BACKGROUND: (a) **Heredity:** One paternal uncle became insane, another was eccentric, rover. Mother, exophthalmic goitre. Maternal grandfather, excessively alcoholic. (b) **Developmental:** Question of tape-warm in childhood. Enuresis has persisted with gradual betterment. (c) **Home Conditions:** In physical aspects fairly good. (d) **Habits:** Some smoking.

PROBABLE DIRECT CAUSATIONS: (1) Personality make-up as above, particularly desire for activity and adventure. (2) Adolescence may be a factor. (3) Excessive influence of bad companions, some of whom are semi-professional in criminality. (4) Lack of good home control and constructive effort. (5) Ideation derived from reading and movies.

(Attendance at burlesque shows and some early sex experience seem to have had little influence.)

PROGNOSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS: In spite of his delinquencies being so extreme they seem not to be representative at all of his real desires and satisfactions. He is not vicious; indeed he shows many good traits. One of the main questions is to what extent he is essentially psychopathic and by reason of this in any other environment may not be able to keep out of trouble. Under wholesome influences he may possibly do well.

In the light of his intensely marked characteristics, certainly unmodifiable through repression during adolescence, we feel there is no use compromising with him. Should have what his nature demands, namely, a rough, hard life. In pioneer days might have worked out his own tendencies satisfactorily; now preferably should go to the West, perhaps on a ranch, or at least in active outdoor life. If this is not possible, perhaps might find something in northern woods, but this does not promise as much. Is very young, but has such vigor and strength that he would pass as a much older boy. Sea-faring life is another alternative, but on account of his obsessions for the West is not so likely to succeed in it. Of course, wherever he goes, should have friendly oversight. Should have better recreations, reading, etc., but they are all secondary to the above.

Institutional commitment is uneconomical and inimical to boy's good development and to welfare of other inmates and later to welfare of society in general.

Probably little use in having eyes examined; boy would hardly wear glasses because no subjective symptoms from eyes. Enuresis will very likely soon disappear.

Subsequent History

With a fine spirit the agency undertook to carry out the recommendations; the court, having read our summary of the case, acquiesced in this. Social agencies, probation officers, and welfare workers were written to in the West, some forty in all.

(We have often had reason to believe that very valuable service could be rendered by bureaus for the exchange of regional information, organized by child placing agencies, juvenile courts, or big brother associations, so that boys and sometimes girls could be found opportunities that they especially need and that are not at hand. The West particularly offers socially therapeutic opportunities, while the seaboard is the outlet for the needs of some boys. And there are educational and vocational chances that are regional.)

Meanwhile Jack, who said that he would like to go temporarily into the country, was placed on a well-kept farm near his city, owned by very kindly people who at once took an interest in him The first report was very favorable, but at the end of the fourth day Jack turned up at his own home crying and begging to be taken back, saying that the wind howled through the house and he had not slept while he was in the country, he was so lonely. He exclaimed to his mother, "I am never lonely where you are, Ma."

(It seems very curious indeed for a boy to prove so fearful and so homesick when at the same time he wanted to be far away from his family on a ranch. This is again an illustration of Jack's very anomalous characteristics.)

The secretary of the agency, on the basis of this and because of her observation of Jack's demonstration of fondness for his family, wrote and stated her query as to whether the boy, so dependent upon family ties, could last in the West, and whether it was advisable to go on with her plans. We replied that probably if he stayed for a time in the West he would get over his homesickness, but that if the boy continued to do extremely well and if his activity could be taken care of and he could be disillusioned about the West, perhaps there would be hope of success at home, especially if some members of his crowd were sent away. But we doubted success on account of his instability.

For the next month Jack stayed at home, working the greater part of the time. Then because of some ridicule by other employees he left his job. Although he did not become involved in any delinquencies he caused much trouble at home through his quarrelsomeness, his unbearable insolence to his father and his constant talking of his anticipated trip West. His parents' one idea now was to get rid of him. By this time two members of his gang had been committed to an industrial school for boys and Jack now spent most of his evenings in a poolroom with his brother, his mother having signed a permit for him. He made frequent trips to the agency to find out how arrangements were progressing.

(His troublesomeness developing at home again so soon after his return was certainly proof of the need for doing something radical—for sending him West, if possible, in spite of doubt about homesickness, etc.

It seems strange that the poolroom should have been the only recourse for recreation. There is a Y. M. C. A. in this town.)

Through correspondence with a juvenile court in Utah, a chance was found for the boy on a farm ranch in that state. Jack's father paid his fare, and Jack started about the first of December. He arrived at his destination, having disposed of one of his suit-cases for a revolver, a flashlight, a pipe and some tobacco. He found himself on a hundred and sixty acre farm, twenty miles from a town of any size, in a fertile, flat country where ordinary farm products were raised. The place was owned by a German, and the household consisted of himself, his wife, and a grown daughter. Farm labor was difficult to secure, and the farmer wanted a boy largely for the sake of his work, although the court official stated that it was a good home. There were religious observances and prayers at meal times. The boy was not allowed to swear or smoke. The hours were long and the work was strenuous. Jack was at once found to be a good worker, and he was paid somewhat more than had been agreed upon. He was allowed to use a horse to ride for the mail week days and on Sundays he could ride off for the day.

Fairly close touch was kept with the boy through the court officer, who visited him once or twice and received frequent reports. There was some question about the boy's being overworked, but the answer came that it was impossible to keep factory hours on a ranch. Complaint was made of the boy concerning his extreme dirtiness, his bad table manners, and his keeping on his clothes at night. He was said to be very quick tempered, sometimes beating the animals in anger, and sometimes being impertinent to the family. He insisted on carrying a loaded revolver.

(Of course this home offered a change and some adventure for Jack, but there was little selection of a place with the boy's special needs in mind. The work was hard for such an undersized and young boy. There was much grind and little of the romance which Jack craved, although perhaps this was a good antidote to his illusions about the West. Then, one would not have chosen at the war period a German family for a boy partly French, nor one with neither inclination nor patience to train an adolescent. This brings up a point concerning standards of placing. Here is a family, for instance, correctly reported as moral and religious people, who have, nevertheless, little appreciation of the needs of a growing boy. There must have been very much better adjustments possible.)

For long Jack did not write home at all, not even of his safe arrival. When urged to do so he said, "Revenge is sweet." Finally, two months later, he wrote to his mother, telling her of his work and complaining of the farmer's German sympathies, saying also that the daughter of the household was a "roughneck." "She always tries to get me blamed."

The probation officer from the nearest juvenile court then visited Jack

and concluded that though the boy had been kindly treated in what he considered a decent but hard-working home, still he probably had been overworked. Consequently, he made a re-adjustment; he obtained temporary work for the boy in a nearby town thinning beets at twenty-five dollars a month and board. Arrangements were made for him to room with his employer at the hotel in town. The probation officer wrote that he liked the boy very much and found him affectionate and interesting. He tried to persuade Jack to save his money and urged him to write regularly to his people.

(It must be stated that even in his first home Jack was much of a success. He was honest; he did not run away or shirk work. His attitude toward his family was perhaps a normal and temporary adolescent reaction in view of the last troublesome days at home. His fears he must have largely overcome.)

The boy got along well with his boss, but within a month the probation officer had secured work which he thought was more suitable for Jack, inasmuch as he thought it offered more opportunity for rough adventure. A man in the transportation business, who had received some education and was interested in boys, agreed to take charge of Jack and give him the companionship that he needed. The probation officer wrote, "This man is stronger and quicker with his fists than even Jack, and when he says, 'Wash up!' I notice that Jack washes." Jack took hold of his new work of trucking over the mountain passes with much zeal, and he seemed to appreciate the efforts of the men who were trying to be his friends. When he came in from his trips he lived in a rooming house, but he was always so tired by the time he got there that the probation officer found there was no danger from possible bad associates. The officer wrote that the boy was doing very well but that his attitude toward his family was still antagonistic. At this time he also said that Jack was foolish about his expenditure of money; he had bought a watch and a gun. About the latter Jack said that he wanted to get into the navy some day, but how could he unless he could shoot. The officer also wrote, "Jack is industrious and honest, a nice, likeable kid who knows the value of keeping straight."

(This trucking under the supervision of an especially vigorous young man was an ideal occupation for Jack, offering just the rough adventure and out-of-door work that he wanted. We hardly see anything foolish about the purchase of a watch and a gun. We note that Jack, although so gregarious, manages very well to get along without a crowd of companions.)

After a time Jack was anxious to go on a big cattle ranch in New Mexico that he heard of, but both the probation officer and the employer felt that it was unwise for him to do so. When the summer was over the employer wrote to the family that he did not have enough work for the boy from then on and asked for instructions as to what to do with him. Jack was anxious to get home, because his mother was sickly. The father refusing to advance the money for Jack to come home, the agency at Y. sent on the money for his fare. When he arrived, after his six months absence, the family and the agency secretary were much

impressed with his physical and mental improvement. He had grown several inches taller; he spoke well of his employers in the West, and his attitude toward his family was respectful and affectionate. His enuresis had ceased.

Jack immediately secured work in the mill and he began making weekly payments towards the ninety dollars which had been advanced for his return. He lived up to his agreement to pay back the entire sum and made an effort to be considerate of his mother. The father was home only week ends at this time. The old gang leader had been released from the institution at this time, but it is not known whether the two boys met. Certainly they got into no more trouble together. Jack was continually urging his whole family to move west.

(The return home was a real test of what the West had done for Jack. The fact that he did not go back to delinquency and the old gang life, even though the other fellows were around, proved what he had gained in the way of moral stability. And the cessation of his enuresis bespeaks powers of self control.)

In the early winter he had an operation for some growth in his nose which was very painful. His mother died just after this and her death made a great impression upon the boy, as she had told him previously that she could never rest if he did not behave himself. A little later Jack had to be operated on for appendicitis. It is noted that he made friends quickly on the ward at the hospital and he took great pleasure in writing stories of his adventures in the West, passing the stories around for the other patients to read. He still spent much of his time reading cowboy and detective stories of the most lurid kind. After convalescence he secured another job in a mill. He became interested in boxing. He attended church regularly.

(It is of some interest to note that in spite of change of some of his characteristics and increased maturity Jack still is influenced through his superstitions, and his interest in the cowboys of the West persists.)

In the spring he suddenly left Y. making his way to the Pacific Northwest. For a time he worked on a farm, but soon beat his way back to the Lake Superior region where he obtained employment on a boat for a time. Crossing the border, he was refused admission to the United States because he had no proof of citizenship. His own story is that a short time later he was one night across the river from Detroit and had just ten cents for the ferry trip. He waited for the last boat and, once in Detroit, crawled along the wharves and, unobserved, made his way safely into the United States. Encountering a recruiting officer Jack asked him if all the soldiers in the army were as fat as he was; if so he wanted to join, but he wanted "a feed" first. The officer bought him a good supper and the boy enlisted.

Jack frequently wrote friendly letters to the agency secretary telling of his success and of his good training. It seems that he was assigned to an army school in New Mexico and there received training as a mechanic. He passed his final test with a very good record and received an honorable discharge after his term of enlistment was up. A letter from Jack during this period runs as follows:

Dear Miss L.

I am in the best of health and hope you are the same. I received your Easter present and, I thank you a thousand times, I passed the Fuel Room with an average of 84% and it is very good, I am in the Shop Room and like the work very well. But we are feed very poorly. I think Uncle Sam must have forgot this Camp. But, I don't mind it very much for I am learning a Good trade. Many boys are being shipped back to their own organization on account of poor feed. But My Mother stuck through thick and thin, and, I think, I take after Her, I will also stick through thick and thin, Do you remember our Boston trip, I do and will never forget it. I will close wishing you are in the best of health, full of life and vigor.

From your friend, Jack Long.

P. S. Wish you Success in your Work, Good-bye, Good luck. Thanks very much for the Present Please Excuse my Writing, Bum Pen, Please Answer, Good-bye, Good-luck.

Jack returned east to Y. for a time in 1922 and readily obtained well paying work. He began taking pride in his personal appearance, indeed became somewhat of a dandy about his clothes. But the sister with whom he lived found him moody and rather trying. She says that he was absolutely honest and had no bad habits. At times he was affectionate, but he brooded about his mother and would cry when thinking about her. (He showed no interest in girls or women.) His employer said he did not have a more intelligent worker.

Then Jack was laid off because of lack of work. He had a notion that he might get into trouble again if he remained idle in Y. and suddenly left for the West. Not having sufficient funds he beat his way a large share of the distance, he was arrested eleven times for vagrancy on account of being on freight trains, he later wrote, but each time after telling the judge that he was on his way to seek work and after showing his honorable discharge from the service he was released. He finally made his way to the little town in Utah where he secured employment with the same transportation company. The following is a letter to the agency visitor received soon after his arrival:

My dear Miss L.

I am in the best of health and hope you are the same. I received your letter of May 3 and was very glad to hear from you. . . . . There is no organizations of any kind here in this place. The people are awful stuck up and they don't care to associate with each other they are to independent. . . . . I saved a little money every week, and after I finish paying my brother his 25.00 twenty five dollars, I will put money in the bank every week, my Mother always did like you, and I like you to for you have save me from reform school and kept me from staining my family name. Seeing my father does not care to write to me or take any interest in any of us I'll have to adopt you to be my Mother, the sweetest name in the world, that is if you do not mind, for I know if my Mother was living would not mind for she loved you, as she

would her own daughter. I thank you for the birthday card for I know I have at least one true friend in this World, that I can depend on. . . . I thank you a thousand times for taking interest in me, and I hope you will always trust me as you have in the past. . . .

Love and kisses. A million kisses for you.

From your best Friend

Jack Long

Please excuse my writing for I have a bum pen, will buy a new one and then write a better letter. Good-bye Good-luck.

(However much or little criticism there may be of the exact adjustments that were made in Jack's behalf and of the fact that no continuing plan for his future was ever formulated, still it seems clear that on the whole he profited greatly by the opportunity that was found for him to realize in some measure his very strongly expressed desire for western life. There can be little doubt that he succeeded much better than could have been expected had he remained in his own home or nearby, where there was always the pull of his home to disturb him. Nor can we believe that the regime of an institution, with its lack of facility for giving expression to his need for activity and adventure, would have helped him.)

While we do not know as much about the development of Jack's personality characteristics as we would like to know, particularly concerning his contradictory traits and his temper, and about his present philosophy of life, at least we have very good evidence that his delinquent tendencies have ceased and that the prognosis in this respect now seems thoroughly good.

This case cannot be concluded without paying high tribute to the agency which not only took such a great amount of trouble in the beginning but whose friendliness and thought for this boy have at all times proved such a steadying influence upon him.

FINAL COMMENT

The sport motive in delinquency or crime is what this case primarily represents. And sport, of course, usually is best obtained in company with one's fellows.

It takes a peculiar personality make-up to enjoy the excitement of such a dangerous pastime as burglary, and in Jack's case that is just what there was at bottom. His hyperactivity; genuine love of excitement; childish, poorly inhibited emotionalism; his bravery coupled with superstitious fears; his feeling for certain crude loyalties, such as to his crowd, are exactly those qualities that form the basis of the beginnings and the continuance of many a criminal career of the more active kind; that of the burglar, the hold-up man, the train robber and the desperado of the West.

But it must also be recorded that frequently what is done by way of treatment under the law, particularly the incarceration of this type of fellow with other offenders, throwing him into a situation and companionship that act like a mordant in fixing the color of his character, and then labelling him so that his social rehabilitation is rendered difficult, has also been a big factor in many cases in bringing about the undesirable result, a criminal career.

There are other ways that give more promise of saving the situation for the individual and for society, particularly through those adjustments for the young individual which offer in normal ways the activities that he is suited for and craves.

Concerning the treatment of this boy as a possible psychopathic case, one that showed very concretely some of the problems of mental hygiene, we may say that what was done in the way of meeting his specific needs represented a program of great therapeutic worth. A fine bit of preventive work seems to have been done.

The solution of this case took courage and patience and good service on the part of those who worked for the boy. But it paid.

JUDGE BAKER FOUNDATION

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nal, vocational and ought for study by rt, school, and all ning to make intensive and all-round studies, its staff comprises those working from the standpoint of the psychological, medical, and social sciences. It is only through the devoted service of the entire personnel that the material for the present publication is available.

Readers cannot draw conclusions for scientific purposes from statements concerning localities, names, dates, nationalities, and facts of family history as given because, in the usual professional fashion cases are reported with disguises. But the general facts, even of heredity are accurately transcribed, and no matters of importance for interpretation of causation as it bears on therapeutic possibilities in the individual case are changed or omitted.

The plan of presentation is to offer a first series of twenty studies covering a wide range of problems of interest to educators, psychologists, psychiarists, sociologists, judges, probation officers, and all who deal with matters involving the adjustments of young people. For teaching purposes, a loose-leaf edition is available so that all pages designated with (a) may be withheld until the factual material of the first study of the case, given in the other pages, is treated by the student as a problem to be solved.

It is hoped that the publications can continue and include considereration of groups of cases representing types of problems in education, in make-up of individuals, in conduct, etc. It is planned at later dates to report on important facts of cases earlier published.

The gratitude of students who benefit by these studies is due to the Commonwealth Fund of New York, a grant from which has made this series possible.

The social treatment has been carried out through child welfare agencies of many sorts, and the spirit of their co-operation has been splendid. It would be a pleasure to give credit to the particular agency in each case, but since, for several reasons, it is inadvisable, we desire here to express our deep appreciation of their co-operation with the Judge Baker Foundation.

WILLIAM HEALY, M. D.
AUGUSTA F. BRONNER, Ph. D.
Directors.

Case Study No. 14

SERIES I

JUDGE BAKER FOUNDATION
40 COURT STREET
BOSTON

Copyright March, 1923

CASE FOURTEEN

Harry Harmond: 9 yrs., 6 mos. Born in U. S. of American parents.

Introductory Statement

1 (July, 1917) Harry, a pleasant looking boy with rather delicate, regular features had become too much of a problem, she confessed, for the woman with whom he had been boarded for eight years. Among other things she complained that he had been stealing for years, bringing back short change when sent on errands, setting fires in dangerous ways, riding about on street cars, and running away. Recently, when for the second time he had been gathered in by the police at about midnight, after being away all day, she refused to keep him any longer. A child-helping agency, at the request of the father, was considering taking charge of him. They had begun by having a physical examination made, which showed him to be in good condition, and a mental testing at the out-patient department of a psychopathic hospital, where he was reported quite normal mentally. But in a home where they for the time placed him he had pilfered stamps and other articles and had proved wantonly destructive, he had set fires several times in the bathroom, and had stolen and shrewdly hidden a considerable sum of money. The question now was whether he should be tried in a new home, and if so, just what sort of treatment he should be accorded, or whether he would better be committed forthwith to a correctional school for younger boys.

Study of the Background

Family

2 (The information about the family is derived solely from the father and is very likely entirely accurate; he appears substantial and well meaning. Other facts about the back-

1 This list of delinquencies on the part of such a young boy indicates a serious situation back of the misconduct. To the experienced student of delinquents it suggests that he must have derived his behavior tendencies from some definite source and that they are kept active either by continuing contact with this source or by recurrent ideation directly dynamic or subconsciously influential. The exact nature of the causation is worth much effort to ascertain, in order to know what therapeutic measures promise most.

If mental abnormality had not already been ruled out we should, nevertheless, have considered experiences and ideation as probable prime causes, for mental defect or mental aberration alone are never sufficient to account for the development of such well marked delinquent trends. Whatever the mentality there must have been experiences from which these particular forms of behavior developed.

2 Whatever might be said about heredity in this case seems obvious enough. Concerning the mother, it is wise from the standpoint of science, as well as the part of charity, to say that we know so little about what actuated her in any phase of this affair that we can form no fair judgment about her or her actions. We have already spoken of deserting mothers in Case 12.

ground were obtained from the foster mother and from school teachers through a competent investigation by the agency visitor.)

Father: 45; a fairly well educated and successful business man of good reputation, who meets well his financial obligations in regard to this boy.

Father's Family: Normal, healthy, American people. No nervous or mental disease or peculiarity in the family.

Mother: Whereabouts unknown — unreliable report of her death. She was a healthy, normally intelligent young woman, an actress playing a minor part in a reputable stock company. She had attended high school and then took a course in dramatic art in an institute of high standing. She was not known to be otherwise immoral, but formed an easy relationship with the father, and he "was fool enough to get involved with her." When she became pregnant he did everything to protect her name. He saw her parents now for the first time. They were quietly married and the baby was born at a hospital. The mother never took any interest in the child from the time she left the hospital; she wanted to go on with her career, and she speedily left both father and child. From this time her husband never heard from her.

Mother's Family: Her father was German, a steady worker at a skilled trade, and apparently intelligent and healthy. His father was an actor of local distinction. Her mother had demonstrated considerable business ability and earned well as department manager for a city firm. They had but the one child.

Children: No siblings, but a half-sister, 2 years old, by the father's second marriage in 1912 is said to be healthy and bright.

Developmental History

3 The mother was worried and made considerable effort to conceal her pregnancy through tight lacing, but it was a full term, normal delivery. The baby seemed all right at birth and was breast fed for about four weeks. Then the

3 As of so many conditions at this period, one finds by practical experience that it is quite impossible to draw conclusions about the effects of worry during pregnancy and of such matters as efforts to conceal the situation by tight clothes. The fact of bottle feeding is not necessarily inimical to health, of course, even in a foster home. With what is known about baby-feeding this boy probably could have been properly nourished during infancy. His poor food and consequent under-nourishment (even though he was fat) may have had direct relationship to his late walking and talking, although we are not nearly so sure about its effect upon late talking. In its bearing on mental development, rickets is a very uncertain factor; some children come through this condition with very good mental powers. Under the circumstances of the boy's having this specific physical ailment, it is doubtful whether his late walking and talking can be considered any evidence of congenital mental defect.

mother refused to take care of it longer and a boarding home was secured through advertising. The father felt, when the baby was 15 months old, that it was not receiving good attention. The doctor who saw the child now said that he was badly nourished, although fat, and had a tendency to rickets. At 15 months he had no inclination to sit up or creep. He did not walk till 3 years old, and then not until methods had been devised to stimulate him. He is said not to have talked clearly until about 4 years old. Under a physician's direction, with a new boarding woman the child thrived better; he had children's diseases mildly and at 7 years he was severely ill with pneumonia. Since then he has been well.

Home Conditions and Influences and Discipline

4 When Harry was 15 months old his father found another home through advertising. This time he went into the matter with more care and felt sure that the foster mother would give the baby good upbringing. She was an unmarried middle-aged woman of fair education who was supporting her invalid mother, and she proposed to take children to board as a means of livelihood. The home was in a three-story wooden apartment house, fairly well furnished and comfortable. A physician who had been called in sometimes, reported recently that he "always found the home neat and clean." In addition to Harry she boarded a little girl and then a little boy. The father visited the boy at short intervals till his second marriage in 1912, and then his calls became less frequent, but he always seemed genuinely fond of the boy and spoke of him as a lovable child. (The new wife did not want the boy.) The parents of the other children came more often and the little girl taunted Harry as they grew older, calling him an outcast. Miss Weir, the foster mother, appeared to the visitor, when the agency came into the case, to have very little feeling for the boy; she talked indiscriminately about his faults before others, and apparently had no control over him. However, she had tried various methods of discipline — Harry was kept in the house three days after he ran away; for other misbehavior she had

4 We have a clear illustration here of the tremendous advantage of finding foster homes by agencies who conduct thorough investigations into all features of family life before recommending a home. Such loose placing as this father undertook leads to the worst sort of abuse. "Baby farming" is a notorious occupation and could be entirely prevented by official enactment which would require investigations of suitability of homes made from a specifically professional standpoint.

This father's concern only with the physical features probably is not unusual, since most parents are too little conversant with the fundamentals of child welfare to emphasize the subtler important aspects. We witness in this case utter lack on the father's part of knowledge of the other children, of the amount of oversight which the foster mother gave to his own boy, and even of the boy's sensitiveness to his neglect of him. That the foster mother did not report to the father the boy's delinquencies, and that for so long she was willing to keep him in spite of non-improvement of behavior reveals the fact that she was less capable than many foster mothers, even those who eke out their livelihood by maintaining foster homes —for many of them give the children good physical care, genuine affection and considerable moral stimulus. This home was clearly not a good one.

whipped him or sent him to bed without dessert or supper. She had slept with him at one time in the hope of curing his masturbation. The teacher reported to the visitor that she believed Miss Weir's nephew, who lived nearby, spied and told tales on him, and Harry was consequently pounced on the minute he came home.

Miss Weir made no complaint to the father against the boy till just before we saw him, when she insisted that she could stand him no longer. And Harry, in turn, was very anxious to be removed.

To the temporary foster mother Harry appeared very uncontrolled and undisciplined.

School History

5 Harry entered school before he was 6 years old; now he has just been promoted to the third grade. He spent two years in the first grade and also two years in the second grade, but his last failure of promotion was due to long absence on account of whooping cough. Teachers interviewed varied greatly in their opinion of Harry. One first grade teacher said that he was easily taught and not lacking; another thought him peculiar and had no redeeming word for the boy. The second grade teacher did not feel there was anything unusual in his behavior or scholarship; he occasionally took things, but so did others in the grade. She felt it was a normal stage for a child to pass through. Still another teacher said there was nothing unsual about his work; he was naughty, but then he liked being in school, and she had no difficulty with him. However, he showed cleverness in lying, she said, and consistently stuck to a story. All said he was slow in arithmetic.

Interests, Companions, Habits

6 Miss Weir knew very little, and of course his father knew nothing, about Harry's interests and companions when away from the house. At home he played with the other little boy and the girl, both not far from his own age. We have no information about what games and books or stories he cared

5 We note the poor progress in school from the start and the varying opinions offered by different teachers. Objective criteria of the boy's mental ability would have been of the greatest help. In the light of our findings on tests for school work, we wonder if other facts than performance in these subjects influenced the judgments about his capacities. It is a case where the I. Q. and learning ability might have been measured up against educational achievement.

And we wonder about the basis for the opinion of the teacher who thought pilfering a normal stage for him to go through. Only too often conduct tendencies derived through crowd suggestion and through experiences of one sort or another, and quite avoidable under other circumstances, are considered normal phenomena.

6 Of course the foster mother was negligent about a matter of really great importance when she made no inquiry concerning the boy's companions. It comes out again and again in our studies that this omission on the part of relatives, as well as guardians, is one of the great sources of harm in the lives of young people. There is recognition of the strong influences that may be derived from companionship, but too little realization by almost every one that it is not enough to know who the companions are, but that there must be acquaintance with the specific experiences which are had in common. And often it is not so much what is actually done together as what is talked about; it is not so much the activities engaged in as it is the ideas derived from each other.

Harry's account of his foster mother may have been untrue or grossly exaggerated, but there is no denying the fact that the boy had learned of such things somewhere. This is a point of great importance in the study of children's problems, for, though one may doubt the exact truth of children's statements, when it becomes known that they are familiar with certain facts of life, it must be

for most. As observed in the temporary home it was evident that he has already much acquaintance with lying, drinking, and dishonesty; he accused Miss Weir of these things, and of "listening in" on the telephone, avoiding the payment of bills, etc. He was certainly tremendously obsessed with the idea of setting fires.

Miss Weir said that Harry for years had indulged in masturbation, recently excessively, both by day and night, at home or on the cars. He had a tremendous appetite and poor table manners.

Delinquencies

7 When Harry was in the first grade, at about 6 years of age, he was known to be pilfering. He was once found with 19 pencils which belonged to other children. He was seen going through the pockets of their clothes hanging in the coatroom and stealing things from their desks. At 7 years he began stealing from a bakery nearby and he returned short change when sent on errands. He would ask to go on errands and apparently would plan ahead to steal small articles from stores. He took money on several occasions from people in the house and spent it usually on candy. He hid a two dollar bill under the couch mattress and buried some other money in the garden. It was only when he dug it up that it was known for certain that he had taken it, because he steadily denied having done so. When he was less than 6 years old he was caught setting a fire under the piazza; on another occasion he set fire to a basket of clean clothes. Once after being punished for stealing he ran away the next morning when given money to have his hair cut and was taken in late at night by the police of another suburb. It was following a second going away that the foster mother refused to keep him longer. Under careful observation during temporary placing there was no attempt to run away, but Harry pilfered stamps and coupons, which were found in his pockets, although he denied taking them. He also was extremely destructive, cutting up a tablecloth, throwing a knife into the fire, pouring furniture polish down the toilet,

recognized that they must have experienced them or learned about them from some source.

Did the foster mother, on the other hand, exaggerate concerning the boy's sex habits, or did she inquire the source from whence he learned them? In our experience we find that very frequently guardians of children know all too little about the sex life of their children, but when they do observe something of it we find sometimes a considerable tendency to make too much of sex manifestations. And then, specifically, there is apt to be confusion between actual masturbation and the child's merely touching or scratching himself or herself. We should certainly have this in mind in this case where we have a normal, healthy appearing, lively young boy before us, although we would be far from asserting that facial appearance or response is a safe criterion for judging the absence or the presence of this habit. There is a great deal to be said—much more than we can undertake to discuss here—concerning the importance or lack of importance of masturbation among children. Perhaps the standard work on the subject is *The Sexual Life of the Child* by Albert Moll. Any one who wishes to know the best that has been written on the subject and to go into the matter, either in connection with an individual problem or from a general standpoint, should consult the secretary or the librarian of the American Social Hygiene Association, 370 Seventh Avenue, New York.

7 Stealing seems already with this boy to have become a pretty thoroughly established habit; and that fact is of great importance. Interestingly, in connection with this, he shows quite a bit of shrewdness in his planning and secretiveness. This hiding of money and spending it gradually is much less common among young children than is the taking of small amounts to gratify immediate desires. Even when larger sums are taken there is usually rapid distribution of the money.

The foster mother neglected one of the main laws of psychology with regard to the breaking of habits, inasmuch as she constantly allowed a situation to arise, by sending the boy on errands, through which he could strengthen his habits.

While it is not uncommon for young children to play with matches and enjoy a fire, yet setting of fires in dangerous ways, such as this boy evidently enjoyed, is not usual and is unlikely to occur except on a basis of experience or teaching. No doubt a psychoanalyst could make much of the boy's destructive behavior in the setting of fires in the bathroom while in the temporary home, and there may have been some definite mechanisms in the background which are significant; but yet we must remember that in an ordinary apartment a simpler explanation is possible, namely that this is the only room in the house in which the child can shut himself off from others and engage in activities unsupervised.

The whole picture of this boy's very repeated delinquencies appears decidedly significant and, at first sight, his misconduct seems

etc., He set fires in the bathroom several times and lied much in self defense. And finally he took $70 savings money, which had been hidden away.

Study of the Individual

Physical

8 Harry is a normal, healthy appearing, lively boy with rather strong, though delicate, regular features and responsive rather nervous expression. His head is well shaped except that it is flat from occiput to vertex.

Weight 61 lbs. Height 4 ft., 5 in. Color good; strength fair. Teeth in good condition. Hearing normal. Vision normal except for astigmatism. Reflexes all normal. Heart negative. No phimosis, but notable sex excitability. Wassermann negative.

Mental

9 (1) *Results on Psychological Examination:*

(With us boy was childish, pleasant, desirous of praise, inquisitive, observant, voluble. During examination at psychopathic hospital reported co-operative and interested.)

According to age-level tests, (these being given at hospital) Harry grades as having good, average general ability. Coefficient of Mental Age, 100.

Auditory memory span, normal. Visual memory for form, poor.

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[1] Age-level tests were not given by us because boy had been tested two weeks earlier in a psychopathic hospital and the following report given: "Chron. Age: 9-5. Mental Age on Yerkes-Bridges Point Scale: 9-5. C. M. A.: 1.0; total credits 59. Uniformity of results medium. Quickness of response, medium. Performance and comprehension, fair. Grades fairly evenly on the tests. Diagnosis: Not feeble-minded and no evidence of mental or nervous disease."

Tests given by us resulted as follows:

Auditory memory span: 5 digits.

Visual memory: Healy form, extremely poorly done.

Trabue Language Scale B: score 6, equals median for high 2nd grade.

Pictorial Completion Test I: 5 errors, 3 illogical; Pintner-A score, 313 norm for 9 years.

Construction Test A: bad failure.

Knox-Pintner Cube Test: 5 lines, equals 7 year norm.

Reading: Thorndike 3rd. grade passage, read stumblingly; questions for comprehension answered correctly.

Writing: Judged by Thorndike scale for handwriting, quality 8, 3rd. grade.

Spelling: Ayres scale 3rd. grade passage correct.

Arithmetic: Merely knows addition of single digits.

Information: Knows president and first president and makes simple change. Can not tell time. Does not know months, etc.

very serious; there is habit formation, planfulness and some shrewdness as shown in the hiding proclivity. But yet, on the other hand, it seems anything but shrewd for the boy to be so utterly recalcitrant while awaiting in the temporary home an important decision concerning his future. Even at his age the significance of his being placed there must have been plain to him.

At this point we may ask, does this account of such repeated misconduct necessarily mean that we are dealing with an irretrievable or even a very difficult case? We would insist that one cannot answer this until one has studied the individual and the mechanisms of causation.

8 In appearance there is nothing to indicate defective antenatal conditions. Harry is tall for his age, being 3 in. above the median; for his age his weight is good, but for his height he is about 6 lbs. below the median. The significance of the astigmatism depends upon the degree that exists; without headaches it may be unimportant. The observed sex irritability is not easy to interpret. Sometimes this may be quite involuntary and not connected in the least with sex ideation nor preceded by any sex feeling; it may be in the nature of a reflex, but the reflex, of course, may be rendered more lively by chronic sex stimulation of any kind, such as masturbation. In such a case as this it may be hard to determine whether the irritability stands in a causal relationship to bad sex habits and ideation or is the product of them.

9 According to the hospital findings Harry is just up to age on general intelligence tests. We may wonder whether his poor visual memory for form is correlated with his difficulty in learning to read. Perhaps his poor control, especially mental, and his distractibility are also part of the school problem. He has mastered some of the fundamentals of school work, and his poor school record indicates rather that he is a slow learner than that he has a special disability for any school subject. Poor home training often implies poor mental discipline.

Motor control, as judged by writing and incidental reactions on tests, fair. Mental control not good, distractible.

Apperceptive ability, fair with language; poor with pictorial material.

Work with constructive concrete material, poor.

Language ability fair; talks fluently with a normal vocabulary.

Very limited information.

School work: Reading and writing up to his grade, though poor for age. Decidedly poor in arithmetic.

10 (2) *Mental Balance:* Poor inhibitions, undisciplined, but in these suggests possibility of merely being poorly trained. Otherwise appears quite normal.

11 (3) *Personality Traits:* As observed by us is childish, even for 9 years, talkative, inquisitive, no evidence of undue imagination.

As reported by both foster mothers and visitor is affectionate and devoted to father, sensitive about infrequency of father's visits, impulsive, unrepressed, demonstrative even to comparative strangers, much of a gossip—sometimes in rather malicious ways telling unpleasant truths, or even untruths, about people, sometimes saucy, has "a consuming curiosity," ransacking drawers and watching closely movements of other people in the house, generous, not fearful, does not respond to kindliness or minor punishments for his delinquencies, repeating offence at first opportunity, not popular with children, made no friends at school. At temporary foster home the experienced woman said boy was so undisciplined and erratic that he could never be placed without first being trained in disciplinary school. When he took the large sum of money he assumed an air of injured innocence and stuck to his denials without the slightest sign of self-consciousness, saying that if anybody could find that he had taken it they could send him to a reform school; he really hadn't touched it. When visitor came in he helped her take off every bit of his clothing without any evidence of concern. And then when the bills were found in his stocking under the ball of his foot he merely commented that he didn't expect her to find them.

10 Harry shows traits which, had his training been good, might have suggested poor mental balance; but one knows, of course, the extent to which training affects qualities which appear to be matters of mental balance.

11 In his personality make-up he clearly shows assets as well as liabilities. Questions then arise about how the former may be utilized and whether the latter can be modified. Some of his poor traits would seem to be the product of his environment and training.

Boy's Own Story

12 This story was obtained with very little questioning, the boy stumbling on from point to point, following the merest suggestion, telling everything apparently in very open fashion. An outline of his story runs as follows:

His companions on K. Street, where he lived with Miss Weir till she moved to the place they live now, were very "fresh." They talked bad and swore, and they told him a lot of dirty words. Harry repeats a number of the words and then, without any special inquiry, he goes on to tell about sex affairs. Even in the first grade the boys would swear, and they did bad things together. Always in school he heard about these things. There was a boy who used to show himself, and there were two boys who used to do something to each other. He claims to have seen a lot of this.

On questioning him about stealing Harry tells about Billy M.; he used to "steal like the dickens;" he was a very bad boy; he used to make fires. Once he was out in a field and he had a little girl with him " and he made a fire and he was undressing her there." Harry says he saw him. "Billy was trying to burn her and a cop came along and he ran away like the dickens and he pushed her into the fire and her clothes were on fire." And he saw Billy one time playing with himself in a bad way in the field.

The stealing comes up in his mind because he saw some boys stealing. He saw Ritto steal long ago, and he was the first boy he heard say bad words. He, Harry, says that he sometimes feels like stealing when he doesn't do it.

He tells about his own habits of masturbation. He feels like doing it lots of times (he tells of local excitation) when he thinks of what the boys have told him. He does it mostly at night. Two little girls who played at Miss Weir's have undressed and wanted him to play doctor with them and to get into bed with them, he says. But he told them it was naughty and also when they did some sort of thing to themselves. It is what Ritto said that makes him feel like doing it to himself. "Something gets in my mind to make me steal." And it is what Billy M. did that put it in his mind to make fires. Billy was making fires all the time; he saw him do it in the house.

12 The mental mechanisms underlying Harry's conduct are similar in some respects to those presented in detail in Case 5. Here, little questioning or technic was required to elicit the facts, perhaps because the boy is younger and less self-conscious about their significance, perhaps because he was so unrepressed. The mental associations, which evidently were closely linked and dynamic, may conceivably have arisen differently from the account he gives of their genesis, but the boy shows familiarity with both features of the associated ideas and makes it clear that one suggests the other and that they are closely related to his delinquent behavior.

(The notes of this interview show that Harry, allowed to talk on with only few questions, came back and back to what was evidenly much in his mind—ideas of stealing, ideas of sex affairs, his own habits, the girls' behavior, the boys' masturbation and talk, and ideas of fire. All of it was jumbled, falling from his lips in close association.)

He likes the woman with whom he has been the last few days; he took the money from her because he thought he would like to have money for candy and to go to the movies.

His mother is dead, he says.

(Some of these same facts he had also told to the visitor and to the temporary foster mother. The latter had noticed his sex excitability and he had told her about seeing masturbation. And to the visitor he said he had seen boys mutually masturbating and that these boys stole things.)

At this point SUMMARY OF CASE and SUBSEQUENT HISTORY follow.

SUMMARY OF STAFF CONFERENCE

PROBLEM: **Delinquencies:** Pilfering for years, petty stealing of money, recently taking considerable sum. Dangerous setting of fires on several occasions. Running away twice. (There is also the problem of this boy's future mental development.)

PHYSICAL: Normal development and nutrition. Moderate astigmatism. Much sex irritability. Good features; pleasant, lively, responsive expression.

MENTAL: (1) **Abilities:** Average general ability. Somewhat retarded in school work. (2) **Balance:** No positive evidence of mental imbalance, although boy shows very poor control. (3) **Personality:** Childish, voluble, uninhibited, distractible, undisciplined, attempts shrewdness. Frank and appears lovable. Reports about the boy differ much; some have suggested mental abnormality, others regard him as a normal child, but naughty.

BACKGROUND: (a) **Heredity:** Father and his family negative. Mother deserter, but not known to be abnormal. Her family negative. (b) **Developmental:** Unhappy pregnancy. Malnutrition in infancy and perhaps rickets slightly. Slow in walking and talking. Pneumonia severely at 7. (c) **Home Conditions:** Boarded out since early infancy. At first in home where inadequate care; later under fairly good conditions from physical standpoint. (d) **Habits:** Masturbation, at periods excessive for years.

PROBABLE DIRECT CAUSATIONS: (1) Lack of good parental supervision, confidences, and home training. (2) Bad companions in home, neighborhood, and school. (3) Very early sex knowledge and experiences. (4) Pleasurable returns from delinquencies, and no adequate deterrents. (5) Habit formation — sex habits and ideation concerning delinquency. (6) Dynamic mental associations.

PROGNOSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS: We hesitate to make prognosis concerning mental development; boy needs longer observation because so poorly trained and unaccustomed to even normal childish amount of self-discipline. Concerning delinquencies we consider the outlook favorable; trouble seems so near the surface. Advise against institution and in favor of placing in good country home with good general training and help to overcome sex habits and pernicious ideation. About details of treatment there can be special consultations. Should have glasses.

SUBSEQUENT HISTORY, TREATMENT, EXAMINATIONS

Temporary Home

Harry was taken back to the temporary home in a city apartment, where the foster mother, under direction, made special effort to provide him with wholesome interests. She and her husband liked to deal with boys' problems. Harry became interested in a little seed garden, and sometimes they felt that they were making headway with him, but their final opinion was that the boy was not quite right mentally and that he had "all the earmarks of a criminal."

(Just what all the "earmarks of a criminal" are or could be at 9 years of age, we, with our very considerable experience in studying cases and following what becomes of them, are at a complete loss to say.)

Country Home

(August 1917) In three weeks Harry was placed in a country home in a beautiful location amid the hills on a large farm with many animals. At that time the household consisted of a middle-aged woman, Mrs. F., and her unmarried daughter of about 23, both quiet but vigorous and rather well-educated women. Two sons were away in the service. Mrs. F. refused to take the boy until she had seen him, and then only for a trial period of a month. However, she took a liking to Harry when she saw him, and, aware of the difficulty of the problem she was undertaking, kept him after the month was up.

At first Harry was kept under close supervision, but was out of doors much and had plenty of exercise. He soon fitted well into the farm life, was interested in the animals, learned to milk, did chores. He liked machinery and learned to handle some tools; he made parts of an old clock run in curious ways. When winter came he went coasting and skating and was read to in the evenings, though he was too restless to enjoy this. He did not remember what was read to him. When summer came he had a garden of his own and raised things to sell. He went swimming, played with the dog, and rode the old horse, which was the family pet. He sent many letters, badly written and spelled to the visitor. They were full of the various doings on the farm.

Harry had practically no children companions outside of his school life, except a little girl visitor with whom he played in the summer.

There was very little trouble with his behavior after the first few weeks. He was spanked once or twice for being saucy. He was given five cents a week as a reward for good behavior and helpfulness. The visitor reported that Mrs. F's discipline was consistent and good. Harry seemed really fond of her and anxious to please her after being there a short time. The visitor wrote to the boy frequently and often devised little ways of encouraging and correcting him. Occasionally, during the next two years, there were lapses; there was a little petty stealing and

some untruthfulness and unreliability in small ways. He was annoying in his self-defense falsehoods, but later would confess in a most matter-of-fact way.

Mr. Harmond and his wife wrote to the boy, sent him Christmas presents, visited him occasionally, and, of course, paid his board.

Harry attended the district school, which was almost ungraded. It was attended by children who were advanced from one book or subject to another, as they were able to pass along. As the visitor observed these children, they appeared dull and of poor standards of cleanliness. But the first year there happened to be an especially fine teacher who paid particular attention to teaching Harry rapidly to associate symbols and sounds in reading. He soon read with the best expression of anyone in the school. The teacher thought he had many original ideas and said that he did rather well in music and drawing, but he learned very little in arithmetic.

The next year a young teacher took the school and could make no headway with Harry. She considered him mentally deficient.

In the summer of 1918 Harry learned much about birds from one of Mrs. F's sons, earlier a college student and who now had returned from the war. The next winter he read the newspapers every day and followed local events with intelligence enough to be able to discuss them. He could also tell at home what he had learned at school about physiology and hygiene.

The reports of Harry's personality traits during the two years at the F's indicate a considerable mixture of qualities. He was said to have been noisy, active, restless; "he is a great talker." He was always good-natured and showed some real perseverance in carrying out tasks allotted to him, although at times Mrs. F. complained of lack of just this quality. He always asked many questions and was interested in all the doings of all the members of the household. He showed really unselfish devotion to Mrs. F. and if she went away from home would behave extra well to please her. There was some trouble with him on account of his attempts to show off and because he told some embarrassing tales about the family. In general the family considered him erratic and flighty and unsatisfactory to talk or reason with. He continually asked irrelevant questions. With his school fellows he got into some trouble on account of "his silly tongue." "He was looked upon by them as a joke." It seemed difficult for him to get things straight in his mind, even when he tried, as when he was sent on an errand or to deliver a message. He was singularly lacking in vindictiveness and was considered a coward at school.

The F's felt that he was not having any trouble whatever with sex habits—indeed they felt that he was an unusually clean-minded boy. But they spoke of some "curious tricks," as when he would throw himself on the ground and wriggle about.

When in September 1919 a third and much better teacher came to the school, a woman with competent training, she found Harry doing only the equivalent of city third grade work. She observed that he did much better when alone under the supervision of the teacher than in a

group; it was difficult to hold his attention for any length of time and he asked foolish questions.

(This home, with its many interests and opportunities for outlets, together with its exceptionally good discipline, offered much that this boy needed.

It should be noted how rapidly, under such good conditions as these, bad habits may disappear. We have now seen numerous instances where the psychological laws, relative to the breaking of old habits and the formation of new habits, seem entirely inoperative; old habits seeming to slough off immediately rather than gradually. Not to know this fact is to be unacquainted with one of the great possibilities of the treatment of conduct disorders.

The school reports are interesting as possibly showing the different points of view of different teachers. We wonder whether his progress is not affected by their special interests, their methods of control, or their special type of teaching approach.

The reports show Harry's greater ability to learn ideational rather than rote subjects. Perhaps this explains why, two years after our tests show him doing the equivalent of third grade school work, he was still no further advanced.

Probably the "curious tricks" spoken of are substitutive for his old masturbatory habits.

Of course, it is the poor control shown in his conduct that seems significant enough to suggest the need for further study.)

Second Study of Case

(November 1919) Harry was now brought to Boston for another visit and study. The boy did not want to come, being afraid that he would not return to the F's, but at the temporary home he told untrue stories about the F's.

Physical: Examined at a medical clinic, it was noted that Harry had gained 20 lbs. and had grown 6 in. in the two years. He was found to be organically sound in all particulars. Wassermann negative Slightly deviated nasal septum. Tonsils not large enough to warrant operation. Work was now done on his teeth. He proved very cowardly at the dentist's. We ourselves noted no significant neurological signs nor were there evidences now of sex excitability.

Mental: From psychological study during two days, the following points, important for differential diagnosis, were noted:

Abilities: General intelligence, according to Stanford-Binet scale, normal. Fair ability. Chron. age 11 yrs. 7 mos.; Mental age 10 yrs. 8 mos.; I. Q. 92. Although this grading was made at one sitting, his variability on other tests was so great that we felt doubtful if he would do the same at another time. Motor and mental control, learning of new associations, mental representation, planfulness, school work were all extremely poor. Reasoning or generalization and apperceptions

and work with concrete were fair. Comprehension of reading much better in proportion.[1]

Balance: Volitional powers poor; attention only maintained for short period, distractible, even breaks into his own train of thought. Rapid flow of ideas, voluble. Associations tangential and rather bizarre. Perceptions rapid but flitting. Emotional control good in general. Judgment or reasoning fairly good.

Personality: Friendly, affectionate, willing, has normal boyish interests, childishly fearful, exceedingly distractible and playful, very active, inquisitive.

Reported very annoying on account of his talkativeness and carrying tales. Makes no friends among children on account of this. Very unreliable because be confuses directions and messages. Sometimes untruthful, but usually honest, frank, and responsive; always happy.

Diagnosis and Recommendations: No signs of deterioration. There seems to be either a constitutional defect in powers of control or hypomania, perhaps constitutional.

Prognosis in doubt. Serious question of development of psychosis. Believe that nothing better can be done than continuance of the splendid care and training he has been receiving.

(The test results will be discussed and compared with the findings on the earlier and on a later study after the latter are presented. We

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[1] Chronological age 11-7.

Stanford-Binet I. Q. 92; mental age 10-8; all of 9-year tests correct except digits backward; all the 10-year except visiual memory for form; of the 12-year tests (3), (4), (5), (8) correct and (7) nearly correct.

Porteus Tests: score equals 7 year norm. Tried next day, 8-year norm.

Auditory memory span: 6 digits, backwards only 3 digits.

Visual memory: extremely bad failure on Binet and Healy forms.

Tapping Test: score 65, no error, 10 to 11 year norm., but variable on trials.

Maze Test for Motor Skill: excessive number of errors, viz., touching lines.

Whipple Cancellation of a's; only 7/50 cancelled in 120", exceedingly poor performance.

Woodworth-Wells Easy Directions: 3 errors, 150", fair result.

Easy Opposites: average time 2", 4 errors, rather poor.

Continuous Addition and Subtraction: adding 1 and 2 alternately, 5 errors up to 43 in 46"; subtracting 2's from 21, 3 errors—altogether poor.

Pictorial Completion Test II: score 34.5, about 9-year norm.

Trabue Language Scale C: score 8, 3rd. grade norm.

Cross-line Test II: failure at 4th trial. Exceedingly erratic performance even in first attempted memory of figure.

Construction Test A: 61", 12 moves; second trial, 9", 5 moves— a fair record.

Construction Test B: 116", 21 moves—rather good.

Old form digit-symbol substitution test: 5 erratic errors; mistakes even in copying.

Kansas Silent Reading, test for grades III to V: score 13.4, equals grade V norm.

Reading aloud: peculiar errors, inserting words, but reads rapidly and with good expression.

Writing: Thorndike scale, quality 7, equals grade II.

Spelling: 4th grade based on Ayres scale, one error. Numerous strange errors on higher grade passages. (My auncle biult a perack bridge—My uncle built a perfect bridge.)

Arithmetic: many errors even in simple subtraction in written work. but curiously gives, orally, correct answer to same problem when questioned. Solves correctly simple oral problem.

Information: very confused about geographical directions, distance, simple historical and geographical facts.

see that Harry is no longer a problem on account of any major misconduct; he is much more a mental problem, as was somewhat anticipated in our first study.)

Return to Country Home

(November 1919) Harry was returned to the foster home where he had been for two years. Two months later the foster mother wrote saying that he had grown very troublesome. "He is a problem beyond me. Some days he seems to do very well in some things. At home he has been a hard case to handle." He had taken to smoking in the barn and to helping himself to many trifling things. He did a great deal of rummaging about the house. Mrs. F. wrote that she felt that all their effort was thrown away and only the physical part of him was better. She thought also that he had done worse lately because he now felt that he could stay there no matter what he said or did. She thought that the results of the examination in Boston were influenced by his having been under a lot of excitement. "Here he is freer from nerves than any other child I ever had anything to do with."

In two months more Mrs. F. said that she could not possibly keep Harry any longer. He had taken to gossiping and was continually making trouble; and he seemed to crave attention as never before. The teacher felt that his record at school was that of a mental defective.

The agency visitor now consulted with the father and with us. We felt that the training at a good institution for the feebleminded might be tried, although, of course, on the basis of examination we did not consider Harry an ordinary feebleminded boy; we thought that professional observation might throw light upon his needs, and, further, that since he had not advanced in school by the ordinary methods, he might profit much by those adapted to teaching defectives.

(We agree that part of Harry's trouble nowadays may be due to his making no effort to control himself, as his foster mother suggested. But what she means by the term "nerves" is not clear—her report is rather contradictory, inasmuch as she says that he is so restless and shows so little inhibition in his conversation.)

Institution

(March 1920) Harry was accepted for observation in a well known school for the feebleminded, the father making application. The report of the examination reads:

Physical: Large for age, good muscular development, etc. Nothing abnormal found.)

Psychological Examination: Stanford 9 2/12, I. Q. 75. Good comprehension. Easily distracted; poor memory span; forgets his goal idea and is restless.

(Of course we have definite proof that this I. Q. is not representative of Harry's best ability—and it is altogether unlikely that he has dete-

riorated so rapidly as this in a psychotic way. The results are probably explained by his attitude; discouragement at being there, distractibility at the period of testing, or are due to other causes.)

Harry was placed in a dormitory with about a hundred other boys "of approximately his mental age." Notes on him and his behavior during the next few months state:

He is inclined to choose companions of a lower age level than himself. (This was ascribed to a lack of interest in outdoor sports.) He is unusually careful about his personal appearance, cleanly in habits, of good disposition, a great talker, very annoying and persistent about asking questions in a childish way. Through restlessness and craving attention in a silly way, he is made fun of. No vicious tendencies noted. He was very excitable when he first entered the school, continually asking, "What are we going to do next?" and "Are we going to do something else when we finish this?" He would leave his seat to ask questions no matter where the teacher happened to be; would go up to her three or four times in the afternoon and ask, "Do you like me?" He paid no attention to the ball games and on one occasion had a piece of fur which he was kissing and asking others to kiss.

After the period of observation, Harry was admitted as a regular inmate in the institution.

His school report a few months after admission ran: Reads well the third reader; stumbles over difficult words in the fourth; spells poorly third grade; understands the four processes in arithmetic and can do multiplication by three figures and does long division but is careless; writing sometimes illegible—does not even copy accurately. Later he did especially well in weaving and setting up looms and learned to repair looms. Was useful in instructing some of the other boys in weaving.

Took a real interest in dancing and quieter indoor games. His behavior in the dormitory was not noteworthy. He seemed suggestible and easily led by the other boys.

During his stay at the institution the superintendent, a man of very wide experience, wrote that I. Q. 75 meant border line between defect and inferior mentality and that Harry was "extremely psychopathic, excitable, flighty, nervous, suggestible, showing moderate mental defect with pronounced psychopathic tendencies. Stormy years ahead, especially during adolescent period, with more or less possibility that he will develop a definite mental disease. Should have quiet life and should be handled by people accustomed to handling difficult boys." But it should be stated that the records of the institution show that after Harry had been there a year he was much less excitable and talkative and had developed more normal boyish interests.

(Traits shown in the institution were similar to those displayed outside and were recognized as not being those of an ordinary defective. The prognosis "stormy years ahead" represents what would be generally considered altogether likely to occur with such an individual. A psychopathic child is, by virtue of his instability, naturally expected to show a greater disturbance during the frequently unstable years of adolescence.)

Second Return to Country Home

(June 1921) Harry had twice tried to run away from the institution and now he succeeded on his third attempt. His own story, which is very probably true, is that he met a man who bought a railroad ticket for him. This man said he had had a brother who had been in an institution and he appreciated how the boy wanted to get away. Harry walked many miles from a certain station until he got to the farm. Mrs. F. had moved away, but a nephew ot the same name who lived nearby and whom Harry knew, took him in, immediately notifying the institution and the father. They both agreed to leave the boy.

This Mr. F. is a man of fine character, well educated, and hard working. He has several children of his own. His house is well furnished and there are plenty of good books. In the summer Harry is able to earn his own board. Mr. F. reports him as helpful on the farm, well liked, and very fond of the family and gives details about the boy's character. He says that he is cheerful, obedient, and quite as industrious as the average boy, though inclined to be careless. "He takes readily to any new kind of work. He is a little mean sometimes to the other children, but in general he seems to have a generous and kind disposition. Occasionally he is sly and untruthful in little ways. He does not seem to appreciate relative values and has no sense of responsibility. He reads a lot and is especially fond of stories of trapping and adventure. In school he is reported to be studying and to be getting on well." He is finishing the sixth grade (1922-23), but Mr. F. rather doubts the thoroughness of the teacher. The F's are still not satisfied with the character of his school mates.

(We have no way of knowing whether or not the life in the institution itself did anything to stabilize Harry, to develop his inhibitory powers. Nothing in the reports or in the superintendent's prognosis would lead us to think that there was any peculiar efficacy in institutional life as compared to the fine life on the farm. In accord with the idea of the foster mother earlier, it seems as if it may have been the experience of being sent there, an experience which he so much disliked and did not want repeated, which acted as a stimulus towards exerting better self-control when he returned to the F's.

All along we must not forget that the powers of self-control are seldom, in any of us, exerted to their full capacity. Those who care for even the definitely insane know that even among this group there are many who can, under sufficient incentive, show good behavior which otherwise would not appear.)

Third Examination

(February 1923) In order to know with exactness how this boy was progressing he was again brought for examination.

Physical: Weight 112 lbs. Height 5 ft. 6 in. Pubertal signs normal for age. Thorax only fairly developed but strength good. Rather lanky. Color good. Eyes bright. All reflexes normal, but knee jerks a trifle lively. Very good features, as formerly, but not lively or

particularly responsive in expression. Heart sounds not quite regular; question of soft systolic murmur.

Mental: After having seen Harry on three successive days the following points for diagnosis were noted.

Abilities: General intelligence, according to Stanford-Binet, normal; rather poor ability. Chron. age 14 yrs. 10 mos.; Mental age 12 yrs. 7 mos.; I. Q. 85. On a number of other standardized tests, Porteus, Kelley-Trabue, etc., also grades as normal. A wide range of tests shows marked irregularities, the most notable of which are as follows: He has very good powers indeed for comprehension of ideas, and he learns ideas better than rote material; he averages about fair in motor control, but in mental control he does poorly and gets confused somewhat readily; he works fairly planfully with ordinary situations—quite up to the norm for his age; visual memory very poor; visual representations in the main poor also; auditory memory span average; he is a slow learner in most particulars; school work and information good for grade, but poor for age.[1]

Balance: Quiet, well controlled, not distractible. In conversation is cogent, coherent, and relevant. As observed again by a psychologist and a psychiatrist, and seen for the first time by another psychiatrist, there was agreement that the boy now presented nothing whatever that suggested psychopathic tendencies.

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[1] Chronological age 14-10.

Stanford-Binet I. Q. 85; mental age 12-7: all of 10-year tests correct except visual memory for form; all of 12-year tests correct except tests (2) and (6), definitions of abstractions and digits backwards; only tests (6) and alternate of 14-year tests, namely clock hands and auditory span, and test (4) of 16-year level, namely enclosed boxes, correct.

Porteus Tests: score on original series equals norm for 12½ years; adult series correct in 8 trials, a very good performance.

Auditory memory span: 7 digits, backwards 4 digits, but only once in three trials. (Later did 5 backwards.)

Visual memory: Binet 10-year forms exceedingly bad failure. Healy form about 40%, Ellis memory forms only first 4 are approximately correct.

Tapping Test: score 85, 0 errors, 15 to 16 year norm.

Maze Test for Motor Skill: 7 errors, rather poor.

Whipple Cancellation of a's: 37/50 cancelled in 192", poor.

Woodworth-Wells Hard Directions: 5 errors, 158", poor.

Easy Opposites: average time 1.3", 1 failure, 2 errors, poor.

Continuous Addition and Subtraction: adding 1 and 2 alternately from 5 to 50, 2 errors; subtracting 4's from 51, 4 errors in 32", 3's from 42, 5 errors in 49"—all very poor.

Pictorial Completion Test II: score 51.5, 10 to 11-year norm.

Kelley-Trabue Language Scale: score 7.1, equals grade VI norm.

Cross-line Test II: correct only at 4th trial and with difficulty, very poor.

Thurstone Hands Test: only6 of first 12 correct, exceedingly poor.

Healy-Bronner Learning Tests: A, 2, 5, 7; B, 0, 0, 0; C, 1, 2, 3; D, 6, 8, 10—very slow and very poor on rote-material, better with ideas.

Kansas Silent Reading: test for grades III to V, score 18-1, much above highest norm given (13.4): test for grades VI to VIII, score 23.5, above highest norm. (19.2) for grade VIII.

Writing: Thorndike scale, quality 9.5, equals about grade VI.

Spelling: passage based on Ayres scale, grade 5 correct, grades VI and VII only one error each.

Arithmetic: Courtis Test 7, 9 attempted, 5 correct, equals norm for grade V. Knows fundamental processes; adds and multiplies fractions correctly.

Information: Knows many ordinary facts, but not well co-ordinated.

Personality: Is polite, quiet, prompt, not in the least restless—indeed showed himself almost phlegmatic during long waiting on one occasion. He is friendly, meets people well, and shows some typical country wit. He works quietly and planfully; however, at first making a quick approach to most problems. He is frank in acknowledging little delinquencies—some lying and saying bad words when he gets mad at the cows, etc. He is decidedly observant on the street and makes apt comparisons with country conditions.

Boy's Own Story: Harry speaks nicely about the F's and about his father, whom he wishes he might see on this trip. He wants to stay in the country and become a farmer. He did not like it at the institution. The other boy who started the last time to run away with him became "cold-hearted" and went back. He asked some people how he could get up to A., the town where the F's live, and he came across a man who said that he had a brother in an institution and he knew just how much a boy wanted to get away. This man gave him five dollars for carfare. He intends to behave himself so he won't be returned. He is very fond of the hunting and trapping he does at the farm. Some of the boys at the school there are not much good; they talk bad, "but that's almost natural." He denies any bad habits nowadays.

We told Harry that the only complaints which came from Mr. F. were his behavior, his lying particularly, and how he could not stay there if he did not do better. The boy earnestly said that he would try to improve.

He returned by himself to the F's, where he still is.

(Harry's quiet manner and good poise nowadays and his better control in conversation, as well as the reports of improvement in general behavior on the farm, are most noteworthy. It is quite clear that the "stormy years" that were expected have not materialized, although he has entered adolescence. Nor do his early sex experiences and ideations seem to have any outcropping and influence at this time when sex interests ordinarily appear.)

(The discussion of test findings in this case are of very great interest. Undertaking an intelligence or mental ability "profile," we may profitably range the test findings in parallel columns as we did in Case 4; they would then on this last testing show as follows:

VERY GOOD:

Comprehension of ideas in silent reading.

GOOD:

Porteus test for planfulness. Tapping test for motor control.

AVERAGE:

Auditory span for digits. Language ability on Kelley-Trabue scale.

POOR:

Apperceptions with pictorial material. Several tests for mental control. Test for continuous fine motor control. Learning ideas. School work.

VERY POOR:

Visual memory and representations. Rote learning, several tests. One test for mental control, digits backward.

Ranging the present findings side by side with previous results we can see that some generalizations and specific comparisons are possible. The general curve of the profile is retained; the boy still ranks as very poor in powers of visualization and rote learning. He is decidedly poor in tests for mental control. And he still ranks as above normal in rapidity and accuracy of comprehension of ideas.

In the three years his I. Q. has dropped seven points, not a great deal, especially when we remember that there is a tendency for it to decrease with age—see Case 5, etc., though his mental age now shows two years, instead of one year, of retardation. By these tests, then, he grades as clearly normal and has improved with his years, though not as rapidly as his chronological advance. Other tests show not only actual improvement but even improvement in relation to chronological age, namely, Tapping, Kansas Silent Reading, Trabue, Porteus. He does now also six additional Stanford-Binet tests. All control tests show some betterment, but still are poor indeed.

Our picture is, then, of an individual who consistently over years has shown great disability in powers of mental control and in learning ability, although he ranks as normal in age-level tests, and in one test for ideational power grades above normal. But there has been some improvement in capacity for self-control, both on tests and as observed socially. The behavior which before seemed to indicate psychopathic tendencies has almost entirely disappeared during adolescence—and this without mental deterioration. For, since on no test is the result actually worse than at the earlier testings, one can definitely state that deterioration has not occurred.)

FOOTNOTE OF DISCUSSION

This case offers splendid material for discussion of a question of very considerable practical as well as theoretical importance, the question whether in abnormal psychology there is such an entity as innate defect in control of mental powers, and whether there is valid distinction between this and "psychopathic personality"—the latter being a condition that partakes to some extent, at least, of the nature of mental disease. The former is merely a defect that does not by itself imply or connote any necessary tendency toward or in the direction of mental disease.

The mental machine may be made up of parts that seem normal enough, but which may not work efficiently because the governor, the regulator of the parts in their interaction, or the regulator of the energy that goes into the mental functioning, is imperfect in its regulating. Any such defect in the mechanism of control may be merely an innate disability and may not involve anything more than limitation of the working capacity of the whole mind. It does not imply breakdown of

the machine in the sense that mental disease means breakdown, that is, deterioration from an earlier better working potential.

The psychopathic individual is one who for various reasons, sometimes for discernible biological reasons, has a mental machine which tends to break down. Often, even under ordinary conditions, there are manifestations which resemble in some measure the symptoms of mental disease; while, under stress, the mental disease tendency is frequently well marked.

In this boy's case it certainly looks as if we had to deal with a defect in control rather than any tendency toward mental disease. It is true that earlier all made the mistake of supposing him to suffer from a condition that might readily become out-and-out disease. But with more study we conceive that we erred.

This discussion leaves us wondering whether plenty of cases, nowadays so easily called psychopathic, are not really instances of defect in the powers of control. A point of distinction may be that psychopathic personalities show at times very good mental performance, even in tests for control; they show many powers which can be exerted in well controlled fashion under certain conditions or for a limited time. The individual who is defective in control, on the other hand, always, of course, demonstrates his specific ineffectiveness when confronted with special tests, whether during an examination or in the affairs of daily life. (For further discussion of defect in control see Bronner, The Psychology of Special Abilities and Disabilities.)

And this is not too fine a line to be drawn by psychiatrists and clinical psychologists. In fact it is essential if we would render a correct prognosis and give suitable recommendations for treatment.

FINAL COMMENT

This case was selected because it presents points of great interest for psychiatrists, psychologists, and the students of delinquency.

We offer it particularly as an illustrative case of innate defect in mental powers.

For the psychiatrist there is here a problem in differential diagnosis of much practical import inasmuch as prognostic considerations are involved, and we have the phenomena of adolescence in a new light, an increase in stability at this period is noted, which is a possibility not mentioned in the text books. Then the case affords illustration of a mental hygiene problem very largely solved.

For the psychologist we have given the data on a case which has shown varying findings; the boy, usually grading as normal, shows as defective when tested under conditions that did not bring out his best abilities. And also bearing upon practical diagnosis and educational possibility is the fact that very marked special disabilities and abilities are constants, and these are not at all indicated by the I. Q. grading, nor hardly at all disclosed by the results on the separate tests of the ordinary age-level series.

(From the standpoint of the psychiatrist and of the educational psychologist it may seem a pity that this case presents complications, so usual in studying the affairs of mental life; it is not a simon pure case of defect in mental control, the boy's situation is made complex by the fact that he has grave disabilities for rote learning and in visualizations.)

For the student of delinquency we have a behavior problem dealt with successfully. We note the influence of environment in forming behavior tendencies, this being a factor of greater immediate importance than his mental peculiarities. We witness the possibilities of training to mental and moral health, through suitable placing in a family where there is a sound foundation in daily life of consistent discipline and sympathetic understanding.

There is much to be learned from the rapidity with which apparently firmly established habits of misconduct disappeared. The psychology of this is in itself most interesting.

And among other features of this case that may well be observed we especially have proved for us that more self control than is ordinarily exercised is possible even for an individual who is particularly weak in that special function of mental life.

JUDGE BAKER FOUNDATION

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sive and all-round studies, its staff comprises those working from the standpoint of the psychological, medical, and social sciences. It is only through the devoted service of the entire personnel that the material for the present publication is available.

Readers cannot draw conclusions for scientific purposes from statements concerning localities, names, dates, nationalities, and facts of family history as given because, in the usual professional fashion cases are reported with disguises. But the general facts, even of heredity are accurately transcribed, and no matters of importance for interpretation of causation as it bears on therapeutic possibilities in the individual case are changed or omitted.

The plan of presentation is to offer a first series of twenty studies covering a wide range of problems of interest to educators, psychologists, psychiarists, sociologists, judges, probation officers, and all who deal with matters involving the adjustments of young people. For teaching purposes, a loose-leaf edition is available so that all pages designated with (a) may be withheld until the factual material of the first study of the case, given in the other pages, is treated by the student as a problem to be solved.

It is hoped that the publications can continue and include consideration of groups of cases representing types of problems in education, in make-up of individuals, in conduct, etc. It is planned at later dates to report on important facts of cases earlier published.

The gratitude of students who benefit by these studies is due to the Commonwealth Fund of New York, a grant from which has made this series possible.

The social treatment has been carried out through child welfare agencies of many sorts, and the spirit of their co-operation has been splendid. It would be a pleasure to give credit to the particular agency in each case, but since, for several reasons, it is inadvisable, we desire here to express our deep appreciation of their co-operation with the Judge Baker Foundation.

WILLIAM HEALY, M. D.
AUGUSTA F. BRONNER, Ph. D.
Directors.

Case Study No. 15

SERIES I

JUDGE BAKER FOUNDATION
40 COURT STREET
BOSTON

Copyright April, 1923

CASE FIFTEEN

Emily Clement: 15 yrs., 8 mos. Born in New Jersey of American parents.

Introductory Statement

1 (Sept. 1919) The directors of Cedarhurst, who as a regular service have all their girls very carefully studied from a physical and mental standpoint in order best to adjust them according to their educational, vocational, and social needs, asked us to see Emily Clement, a girl whom they had recently accepted for training in their school. She had just run away from a good foster home in which she had been placed two months earlier and had been immoral. The organization which had placed her at the father's request, though it has a large staff, felt that the girl was too difficult for them; indeed after this escapade they considered her very properly fit for a correctional institution. But the father objecting to this, they suggested Cedarhurst, which, with the equipment of a finely conducted home for a small group and a separate placing out service, undertakes to build up the character of adolescent girls. During the few days that Emily had been at the school she proved herself to be a difficult girl. She was disobedient, she was defiant of the rules, and she showed great sex interest.

Study of the Background

Family

2 (Information was obtained by us from the father, who seems honest, sincerely interested in the welfare of his children, and who intelligently volunteers much. Facts have also been gathered by other interviewers from the mother, other relatives, including the mother's aunt and cousins, and a school principal. What these people have said and the public records corroborate the father's story.)

1 "A good foster home," in ordinary social parlance, usually means a home that is good from the standpoint of cleanliness, hygiene, and other physical features, as well as from the standpoint of morality. We know from our experience that such evaluation may not include special fitness for meeting any given individual's special needs or problems. In other words, the home is evaluated in terms of itself rather than considered in the light of the possible adjustment of an individual. And one has come to learn that what is "a good foster home" for one may not be at all adapted or expected to be successful with another.

The reader may naturally wonder whether the fact that this girl ran away and was once immoral when she was away (the circumstances not being given, or perhaps not being known) can summarily be considered sufficient ground for sending her to a correctional institution. A question that may be asked concerning this case is whether a social agency once taking a case for treatment should not anticipate that some difficulties in conduct may arise and therefore be prepared to meet them. Naturally, as in this instance, some agencies feel themselves unable to cope with behavior difficulties. But one may be allowed to inquire whether a serious attempt to understand the bases of the difficulties that have arisen may not sometimes reveal them to be less serious for prognosis than might at first be supposed. In any case it is questionable whether an agency should feel that an individual is fit for a correctional institution because it is not at once successful with that individual. Cedarhurst, of course, accepted the case at once as a problem and so was not likely to be discouraged at some further evidences of troublesomeness. A pertinent question in the present stage of social treatment is how many homes or schools there are which are undertaking work similar to that done by Cedarhurst, with the same combination of scientific and humanitarian attitudes. And it must be remembered that the scientific study of cases is the only means of gathering a body of knowledge from which may be deduced the principles of treatment.

2 There cannot be any doubt that on the mother's side the heredity is very bad. There are three generations of mental abnormality (insanity and defect) as well as some flagrant immorality. Yet in

Father: 51; born in North Carolina. He received a grammar school education in New Jersey, where, as a boy, he lived with his family. He then took up the trade of stationary engineer at which he has continued to work steadily. For years he has been a good earner. He married at 30 years and has lived in Massachusetts for fifteen years. About five months ago he obtained a divorce and has since remarried. He has made a uniformly good impression on visitors as a man of rugged physique, co-operative, anxious to do what is right towards his family. He is a vigorous personality. His former wife's charges of excessive drinking and immorality were not credited by others. Even her relatives state that he is a good and reliable man.

Father's Family: He came of a family reported by citizens of the town in New Jersey, where most of them live, to be thoroughly respectable people, well thought of in the community. Several of them are clerks and stenographers. There is no record of lawbreaking or mental abnormality in the family.

Mother: 42; born in Rhode Island. She had ordinary schooling and some training in a business school, but is said to have profited little by this. Reports of her own relatives state that for many years, and even as a girl, she has been regarded as peculiar mentally. They and her husband state that "she is hysterical and shows an uncontrolled temper," that she is "neglectful of her children," "a poor housekeeper, wasteful of money." A visitor describes her as an untidy woman, with hair flowing, but notwithstanding this attractive in appearance and possessing a pleasant voice. Her conversation is said to be incoherent, disjointed. It is known to relatives that she has been immoral with different men. Since the father obtained a divorce on the ground of neglect and cruelty to the children—for their sake he did not care to make other charges—she has supported herself by working as a clerk in grocery stores.

Mother's Family: Her father is said to have been a fairly intelligent man, but for years he has been more or less insane and for two years now he has been in a state hospital. His mother also was insane for at least one period in her life. Mrs. Clement's mother was of poor moral standards; she

considering the prospects of the present generation it must be remembered that the heritage from their father is very sound. The question arises whether his stock has dominant traits in the Mendelian sense. So far none of the children show abnormal mental traits, but no one could fairly offer an opinion about their prospects without taking into account the fact that there may be outcroppings of mental trouble later in life such as occur in some types of bad inheritance. And then there is the whole matter of recessive traits as obtained from the mother's side. For these children in their marriage there will still be a eugenic problem—they in turn should marry into a thoroughly sound stock.

If one is interested in discussing the operation of the Mendelian Law as it affects the present or future generation one must take into account the fact that not all of the possible progeny are ever known in human beings as they are in peas in a pod or even in litters of animals. Readers who are unacquainted with the best that is known in the modern science of eugenics should certainly at least read Guyer's *Being Well Born,* a comparatively short and most valuable statement of the facts known about inheritance. And those interested may well go further and read the latest edition of Thompson's *Heredity,* a standard but also very readable work.

But the immediate point in this case is whether an agency would be justified in considering Emily good material with which to work and on which to expend much, in the light of her heredity. No doubt some at once would pronounce against her. However, there are two points to be thoroughly considered. Firstly, we do not know that she is not going to turn out well; science offers nothing to answer this definitely. Secondly, even if one is afraid of her later developing mental disease, she will undoubtedly be much less dangerous to society if she already has good conduct habits established.

As a bit of social service such as social agencies are organized to undertake for individuals, it is important to give such a case the best of care, even from the standpoint of mental hygiene, because, as everyone knows, whatever the background in mental life, environment has a great influence in either stabilizing or in breaking down, both mentally and morally.

Anybody may well wonder why the father did not know more about the mother. Why did he marry into such poor stock? We know that even now this woman is reported as attractive in appearance and manner, and we can understand well enough the situation. Eugenics a generation ago and even today is the last consideration, after all, in marriage.

The mother's immorality may be thought of as due either to her mental erraticism or to her own early experiences. Perhaps if she had early been removed to a morally constructive environment she might have rejected immorality. But we know nothing about her early home life. The fact of her supporting herself after her divorce proves little about her capacity or her character; we really do not know how she is living.

The normality of all these children, several of whom are notably

lived for a time with a man not her husband. She died in middle life leaving three children, one of whom, Mrs. Clement's youngest sister, was mentally defective and died when about 12 years old. Information about the third, now a grown man, is that he is sound in mind and body. The other relatives that have been seen are very evidently quite normal and of good standards.

Children: (1) Girl, quite normal, died at 12 of infantile paralysis. (2) John, 18, remarkably industrious and capable; completed second year high school; already has a good business position. (3) Emily. (4) Miscarriage, self-induced. (5) William, 14, not as bright as his older brother; is in first year high school and doing fair work; "a reliable boy." (6) Edward, 12, "an average boy in every way." (7) June, 10, and (8) Carol, 8, now living with paternal relatives, are reported to be "good, healthy children."

Developmental History

3 The mother was hysterical and bad-tempered during pregnancy. She repeatedly took medicine which seemed to upset her greatly; the father feels sure that these were attempts at abortion, similar to her attempts when pregnant with one of the younger children, who also was born healthy. The child was born at full term, a small baby, but it was an instrumental delivery. She was breast-fed for a year. Walked and talked at normal time. Has had no convulsions, severe illnesses, or accidents. Menstruated at 12 years.

Home and Neighborhood Conditions and Influences

4 Shortly after Emily was born, the father was offered a good position in Boston and he brought his family here. He has been with the same firm until comparatively recently, and his salary has been gradually increased so that he earns well enough to maintain a comfortable home. For ten years or more they have lived in an attractive, thinly settled suburb, occupying a small frame house. The home itself is described by one visitor as very untidy. The furniture was evidently good once, but is now dilapidated, many of the chairs lacking one or two legs. The whole place is in bad

steady, presents a striking situation in a family with mental abnormality for three prior generations. Those who have held to the theory that degeneracy necessarily occurs in the stock where there is abnormality can find an entirely different theme for consideration in a case like this. Besides degeneration there is another just as great, if not greater, tendency to be taken account of, namely, regeneration.

But it must be acknowledged that the father was taking long chances in having children by this mentally abnormal woman who attempted or even produced abortion and who was so likely to make an abnormal environment for her children.

3 As developmental histories are recorded there seems to be nothing any more difficult to calculate than the effects of mental and physical conditions of the mother upon unborn offspring. As in this case, we get many accounts of conditions and happenings during pregnancy which might be supposed surely to have effect upon the child, but which have no ascertainable effect.

The use of medicines for the production of abortion, some of them not many years ago being insidiously advertised for the purpose, is a most uncertain venture. Either they have no effect, which is nearly always the case, or, if strong enough, are apt to make the woman herself very ill. The reputation of certain drugs as abortifacients probably, for the most part, rests upon the fact that women imagine themselves to be pregnant when they are not.

But there are some conditions of the mother which seem most likely to produce untoward effects upon the unborn child. They are (a) acute infectious or other diseases where toxins circulate through the system and pass into the child's organism—we have seen some striking cases of defect and inferiority apparently produced in this way—and (b) toxications of the mother by alcohol and drugs, and poisons entering the system, such as lead, through occupational contacts.

4 Poor as many of the physical features of this home are they would seem to dwindle into insignificance, compared with the mental influences. The mother's incompetence and lack of interest in household affairs are marked, but even these characteristics are not to be considered as demoralizing as her talk about immorality before the children. We should have to study each child separately to know exactly the effect of this, but certainly it is astonishing that the other children, particularly the boys, have not shown any signs of delinquency.

And when it comes to the question of parental influences there was, as we saw in the heredity, the father to offset the unfortunate characteristics of the mother. When the children were little he by

repair. Relatives agree in saying that the mother has not been willing to do the housework; even when first married the father would come home and find the house dirty, the supper uncooked, his wife, perhaps, being at some neighbor's. Later he would sometimes find the children alone and hungry, and he himself often cleaned up the house. Mrs. Clement spent money foolishly and in consequence the children were often not provided with essentials.

Then there was much nagging and quarreling for years. Even in the presence of the children the mother accused the father of drinking, of immorality, and of being diseased. About two years ago the father accepted a job outside the city which necessitated his being away all week; he did this on purpose to escape the mother's nagging. The relatives state that the children never received proper supervision or discipline. At one time Mrs. Clement's mentally diseased father made his home with them and partly took care of the children. One agency visitor noted that Emily had considerable respect for him, but none for her mother. In the presence of the visitor she once flatly contradicted her mother and called her a liar. On the other hand, there was evidently a strong bond of affection between Emily and her father; at the divorce trial she testified against her mother. The father was given the custody of the children, who, except the oldest boy, were placed with different relatives, Emily going to an aunt in New Jersey. But it was not convenient for her to remain there after two or three weeks.

Agency Care

5 After it was found that the aunt in New Jersey could not conveniently keep Emily, Mr. Clement made application for her to be cared for by a social agency. This agency has its children examined physically and mentally by various consultants and the children are kept in a temporary home until they are placed out. The greater part of the work of this agency is with children who do not present difficult behavior problems, and, as a result, the foster homes are not selected with the idea of finding foster mothers who are capable of dealing with difficult problems. Of course, at this period, Emily was not considered a behavior problem.

his attitude in the household, even by his doing some of the housework, may have had much good influence in their formative period. And perhaps the erraticisms of the mother prevented her from being considered even by the children as altogether accountable for her actions.

The whole question of the influence of a person with mental disease in the household depends, naturally, upon the special nature of the disease manifestations and upon the peculiarities of speech and action of the psychotic person. Plenty of instances could be cited where an insane person in the household has been no great disadvantage, even when in charge of some household duties. But for the mother to be as this woman was would certainly seem to be bad for the children.

There are many points which might well come up for consideration regarding this family, not only for interpretation of the effect of situations that are past, and hence no longer alterable, but as bearing upon such practical matters as the possible rehabilitation of the family as a whole or reconstruction of the lives of any of its members. For instance, there is the father and his character. It is easy to have two opinions about him—one may think of him as having rather strong traits of character, doing the best he can under the circumstances. Or he may be considered weak in his desertion of his family, for that is practically what it was. This situation at home was certainly bad; it is an extenuating fact that probably the mother did less nagging when he was away. Then, the oldest boy by that time could help a good deal. Some might say that it was not strength of character on his part to live so long with his wife and continue to produce children by her. With some people, however, it is harder to break up habits of living than to let things go on. We are not aware that anything special happened to make him want to stay away so much; very likely it was merely a cumulative affair. And it may be that his return home every week or so kept alive his good influence upon the children.

The outcome in this case so far, with the children having done so well, shows the tremendous difficulty of antecedent judgment with social material. There is inevitably a complicated interplay—the personality of the individual and the environmental influences. Without knowing specific facts concerning both and to what extent they actually do affect each other it is not safe to draw conclusions. Anything less leads to unwarranted inferences and unsafe generalizations.

After their preliminary study[1] of Emily a digest of which is given below, she was placed in a plain but comfortable home, where the arrangement was made that the father should pay a moderate amount for her board and the girl should earn the rest by assisting in the household. The family consisted of a man and his wife, each about 45 years old, and a child of 4 years who had earlier been placed with them by another agency. The home was a six room apartment, Emily had a comfortably furnished room to herself. The woman is described as plain, but intelligent looking and kindly in manner. Formerly she had done dressmaking, and she helped Emily to make clothes for herself. Emily was supposed to do her share of the housework and to help take care of the child, of whom the foster parents were very fond. This home had never been used by this agency before, but the family had been well recommended by another agency. The first messages from Emily stated that she was well satisfied, but after a little she wrote complaining of too much work, of lonesomeness because her father did not visit her more often, and of feeling herself to be entirely an outsider in the family. After she had been in this home for two weeks, her father wrote her that he had remarried. Later the agency learned that Emily was much upset by this and appeared very unhappy. There is no record of Emily's having any personal touch with any visitor from the agency during her stay in this home. In about two months, having heard from her brother John that he had gone to live with his mother in Worcester because she needed protection, Emily ran away to them. She refused to return with the agency visitor

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[1] At the child-placing agency Emily was mentally tested in June, 1919. Her age was, by error, recorded as 14 years, 5 months instead of 15 years, 5 months. Mental Age, Stanford-Binet, 11 years, 10 months, I. Q. 82. (Of course this should be I. Q. 77, calculated on the basis of her correct age.) The report states that she was pleasant, vivacious, co-operative; that she reacted very promptly and repeatedly expressed interest in the tests, but showed a very uncritical attitude toward her own performance. Motor and mental control were regarded as normal; reasoning variable—at times distinctly inferior.

On account of the interest of the findings as compared with later results, the details may be given:

In the Stanford series she passed all the 9-year tests except (4), and all the 10-year tests except (2) and (3); failed (3), (5), (6) of the 12-year series. Of the 14-year tests she passed (1), (4), and (5). She passed nothing above this level.

Knox-Pintner Cube Test, score median for 13 years. Completion Test II, median for 10 years. Construction Test A, first trial 3′ 22″, second trial 12″, third trial 7″.

The physical findings were entirely negative, including negative Wassermann and smear tests.

(who now interviewed her at length and to whom she acknowledged that recently she had been immoral with a boy) or to leave her mother until her father should himself come for her.

It was at this time that the agency, believing on the basis of intercepted letters and her immorality, that Emily needed special care as a girl too difficult for their type of home, suggested commitment to a correctional school; but the father, objecting to this, the agency then proposed sending Emily to Cedarhurst, to which the father acquiesced.

Cedarhurst maintains in a suburb a home-school in a delightful colonial house surrounded by large grounds which are used for outdoor play and, in the summer, for a large garden. No more than a dozen girls are ever cared for at one time, and an effort is made to preserve a homelike atmosphere, with carefully planned activities and much personal oversight. The staff consists of the director of the home, who is a woman of fine personality, affectionate without being sentimental, and, above all, characterized by her great spirit of fairness, and two teachers, one who has charge of domestic science, and one who teaches academic subjects. The household in all its activities is cared for by the girls under immediate, personal supervision, all taking turns at the various tasks. Professional recommendations for special physical treatment are carried out punctiliously. Part of the day is devoted to school work; those who are beyond the grammar school grades go to the town high school if they are trustworthy. Volunteer teachers from the outside come in for tutoring in special subjects, such as Latin, and to teach music and gymnastics. The evenings are given over to games, reading aloud, and conversation—directed discussion of various topics of the day and of matters of special interest to the girls being a valuable feature of the home life. Much attention is given to moral and religious training; each girl must attend the church of her own faith. The girls form a self-government club which selects representatives who meet in weekly conferences with the staff to determine disciplinary measures for the minor infringements of rules and to plan various activities.

The girls stay in Cedarhurst for no special period. The plan of the whole organization is to afford preliminary train-

ing for the placing out or the return home, which occurs as soon as it is felt that the girl is stable enough to maintain herself safely in the community. Relatives visit the school, but, in order that there shall be no break in the treatment, the girl is not allowed to go home to visit while at Cedarhurst. During the training period, the teachers and the placing staff become so well acquainted with the girl that they get a clear idea of the type of family that will be best suited to meet her special needs and personality. There is a great deal of individualization in every way, and of course much personal work is done with each girl. When a girl is placed out it means that there is close knowledge of the home in which she is placed and very frequent visiting, especially at first, and close touch all along with her and her problems. Successful girls often return to Cedarhurst for visits. Those who completely fail when placed out are never readmitted. In this and in every way, emphasis is placed upon the fact that being taken into Cedarhurst for training is a privilege and not a punishment.

The girls received in the school are carefully selected, from among many candidates, to form a somewhat homogeneous group, practically all of them being difficult adolescent girls who have been delinquent, though not all have had actually immoral sex experiences. This makes it possible for Cedarhurst to receive girls who are regarded as too difficult by other non-institutional agencies.

Companions, Interests, and Habits

6 The father and other relatives consulted really know very little about Emily's companionship; they have supposed that her friendships were quite normal and not harmful. There has been no complaint whatever concerning her associations. Good feeling has existed between her and the other children in the family.

Her father states that Emily is fond of housework and handy with the needle; she is able to make many of her own clothes. For recreation she is fondest of outdoor activities. She swims well and is a good skater. She is fond of moving picture shows and while at the foster home she complained that she was not permitted to go often enough to them. We

5 Already in Note 1 of Discussion we have briefly commented on differences found in the placing problem of non-delinquent children and those whose behavior tendencies indicate that they have some special needs. Of course this does not imply that the wisest policy necessarily is specialization by different agencies; one agency may deal with both delinquents and non-delinquents, selecting among its visitors and foster homes those who are adapted to meet the individual needs of those who are to be placed.

The study made by this first agency included a detailed psychological and physical examination. But evidently the data of experiences and ideation, which may be equally or even vastly more important, were not obtained. Their records do not contain any summary of the case study; there is no interpretation of such facts as were obtained. For example, the I. Q. obtained was not made the basis of plans for placing, nor was any study of her personality so utilized. We do not know how favorable they considered the prognosis in such a home as they offered her in the light of any knowledge of the girl and her background.

Certain facts about the first foster home we should have to know in more detail if we were going to give the reason for the girl's failure—particularly the personality, the interest, the good sense, the tact of the foster mother. Emily's loneliness seems natural enough when we remember that she came from a large family and had never before lived among strangers. Undoubtedly an important feature of the first few weeks in the foster home was the fact that the visitor did not keep in close touch with the girl during the period of new adjustment. The effect of knowledge of her father's remarriage was normal; such a situation would be likely to lead to an emotional disturbance, especially in a girl of her age. Here again the visitor might have been helpful in making the father understand the need for taking his daughter into his confidence and sparing her as much as possible the jealousies and emotions that would naturally be evoked.

Cedarhurst offers extraordinary advantages for close personal understandings and for a flexibility of treatment that is usually not possible in large institutions, such as states maintain. But, of course, the principle of providing a period of training before placing out is common to both.

6 The interests of this girl seem, in general, normal enough except that her sex interests are unduly strong. From her sophistication as evidenced in her letters it may be inferred that she must have had some experiences from which her sex knowledge is derived, the details of which can only be known by her own revelation. The phantasies or romancing, typical among adolescent girls, has been discussed in detail in Case 9, as well as the fondness which exists at this period for letter writing. That Emily's letters are cleverly written makes one wonder about the reliability of the test findings reported to us. Are clever letters consistent with an I. Q. of 77?

have no information concerning her reading interests. Emily has conducted a large correspondence with boys, the nature of which is, for the most part, unknown; some of these boys are said to be schoolmates. In the foster home, letters by her were intercepted. It appears that she had obtained names of young men from the newspaper and had begun writing to them. She indulged in a great deal of romancing in these letters, picturing herself at one time as a demure, accomplished young lady living with her brother, a civil engineer, and at other times as a rather indiscrete young woman who fascinates her men friends. The letters are written with much vivacity and with some cleverness. They show a very considerable sophistication; they contain much slang and suggestive allusions which show a preponderant sex interest.

Her habits, so far as we know, are quite normal.

School History

7 Emily began school at 6 years of age and made her grades regularly. Her attendance was only fair because she sometimes had to stay home to help take care of the younger children. She graduated from grammar school at 14, but during the last year the quality of her work was poor. The principal stated that she was weak in all of her studies. In the autumn of 1918 she entered the industrial arts high school, but only attended for a short time, stating that she had to stay at home to do the housework. The principal reported from his short observation that she was bright enough in her studies but that her application was poor; "she was lawless and lacked self control."

Delinquencies

8 There is no report of any delinquency until recently, except that the mother, when interviewed, stated that Emily had been disobedient at home and had stayed out late nights. The first known delinquency was the running away from the foster home; then came Emily's own acknowledgement that during this period with her mother she had been immoral and that this was not her first experience. Since entering Cedarhurst she has shown a very bad attitude, disobeying, willfully breaking the rules of the home, endeavoring to have

7 The poor quality of the school work in the last year of the grammar school could be accounted for in a number of ways: irregular attendance because of home duties, outside competing interests, adolescence, etc. We have no facts from which to reach a conclusion.

8 It is quite possible that Emily's delinquencies were not completely known; it would be unlikely that this irresponsible mother and the father, who was away so much, would know just what the girl was doing, or at what period these delinquencies began. The bad attitude at Cedarhurst may not indicate anything about her innate characteristics or that there has developed a bad attitude which will persist.

letters of a poor character to boys and young men mailed by persons coming in and out of the house, and evidently trying to cause just as much trouble as possible.

Study of the Individual

Physical

9 Emily is a strong looking girl with a rather full face and vivacious expression, apparently in good physical health, broad-shouldered and of good posture.

Weight 124 lbs. Height 5 ft. 3 in. Thorax well developed. Color fair. Sex characteristics about normal for her age and size. Vision and hearing normal by ordinary tests. Neurological examination negative. Heart sounds negative. Teeth and throat in good condition. All other examination negative. By recent report Wassermann and smear negative.

Mental

10 (1) *Results on Psychological Examination:*[1]

(Attitude during testing pleasant, co-operative; attention good, but rather poor persistence noted. She voluntarily tells us that she did not work so well during the examination at the social agency.)

According to age-level tests Emily grades as having rather good general ability. Intelligence Quotient 98.

Auditory memory span poor.

Motor and mental control not up to average for age.

Apperceptive ability not good with pictorial material, but much better with language. Social apperceptions good as judged by conversation.

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[1] Stanford-Binet I. Q. 98; passes all the 12-year tests except digits backward, test (6); and passes all the 14-year series except test (5) and alternate; passes all 16-year tests except tests (5) and (6); of the 18-year series passes only test (6).
Visual Memory; Binet Forms; 75%, Healy Form 100%.
Auditory Memory Span: 6 digits (7 occasionally), (backwards 4 digits).
Trabue Language Scale D: score 14, equals median for low grade VIII.
Pictorial Completion Test II: score 52.5—median for 11 years.
Tapping Test: score 70 squares, 1 error—median for 10-11 years.
Easy Opposites (W-W): score, average time 1.8″, 1 error.
Mental Representations: Code test, 5 errors.
Construction Test A: score 59″, 11 moves.
Construction Test B: score 75″, 14 moves.
Reading: Thorndike scale, difficult high school passage, read fluently but poor expression; all questions for comprehension correct.
Writing: Judging by Thorndike scale, quality 17—much above grade VIII.
Spelling: Dictation based on Ayres Scale, 8th grade, correct.
Arithmetic: Makes errors in decimal points and careless errors in long division.

9 Emily is just about average height and somewhat more than the median weight for her height at her age. In spite of all that one might say about home conditions it is clear that she has had sufficient and nourishing food.

10 These results on tests have great practical value as showing that Emily has potentialities probably worth developing. She has intelligence enough to profit by further education and training. As far as tested, she shows no marked ability, although her language ability is better than other capacities tested. Of course the results on tests for language should always be interpreted if possible in the light of opportunities for acquirement through intercourse with cultured people. Concerning this we may cite again the interesting study by Chase and Carpenter (See Case 7, page 19a) which shows particularly the superiority in vocabulary of children who come from families in the professorial group in a college town as compared with the other population. In Emily's case we know little concerning such matters as the type of conversation at home, for instance, through which any child would naturally acquire a vocabulary and develop language facility.

Her performance on other tests shows some evidence of lack of good mental control, and evidently her rote memory powers are not good. But for fine discriminations on any of these points we should have to consider this testing inadequate. It is not as extensive as one might wish; for example learning tests and a number of other tests for important abilities were not given.

Comparing these present results with the earlier findings, all that we can say is that the I. Q. now ranks her as being in an entirely different group, raising her from the so-called border zone of mental defect to average in general intelligence; indeed according to army findings she ranks as being quite a bit above the average. We do not know the reason for this lower I. Q. earlier, whether is was due to emotional disturbance or to an unfavorable attitude. But clearly

Language ability in general distinctly good. She talks rather well and has rather wide vocabulary.

School work, reading, writing, and spelling quite up to her grade, but arithmetic poor.

(2) *Mental Balance:* Tests for control not particularly well done, but in conversation shows very good insight and orientation. Normal emotions.

11 (3) *Personality Traits:* Clean and neat about her person. Pleasant and very frank, but is somewhat forward. Has plenty of self confidence, feeling that she can certainly make good. Maintains herself that she is very affectionate by nature. Energetic and vivacious. Shows distinct adolescent characteristics, craving excitement and attention; she has considerable self-assertion and some rebellion at authority. She is cheerful and fun-loving.

Girl's Own Story

12 Ever since she was a little bit of a girl she has had a very hard time. She can not remember when she lived in New Jersey, but as far back as she can remember things have been bad at home. "My mother has a dreadful temper, and I think she hates both my father and me." She seemed always to be jealous because the father was ambitious and she accused him of drinking and of being bad with women. Emily remembers these accusations being made when she was only about 10 years old. She cried much about it and wouldn't believe it. She wondered about it and worried. She was devoted to her father and knows now that all this was untrue and that it was her mother who was really the bad one.

"She would stay away from home and the whole household was a mess." "When other girls were having a good time and had no worries, I was very unhappy." Her grandfather who lived with them for a time was not nearly as bad as her mother; he tried to make peace in the family. "If anybody was crazy, she was, not my grandfather."

In the foster home, "the woman was kind, but I never really felt at home there. I could not talk to her and I longed to have someone to talk to." Then the little girl in

these findings do not represent her best abilities—and, for that matter, considering this girl's recent unfavorable attitude, it may be that our own findings do not offer a true estimate of her highest capacities.

11 Concerning personality traits one sees at once that they are very normal and promising.

12 From Emily's own story there are to be gleaned facts about her home life which aid interpretation of facts already given. Her personality make-up becomes more sharply delineated. One realizes that she has very specific needs which must be met if she is to turn out well; especially clear is her great need for affection.

From the story we learn, too, the specific beginnings of her delinquencies, which have not been revealed heretofore. Sex delinquency among groups of young children we have come to know of only too frequently; we have unearthed now such a situation a considerable number of times. The possible beginnings, extent, and the special characteristics and practices should be known to all students of children. Starting in a small way it may grow until a group of considerable size is involved, with practices continued for months, quite unknown to those who have the children under their observation daily—parents, teachers, school principals. There may be some one individual who initiates all the members of the group. Sometimes the group is organized into a club with initiation ceremonies and rites of membership. Sometimes the group is not at all organized. What transpires varies from sex talk or exhibition of pictures to actual sex practices of various kinds between members of the same sex or between boys and girls. In this instance we are particularly concerned with the latter. All that we have to say on this matter is based on facts that have been elicited during the study of actual situations. The discovery of the situation has been made in various ways, and sometimes, as in this case, the group practices have not been known at all until years later. We have no doubt that many times the facts are never known except to the participants. Some-

the family was spoiled and wouldn't obey Emily, who was supposed, at times, to take care of her. "I ran away from there because I was awfully lonesome. I knew my brother was at home with my mother and I was very anxious to see him." When her father first remarried she felt very badly, but now she likes her step-mother, who says she hopes that sometime the children can all come back and have the right kind of a home. She hopes this will not be too long, for she would like to feel that she really belongs to somebody and that somebody cares what happens to her.

When she was quite young she got in with the wrong crowd. Her mother didn't pay any attention to the kind of companions she went with and she "ran wild." She didn't know any better. It was a crowd of about a dozen or more boys and girls who went to the same school and whom she got to know through a girl in her class a couple of years older than herself. She was then about 11 years old. The boys were perhaps about 13. She did just what all the other girls in the crowd did; they all did bad things with boys. Most of the boys did these things to her. She knew it was wrong, but she didn't know much about it or how wrong it was. And she thinks, as she looks back to it, that she didn't have will power enough to resist. No grown person had ever talked to her about these things and she didn't understand just what it was. The girls talked a great deal about it, but they never said anything about babies and that sort of thing. In fact, at that time she did not know that babies came that way. This crowd of boys and girls met at the home of one of the girls whose mother was away all day working.

She has known one boy recently that she has thought a lot of, and he was too much of a gentleman even to talk bad things to her. She has been out with him quite a few times. When she ran away from the foster home and went to her mother, one night on the way to a show she and a girl friend "picked up" some fellows. On the way home, she was immoral with one of these, and this has bothered her particularly because there was no excuse for it. Her earlier bad conduct of this sort was not her fault entirely; she didn't know any better.

About the boy to whom she has been writing these letters, she says that she wanted to "kid him along." The whole

times we have learned of a situation involving sex affairs between boys and girls in a group through an individual's coming to court for other delinquencies; once it was through some member of the group going to a clinic for venereal disease. In our experience very occasionally indeed has the discovery been made by school people, and never have we known parents to trace all the facts concerning a group situation; evidently it requires the assistance of outsiders. Children are much more likely to reveal the facts to some one not of their immediate acquaintance. It is not to be expected that school people should be aware of these group situations; the actual sex affairs do not often take place on the school premises, but arranging for meetings and making new recruits does occur frequently in connection with school life.

It may be instructive to say a little about some notable situations that we have known involving boys and girls. We have already spoken of a community affair in Case 5. Then, recently we studied seventeen members of a group of twenty or so, boys and girls, of ages ranging from 10 to 14 years, who had a rendezvous in a room in the back of a building where originally some of the boys had started a club among themselves. A defective boy, the oldest of the group, initiated another boy into sex practices, and then one by one others were taken in. Girls were introduced early, one of whom became a leader in drawing in other little girls. Very definite sex relations were practiced for at least four months before anyone knew anything about the affair. In another instance two sisters were the instigators in getting boys and girls to visit their home for group sex practices. The parents, while people of good reputation, gave very little supervision to their children. In another very large group known lately, children 8 to 12 years old formed definite boy and girl partnerships for sex practices.

The handling of these group problems sometimes presents enormous difficulties in scattering the individuals so that there is no further bad communication between them and so that there is small chance for the establishment of new centers and initiation of others. And, further, great tact is requisite in the approach to parents, who naturally become readily indignant when their children are accused of being participants in such delinquencies. The treatment of the various members of such a group must be highly individualized; there is need for unearthing the details of the situation in regard to each one and for substituting other interests.

The outcome in cases of children who have been involved in such group practices is a matter of great concern and one where opinion is often in error. One of the first queries likely to be made is about the effect of the experiences upon future conduct. Bearing on this is the subsequent history of Emily.

Judging from her own story, Emily's letter writing was not as serious as it would seem to be at first sight. Interpreted in the light of her own great need for affection and her fun-loving nature it probably did not mean nearly as much as if she had been given to

thing to her has been fun. Of course she doesn't know him and doesn't particularly care to meet him. She thinks he is taking it as a joke, just as she is. She has corresponded with lots of boys before.

She says that she does like Cedarhurst very much indeed, but she was "full of the dickens" when she first went there; she wanted to live with her father, so she "took it out on the school." She gets very lonesome there although she likes the teachers and thinks the head of the school has already been more of a mother to her than anyone else she ever knew. She thinks she is "just made for a regular home life."

Concerning her school work, Emily insists that she does much better sometimes than at others; on some days learning comes much easier to her. Sometimes she may feel all right, but she won't be able to do anything in school work; she seems to have forgotten all she knows. Then on another day she will do quite well. And she does not know of any reason at all for these differences.

At this point SUMMARY OF CASE and SUBSEQUENT HISTORY follow.

dwelling on sex affairs in her mental life. The suggestiveness and vulgarity of the letters, which was mentioned above, may represent an acquired mode of expression and may reflect environmental influences more than any natural lack of feeling in these matters. Her letters compared with those written by Tillie, Case 9, reveal that Emily is much more sophisticated, but both of them show definite sex interest and the desire for attention by the opposite sex, so characteristic of adolescence.

SUMMARY OF STAFF CONFERENCE

PROBLEM: **Delinquencies:** Repeated sex immorality with boys several years ago—a group situation. Running away from foster home. Again immoral once. Disobedience and willful misbehavior at Cedarhurst.

PHYSICAL: Good development, health and strength. Vivacious expression.

MENTAL: (1) **Abilities:** Rather good general ability. Good with language; rather poor on tests for mental control. Good social apperceptions. (2) **Balance:** Quite normal. (3) **Personality:** Pleasant, outspoken, self-confident, energetic. Shows various adolescent traits.

BACKGROUND: (a) **Heredity:** Father and his family negative. Mother abnormal mentally, immoral. Maternal grandfather and great grandmother insane. Maternal aunt defective. Maternal grandmother immoral. (b) **Developmental:** Mother mentally erratic during pregnancy; probably repeatedly attempted abortion. Post-natal history negative. (c) **Home Conditions:** Extremely slack and untidy on account of mother as above. Parents divorced last year; girl then placed in foster home. Recently at Cedarhurst.

PROBABLE DIRECT CAUSATIONS: (1) Family life as above, also extreme lack of parental control and much quarreling. (2) Early bad sex knowledge through mother's accusations against father and through crowd experiences. (3) Bad companions earlier—group of young boys and girls. (4) Adolescent characteristics rather marked—self-assertion and love of excitement. (5) Perhaps disturbance and jealousy on account of father's remarriage.

PROGNOSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS: Because of good characteristics, and the fact that her delinquencies are so largely the product of bad living conditions, we feel that the outcome is likely to be favorable under good training and placing through Cedarhurst. Of course the girl needs special tiding-over during adolescence as well as the inculcation of good standards for a considerable period. She may be regarded as socially untrustworthy at present and consequently should be retained in the Home until better interests have been substituted for her present sex interests. She has mentality enough to profit by good training, and we should recommend her continuing her high school course. Vocational possibilities can be decided later. On the whole, in spite of her bad background, Emily seems promising material with which to work.

SUBSEQUENT HISTORY AND TREATMENT

At the School Home

Emily continued at Cedarhurst, and evidently there was gradually a very notable improvement, for the reports that came were very favorable. The domestic science teacher stated that Emily did good work in the kitchen although she was not thorough about details, and that her manners were courteous and she was willing. In her school work she was recognized as having distinctly good ability and she was given the advantage of having a tutor in Latin. But in the schoolroom her attitude was not as good. She was over-eager to recite and careless about her conduct. But she did good work and asked interesting questions.

Three months after we saw her it was found that Emily was carrying on a clandestine correspondence with another girl in Cedarhurst, their letters being almost entirely about young men. Emily wrote sentimentally, but with none of her former suggestive allusions. Letters from some of her former boy correspondents were forwarded to her at the school by her mother, but were not given to her. They contained no indecencies. The director felt that Emily was very suggestible and apt to be influenced by every new girl who came, but she was respectful to the teachers and usually pleasant with the girls. She entered into the activities very well and after a time was appointed by the girls themselves as a student representative to the staff meetings. It was clear all along that Emily was making considerable effort to do well, although her conduct seemed to be much influenced always by those with whom she was associating at the time. At first her father came to see her, but later Emily became discouraged because his visits were very infrequent.

At the end of the school year the question arose whether Emily was ready for placing in a family. After consultation with us, it was decided that placing was unwise because Emily had not yet shown any great stability and her sex interest had quite recently been displayed. It seemed better to keep her for a longer period in Cedarhurst and perhaps in the fall, as an experiment, test her trustworthiness by sending her to the town high school.

During the summer Emily worked very well indeed in the garden and she gave no trouble. Indoors she was kept busy with preserving and dressmaking. In the fall she entered the high school, taking a commercial course. Soon after entering she was chosen secretary of one of her classes, a position which involved considerable academic responsibility. A very reliable older girl from Cedarhurst, who attended the same school, at first went back and forth to school with her. Emily did well in her lessons and seemed ambitious. Her best work was in civics and history, and she wrote such an interesting story in her English course that it was published in the school paper. There was no complaint of any misconduct, although she attended a coeducational school, but it was reported that she showed considerable

interest in two men teachers, about whom she talked much at Cedarhurst; and she took pains in the morning to walk to school with one of them. When she was attending a clinic for some minor medical ailment she told a young physician of her engagement and approaching marriage. Altogether the directors felt that the girl still showed a good deal of interest in the opposite sex. She was vivacious and enthusiastic, making a good deal out of little everyday occurrences. Toward the end of the school year she seemed to lose interest in her household duties; she did what she was told to do in a pleasant way, but she was heedless. However, she completed the school year with grade A in all subjects.

Soon after school closed Emily was allowed to substitute for a couple of weeks in a family for a Cedarhurst girl. She enjoyed the change, fitted in very well, did her work very satisfactorily, and was much pleased with the little money which she earned. On her return to Cedarhurst she took hold of her duties there with renewed interest. A month later, after another consultation with us, it was decided to place her.

In Private Homes

A home was found in a residential suburb with a professional man, Mr. G., and his wife and two small children. Mrs. G. is a vigorous woman of about 30, who is active in civic affairs in the town and is president of a very lively woman's community organization. Their home is near the community center where social activities, which include many for young people, take place. The house is large and comfortably furnished; there is a piano and there are many books and magazines. Emily had a nicely furnished room to herself, and a study table was especially fitted up for her. Mr. and Mrs. G. are described as a jolly young couple, decidedly sociable, frequently entertaining company in their home, who became much interested in Emily for her own sake. It was felt by the visitor that Mrs. G. would carefully supervise Emily and be fairly strict with her. The girl was to be paid a regular wage for the balance of the summer, but on entering school her duties in the household would be considerably lessened and she was to receive a dollar a week for spending money. Emily immediately adapted herself well to the family life, and she took much pleasure in all that was going on. In September she entered the second year of high school, transferring to the college course—under the influence of Mrs. G. Emily had decided that she wished later to go college. During the winter she had a chance to enter into the best sort of recreations; she not only went to church, but she taught in the Sunday school and took part in entertainments and attended lectures. She was encouraged to meet boys in a natural way.

Mrs. G. at one time found that Emily had begun corresponding with a boy in New York whom she had never seen, but who was a friend of a school mate. She treated the matter in a very natural way, and Emily of her own accord showed the correspondence to Mrs. G. It was sentimental but not objectionable. Mrs. G. explained to Emily that it was perfectly natural to write to boys and that there was no need to be self-conscious about it. After that Emily was

perfectly open about the matter and soon seemed to lose interest in such correspondence. But she told Mrs. G. she thought it rather strange that she had no beaux while all the other girls in the school had. However, Mrs. G. offered the opinion that Emily was a girl of good common sense, ambitious, and anxious to succeed. The visitor's reports show that Emily was sensible and economical in her plans for clothing and that she enjoyed making over hats and dresses. Emily visited her father's home about once a month, but was uncongenial with her step-mother, whom she conceived to be jealous of her effort to educate herself. During the year Emily was given considerable assistance and encouragement by the G's in her school work and she finished with a grade of B in all subjects except one in which she received C.

Toward spring Mr. and Mrs. G. became rather discouraged with Emily, though there was no specific complaint about her conduct. Mrs. G. felt that Emily was no longer interested in the chidlren and indeed the children did not seem to like her. Mr. G. complained that she talked constantly and monopolized the conversation on all occasions, talking mostly about herself. In fact, when school closed Mrs. G. stated that she felt Emily should leave them. The director of Cedarhurst thought that the situation was merely temporarily strained and would be relieved by Emily's going away for the summer.

Arrangements were therefore made for Emily to spend the summer with Mrs. K., at her summer home in the White Mountains; Emily was to help with the two little girls in the family and was to receive five dollars a week in return. She stayed all summer, and once, when Mrs. K. went away for a few days, she had entire charge of the household. Mrs. K. was enthusiastic in her praise, and when Emily left in the fall Mrs. K. wrote to the director, "Emily is a very nice girl with a splendid disposition and she has been a very great help to me this summer. She is likeable as well as capable."

When school opened again Emily returned to the home of Mr. and Mrs. G., and entered the third year in high school. Not long after this the visitor made a resumé of the girl's characteristics and reactions: Emily is under good pressure in the home of Mr. and Mrs. G. and is trying hard to keep up with life there and maintain the highest possible standard in her school work. She has a good sense of humor and can always be reasoned with; she succeeds quite well when put on her honor. Whatever is done for her is appreciated and she never makes unreasonable demands. She has a great tendency to talk and thereby becomes tiresome at times. Until a few months ago this talk was largely about herself, but with the development of interest in high school she is showing herself better able to talk objectively. She is somewhat high strung and impulsive, but she has a happy disposition. She never complains and is willing to work hard.

Recently—January 1923—we have seen Emily again. She is now a healthy and strong-looking, well developed, very jolly girl, with many enthusiasms about her studies and her life in general, and unusually appreciative of all that is being done for her.

She tells us that Mr. and Mrs. G. understand young people and she can talk over anything with them, and besides they encourage her to take part in the many outside activities which are possible in their wide-awake suburban community. She attends a lecture course and a debating club, and she teaches a class of immigrants in Americanization. She belongs to a dramatic club composed of the nicest boys and girls in town, and she is fond of the outdoor sports which are a special feature of the town life.

Emily says that she hates the housework which forms her duty, but she does it, nevertheless, as well as she can. It is a big house and she has a good deal to do, but the work of the household is wonderfully organized by Mrs. G. In regard to the children, Emily says that they do "get on her nerves," and that really she "finds it hard to give them a square deal."

She visits her father's home or meets him and her stepmother about once a month and goes out with them for the evening. She still does not get along well with her stepmother—"there is jealousy between us"—and she does not think it would be well for her to live at home. She frequently sees her older brother of whom she is very fond, and when she goes home of course she sees her sisters and younger brother. She rarely hears from her mother who has grown worse mentally. She was in a hospital for mental diseases for a time and is well cared for now by relatives with whom she lives.

Emily speaks in a most wholesome way of her companionship and friendship with boys and girls. She volunteers that she doesn't understand how she could have been so foolish earlier—"I'd be scared to death to do such things now." Recently when a man spoke to her on the street she ran all the way home half frightened out of her wits.

She has quite outgrown her interest in letter writing, she laughingly says; she has too many other things to do.

Concerning her life last summer, which was reported as so satisfactory, Emily says that really she was very unhappy, that she was lonesome because the girls in the other families at the little summer resort did not make friends with her. Where she lives now she is considered a member of the family and every one is nice to her.

Her plans for the future, she feels at present, are somewhat uncertain. Of course she wants to graduate, but college means longer dependence and she is so old now that she thinks she ought to be at work soon.

At the end of a long interview one felt by observation as well as by report that Emily was about as spontaneous and as healthy-minded a girl as one could find.

On tests now we find Emily grading as almost supernormal in general ability, I. Q. 110. Kelley-Trabue language scale, score 10.2, which is above the norm for grade XII.

FOOTNOTE OF DISCUSSION:

Keen-minded social workers will discern in this subsequent history many points of interest, especially as related to the treatment of the

case. And also there is much in it for the psychologist, particularly the student of personality and character development.

By no means exhausting the issues of interest we have the following items:

(a) We see in this girl's case (note a somewhat similar point in Case 14) that it is quite possible for the adolescent period to be passed through without a flare-up of abnormal sex interests, even where there has been earlier considerable sex experience and interest.

This is a most important fact for all of us to learn.

(b) The gradual evolutions in this case are most notable. There was no sudden dropping away from old habits of thoughts and interests; there was, rather, a gradual substitution of better interests and ideations under sound guidance. Take the matter of letter writing. (Earlier the girl was an aggressive offender in the quality of what she wrote. The letters she received were never known to be of anything like the bad character of the letters which she attempted to send.) The steady and healthy change in the character of her writing without complete repression of it is striking.

(c) The social treatment based on very real appreciation of mental and moral needs largely speaks for itself in the details given. The home found by Cedarhurst is certainly admirable, but it should not be at all impossible to find others as suitable. The plentiful work in the home, as well as the fine opportunities for study and for taking a real place in the family and for enjoyment of many outside activities, has all been good for Emily. And we must not forget the part which the fine community activities play in this girl's regeneration. They were just as great an asset in the treatment of her case as they must have been in the upbringing of the children of the families which constitute the community. It offers a lesson in the value of neighborhood organization. And it must not be lost sight of that there was great willingness on the part of the director of Cedarhurst to frequently consider in conference with others the needs and values of new adjustments as new situations arose in the personality development of this girl.

(d) For psychologists the increase of the I. Q. from 98 to 110, as observed by us (and from 77, the earlier findings) is a matter for some wonderment. The girl's persistent attempt at self-training must have helped, and of course her acquirement of a cultivated vocabulary has raised the I. Q. several points. It is another evidence that the circle that one lives in and what one really gains by the process of education and acquiring information does count immensely in the I. Q., notwithstanding this is supposed to stand in large measure for native or innate intelligence.

Her school record has been so continuously good and so entirely different from what it was in her period of stress, before Cedarhurst took her, that we feel that this success, too, more nearly represents her real abilities.

(e) The evolution of Emily's personality characteristics is perhaps second to no other phase of this case in its interest for us. The reader can see her various characteristics that have been modified, the egocentrisms and dissatisfactions for periods in the G's home are not to be

considered abnormal. They are no more extreme or more frequent than in the lives of many young people who never get into difficulties. They were evidently especially well met by a sensible woman's frankness.

(f) It seems altogether likely that during these three and a half years Emily has had her good character traits pretty well established and that she is quite unlikely to get into trouble if she lives under anything like ordinarily good circumstances.

FINAL COMMENT

We offer in this case carefully worked up data concerning, as a main theme, the evolution under common sense treatment of the character of a girl, who, before adolescence had been severely and not passively implicated in boy and girl sex situations.

There is marked contrast between this and Case 9, although both were sex delinquents, the latter being an example of sex interests first arising as an adolescent phenomenon.

In the present case, knowledge of the defective heredity, of the poor upbringing by a mentally abnormal mother, of the broken up family life, as well as knowledge of the girl's early moral contamination, would have made many skeptical about the outcome and the value of doing much individual work with her, even though some good personality and mentality assets were recognizable.

There is evidence here that the treatment of girls who are sex delinquents need not be institutional. The details give a picture of another type of treatment that may be successful.

Incidentally, in this case, we have, as in several of the foregoing studies, very instructive findings in the development, under special conditions and stimuli, of the mental life as guaged both by general response to environment and by tests.

We have in the outcome of this case again an answer to a question which, however ridiculous it seems nowadays to experienced observers of social careers, has frequently been raised even within our time, namely, whether it is possible for a girl who has had active sex experiences not to be morally crippled by them and whether it is possible for such a girl to be regarded afterwards as an acceptable member of society.

JUDGE BAKER FOUNDATION

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the standpoint of the psychological, medical, and social sciences. It is only through the devoted service of the entire personnel that the material for the present publication is available.

Readers cannot draw conclusions for scientific purposes from statements concerning localities, names, dates, nationalities, and facts of family history as given because, in the usual professional fashion cases are reported with disguises. But the general facts, even of heredity are accurately transcribed, and no matters of importance for interpretation of causation as it bears on therapeutic possibilities in the individual case are changed or omitted.

The plan of presentation is to offer a first series of twenty studies covering a wide range of problems of interest to educators, psychologists, psychiarists, sociologists, judges, probation officers, and all who deal with matters involving the adjustments of young people. For teaching purposes, a loose-leaf edition is available so that all pages designated with (a) may be withheld until the factual material of the first study of the case, given in the other pages, is treated by the student as a problem to be solved.

It is hoped that the publications can continue and include consideration of groups of cases representing types of problems in education, in make-up of individuals, in conduct, etc. It is planned at later dates to report on important facts of cases earlier published.

The gratitude of students who benefit by these studies is due to the Commonwealth Fund of New York, a grant from which has made this series possible.

The social treatment has been carried out through child welfare agencies of many sorts, and the spirit of their co-operation has been splendid. It would be a pleasure to give credit to the particular agency in each case, but since, for several reasons, it is inadvisable, we desire here to express our deep appreciation of their co-operation with the Judge Baker Foundation.

WILLIAM HEALY, M. D.
AUGUSTA F. BRONNER, Ph. D.
Directors.

Case Study No. 16

SERIES I

JUDGE BAKER FOUNDATION
40 COURT STREET
BOSTON

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April, 1923

CASE SIXTEEN

William Rybart: 15 yrs., 2 mos. American, born in California. Both parents born and brought up on the Pacific Coast.

Introductory Statement

1 (Jan. 1919) This case was studied in the retrospect of eight years of failure, for William began his career of delinquency before he was seven years old. During all these eight years there have been outbreaks of stealing or other, subtler, forms of dishonestly obtaining money, in spite of much personal interest and help by family, clergyman, lawyer, court, probation officer, specialists in mental diseases, and officers of a correctional school. For a large share of the time, William has been considered absolutely untrustworthy in word and deed. Earlier he has been sent to good public and private schools, and during summers he has been at well conducted farms. From all of these places have come reports of misconduct. In his own good home he has been thoroughly dishonest. In the well-known correctional school in New York state, to which he was committed a few months ago, he has been fabricating extensively. Indeed, his delinquencies have ranged from truancy, lying, and stealing money and numerous articles to joining others in stealing an automobile and then blackmailing his mother to obtain means of running it. Although on two occasions, at nine and at thirteen years, he has been taken, on account of his conduct, to psychiatrists, who have rendered diagnosis of normal mentality, the mother, a widow, now wishes him studied again in the hope of finding some way to modify his conduct tendencies. The superintendent of the school concurs in this and sends him on with a parole visitor and his mother.

Study of the Background

Family

2 (Most of the information about the background was obtained from the mother, a very quiet, dignified, refined,

(*The discussion in this case has been undertaken in collaboration with Miss Lucy Wright,*[1] *whose comments appear in brackets.*)

1 When such severe delinquency continues so long and in spite of so much effort to check it, one thinks at once that underlying it there must be some unknown persistently operative cause.

[This case strikes me at the start as an appalling commentary on the depths of adult ignorance and helplessness in the presence of juvenile delinquency. I wonder what would have prepared any of these well intentioned people to do better. (As one suspects here, and as later events prove, none of them actually possess the boy's confidence.) It is as though the languages of children and adults had been permanently "confounded that they might not understand one another's speech." Must delinquency of this type run its course like some contagious disease, or can it be forestalled? And if it can be, what body of information or attitude or insight on the part of adults would in any case have put them in a position to get at the heart of the matter earlier and wrest some meaning for themselves, and possibly for the boy, from these wretched experiences? L. W.]

2 The influence of the age of parents on offspring has already been discussed in Case 4. Here, however, it is not merely the fact of age but of the mother's personality in relationship to the boy that must be considered. These personality traits may possibly be thought of in terms of assets and handicaps in so far as they affect the life of the child, in this case an only child and son. As we see her at the time of the study of the case we wonder how largely the mother had herself been influenced by the boy and the problem he presented and just what her characteristics were when he was little and first beginning to show delinquent trends.

[The late marriage; the middle-aged character of the child's background; a home broken by the death of the father; the attitude of the widowed mother "practically hopeless" and she "a wreck nervously":—these things suggest what I call an unfavorable psychic background for a child unless he is rich in other resources. Even then it seems rather a heavy load of adult point of view, to dwell with, especially for an only child. May not the hopeless protesting attitude even give a further impetus toward wrong doing to a boy already inclined to go wrong? Some of the details about the mother suggest that she may have been rather extremely "oldmaidish" in make-up as well as in years at the time of her marriage. L. W.]

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[1] Miss Lucy Wright has had a broad and varied social experience, and in her capacity as Supervisor of Field Work under Dr. Richard C. Cabot in the Social Ethics Department of Harvard University has had the opportunity of critically commenting upon many case studies.

and well educated woman, conscientious, quite orderly in her mental processes, but rather languid, somewhat complaining, and very unhappy. The mother began with us by stating that she wanted to confess frankly that she felt the situation was practically hopeless, so many fine people have tried to get the boy to do better. But she was still willing to make any effort or sacrifice to have him helped. We also talked with the parole officer, an unusually fine man, who knew the boy well. Later, in the course of visits to New York, we came to know the family clergyman and a capable lawyer, who was an old friend of the father's and now the executor of his estate. Through these men the mother's story was substantiated.)

Father: Died seven years ago at 58. Up to the time he was taken with the lingering illness, internal cancer, that proved fatal, he had always been a healthy, sound-minded, temperate man. Earlier he had a fruit ranch in California, but sustained great losses and came east ten years ago as a fruit grower's agent. He was of a calm, easy-going temperament and always was absolutely honest.

Father's Family: Mr. Rybart's father was a drinking man who was careless about the property he inherited and eventually lost most of it. His wife died before middle life. Their several sons are good business men and have become prosperous; none of them are alcoholic. There was no mental or nervous disease among them.

Mother: 54. In general healthy, except for a long "spell of stomach trouble" the year after her husband's death. But she has grieved so much over her boy's conduct that at times she has been worn out by it and she is "a wreck nervously." She married when she was 37.

Mother's Family: Her father and mother both come of fine, professional families, were healthy, and themselves had eight children, five of whom have graduated from college. There are no instances of insanity, or nervous disorder in the family.

Children: (1) Amy, died of pneumonia at 4 years. (2) William.

Developmental History

It was rather a nervous pregnancy, the mother fearing as severe a confinement as she had the first time. Very long labor; instrumental delivery. Bottle fed entirely, with considerable nutritional difficulty for four months. Then he picked up well and grew very strong. He walked and talked at about 1 year and was a bright, active child. He had children's diseases mildly; never any convulsions; no enuresis after infancy. In general he has been very healthy.

Home and Neighborhood Conditions and Influences

3 They lived a very normal and healthy life in California on a ranch until William was 5 years old. Then they moved to their present home in T., a populous city in New York, near which relatives of both the boy's parents reside. Here they have had a comfortable house in a good neighborhood with a fair-sized yard and garden and with many books and plenty of resources for a boy's wholesome upbuilding. The mother says that for periods during the father's illness she had little time to give to William, but that since then she has devoted herself to him — perhaps for a time, she thinks, she was over-affectionate. She has tried to be his comrade and to make his life full and happy without spoiling him. He went to church with her, read with her, did his share of the work — all of this earlier — but he never talked really freely with her. Once she tried to approach "certain subjects" and he said, "Oh, Mother, I don't like to talk that way to ladies." The lawyer friend vouchsafes that, in his opinion, the mother in her anxiety probably gave her boy an overdose of religion.

William was very fond of his father, who, in turn, was a jolly comrade with the boy. They lived a very happy life together until after they came east; then Mr. Rybart had to be away from home most of the time traveling; and finally came his long illness, during which he was in hospitals and sanitaria for long periods. William, on account of the above conditions, several times was placed with relatives. He was in the home of a maternal cousin for several months when he was 7 years old.

The family clergyman lived near them, and William, when

younger, saw him often and was very fond of him. Later Mrs. Rybart called on this friend frequently for advice. He had a number of serious interviews with William and tried hard to influence the boy. It was he who suggested first that the boy was "a psychological case."

Then there was another friend, the lawyer, now the executor, also a neighbor, a man with whom William used to love to do carpentry work earlier. He has sometimes talked to the boy for nearly half a day at a time, "but William would go right out and do the same things over again."

Interests and Habits

4 Ever since he was little William has been a great reader. He has liked books of adventure, war books, Dickens, Bulwer-Lytton. About three years ago he developed a great interest in machinery and easily learned much about automobiles. He has always liked to make things. But he has never cared for athletics, except water sports. He rarely goes to moving picture shows; he has never liked them. He has never been to dances and has shown no interest in girls. He has been quite willing to work for a little spending money and at times has been quite saving. Recently he has been gambling, at times with cards and dice.

His appetite has always been normal. He has been a very restless sleeper. His mother has watched carefully for sex habits; she has observed none, but has never talked with him about this. His clergyman thinks he is free from them. He bites his nails and chews pencils. Recently he has begun to smoke.

Court Record

5 William's mother herself made complaint in court in September 1918 that the boy had recently threatened her with violence, had stolen for years, had, during the last year taken at least two automobiles, the damages on which she had paid, and that he had been much truant from school.

Two months earlier William and an accomplice evolved a scheme by which the mother paid for the upkeep of a car they had stolen. The other fellow would go to Mrs. Rybart and tell her that William had taken a car without permission

3 [In spite of the good physical background the mother's own account suggests that theirs was a life filled with adult interests to which her own suggestion of having been "over affectionate" and the lawyer friend's suggestion that she "probably gave her boy an overdose of religion" add unfavorable finishing touches. From a point of view for which I am, in general, indebted to a wise and experienced mother, my impression is that Mrs. R. was certainly not a woman who conceived of her double responsibility in home-making after her husband's death in any self-critical or creative sense. Her giving up of "certain subjects" at her son's dictum suggests both his understanding of her and her lack of understanding of him. It would be interesting to know in how far he was a child who in general "saw through" the adults about him rather than they through him. Might not a woman so intelligent and well educated as this mother have been guided by someone upon her husband's death, to find the upbringing of the boy a job worth having, and also to have helped the boy to understand his own kind of life and its temptations, had she conceived of her responsibility in a positive sense? The customary acceptance of the idea that one's own children must be normal, that deviations are a tragedy rather than a challenge to interpretation, and that the education of a parent is a thing already completed, so far as effort on one's own part goes, are all against her seeing this situation as an opportunity. She has one's sympathy, but not one's confidence.

Are not sharp breaks in the continuity of the home background, such as that created by the father's death, in themselves a great strain on some children, especially when their own incomplete personalities are so unready for the test? At least such changes and such one-sided background provide soil for undesirable tendencies to flourish in when not offset by adequate and appropriate interests. After a jolly father's companionship the alternative of a low-spirited and eventually nagging mother must be rather a severe test. Might not the obviously verbal nature of the mother's efforts unaccompanied by concrete suggestions of "ways out" even contribute towards fixing delinquencies in a boy's mind or of stimulating in the wrong direction? (At some later period William himself bursts out with a declaration in the automobile affair that his mother "talked so much about it he felt like going out and doing it all over again.") L. W.]

4 These interests are of quite wide range and, in general, wholesome; but we have come to know that while normal, boyish, and frequent, the interest in automobiles is one that is not altogether lacking in dangers, firing the imagination as it does with the possibilities of adventure and swift movement.

In spite of no direct account of anything wrong in habits one notes evidences of nervousness and feels the need for further inquiry concerning them.

and that if money was not forthcoming for gasolene and damages he would be arrested. She several times paid the alleged bills, but finally called the matter to the attention of the police, who found that the boys together had stolen a car and were keeping it in a garage in this way at the mother's expense.

In court the police reported that William was "one of the worst" that had ever come to their attention; he was a "wild Indian" and would steal anything. He has been given many chances by them. "He has gone so low as to blackmail his mother" by the above plan.

The judge warned the boy at length, telling him that further offense would mean his commitment to a correctional school. He placed him on probation.

Within two weeks William was expelled for lying and truancy from a fine preparatory school in T. (He had been expelled the previous spring from the local high school.) Because of this and the fact that he stole some jewelry from his mother, he was again brought to court.

The judge now asked for a report from the specialists connected with a famous hospital for mental diseases, where the boy was sent for two weeks' observation. From there is was reported that William was neither feebleminded nor insane, but was a case of psychopathic personality. He was then committed to the correctional school.

Narrative Concerning Behavior Characteristics, Delinquencies, School History, Companions

6 Until he was 6½ years old, or thereabouts, William was a thoroughly normal child in all ways. He was rather mischievous and active, but if kept busy was very good and obedient. He was characterized in kindergarten and the first grade as "the finest little boy," "a wholesome, sunshiny child." Then the father became ill and his mother could not watch him very closely, it was then that on several occasions she had to send him away to stay with relatives in a suburb. It was after his first return from a long stay there that his mother detected him for the first time in a lie. She remembers it well because it was so peculiar; he told some one that at their cousins' he had to clean

[Perhaps the clergyman based his thoughts that William was free of bad sex habits on nothing more than general optimism. When a delinquent boy has not only his mother but various members of the learned professions standing baffled about him, one feels that the question of their "preparedness" for these problems is an important one. One would like to know, too, how this apparently uncomfortable position between a disapproving adult world and a world of half hidden attractions known to be undesirable seems to such a boy. Does he feel himself a power and enjoy his attempts to reconcile the situation by lies; or does he feel himself a bone of contention, or a victim and dislike this rôle.

Is there anything significant in the automobile interest? It would all depend for William upon the kind of interest he had in automobiles, whether it was a thing that filled his mind and gave a real outlet to energy or just another source of power, another thing to be managed as he managed his mother. L. W.]

5 It is worth noting, because of the frequency with which it occurs, that in spite of the serious nature of his misconduct the boy committed many offenses known to the police without their arresting him. Had he come from less favorable circumstances, this would probably not have occured. One is not at all convinced that it was a kindness to him, either.

[It is an interesting commentary on the uncertainty of all of us as to how a delinquent individual should be treated that the first approximation of facing all the facts should come seven or eight years after the beginnings of delinquency with a climax of appeal to the court. And here, even, in this first instance, with machinery present for trying to discover and face the facts, the truth does not seem to have been arrived at, and family, friends, school teachers, clergymen, court officers, and psychiatrists are baffled still. (I suppose the diagnosis "psychopathic personality" may be regarded as "baffled still.") So they try the next grade down in treatment, the correctional school, and William is at last officially recognized as a delinquent. His own comment that his chances of college are now ruined, if more than "verbal," suggests a grasp of situation one might not expect in view of his apparent imperviousness to his situation in the past. It may be fairly questioned from the point of view of the layman again whether two weeks observation in a hospital for the insane provides a sufficiently natural vantage point for the study of an adolescent delinquent already seen to be stimulated to positive invention in delinquency by his total experience up to this time. In any case, whatever the causes of delinquency, no basis was found at this time for working out the situation through the boy himself. And so he is given up to formal restraint by law. May not this repeated proof that one is baffling to experts in itself have an unfavorable effect on a boy like William? L. W.]

the cellar every week, when in reality there was no cellar to the house. After that he continued lying and his mother could not break him of the habit. That spring he seemed nervous, fidgety, restless, and he developed night terrors and began biting his nails. The school teacher said that he had to be kept busy or else he was very troublesome.

It was at this period that he first stole anything as far as his mother knows. He took a pocket knife from a hardware store. He denied it stoutly and insisted that it was taken by the son of their laundress. At this time he was making a bird house with Mr. S., who said that in order to do some of the work a scroll saw was wanted. A few days later, William produced a scroll saw. At first he said that a boy who had stolen it had given it to him; then it came out that he himself had taken it from a neighbor's barn.

During the following two years William stole a number of small things from various places and told a good many lies, some of which were purposeless and rather elaborate fabrications. He seemed in rather poor physical condition during this period; he fainted once apparently without cause and complained that his eyes troubled him.

Because of his bad conduct the mother was advised to consult a well-known specialist in mental diseases. William was sent to a sanatarium for about a week. At the end of that time the doctor said he could see nothing wrong with the lad. Psychological tests showed him now at 9 years of age to have a mental age of 12 years. Life on a farm was advised, change of school, glasses, and a tonic. The mother followed these instructions, and during that summer William gave no particular trouble. But when he went back to school he was inattentive and nervous, and his monthly report cards said that he could do better if he tried.

The following spring William began to be truant. Then the mother took him regularly to school herself. He was rebellious and ashamed, but it, of course, stopped his truancy. That winter his mother was ill for a long time, and William was very helpful and did better.

There was no further trouble until spring, when once more his teachers began to complain about his behavior, and the mother herself detected him in several lies. But she says that she herself "was run down, and nervous, and irritable

and got on his nerves." There was some trouble about school funds of a considerable amount which never was straightened out. He took ten dollars from home and gave it to the teacher, claiming that he had lost the funds; he later explained this stealing by saying that his mother was sick and he didn't want the teacher to worry her about the affair. Although he was being considered for a double promotion he became truant again, making up various excuses. The principal considered expulsion, but gave the boy one more chance. He did fairly well the remainder of that year.

His mother discovered that William's watch was gone; he claimed it had been stolen. Later he brought in five dollars, which he said he had earned and with which he said he wanted to buy a magic lantern. Then he kept changing his story about the watch and what happened to it, and finally he admitted that he had sold it. Mr. S. seeing how badly things were going, advised sending William to a military school where he would have good discipline.

The next autumn, when he was 12½ years old, he was sent to Carling Academy, two hundred miles away in a beautiful country town, the mother warning the principal that the boy had a habit of lying and stealing. William was very enthusiastic about going and later wrote glowing letters about what a good place it was and about his room mate George Jay, a boy he had found there from T. He wrote, "George and I say our prayers together every night and his mother is so good. I read all your letters to him and he reads all her letters to me." The report from the school authorities was that William's work was excellent; he had all A's and B's. William wrote that the work was made interesting there and "when the boys get bad they take it out in walking and exercise."

That summer the mother came down to the seashore with relatives and all had a happy time. William spent much time in fishing, and everything went well.

The next fall, on account of the expensiveness of Carling, William was entered in the high school at T. Everything seemed to go all right, but after a little while his mother discovered that he was having George, who also did not go back to Carling, at their house whenever she was away, though he was very careful not to mention this to her. He

began to go with an older boy, Irving, whom the mother did not like; she warned him not to go with him, but William retorted that she was prejudiced because Irving's father was a chauffeur. Nevertheless, the mother was sure that Irving was a bad influence and that William was deceiving her more and more. In particular he began lying to her about how he spent his money. During that school year he went more and more frequently with Irving and George and she felt that they were all in league against her and shielding each other. William had always been courteous and considerate previously to his mother, but now he displayed bad temper towards her. One night she got up to give him some medicine and without any reason he became very angry, saying that his mother had no right to come into his room and disturb him.

In the spring William one morning said that he was going on an educational trip with other members of his class. He came home that night very excited and nervous, saying there had been an accident to the automobile in which he was riding. The next day he pretended to be sick and remained in bed. The school people sent over word that the police were inquiring for some one who seemed to be William. Although he denied it at first, it soon came out that he, Irving, and another boy had stolen a machine, had had an accident on the road, and left the car. The mother paid restitution and the boys were not brought to court.

William's attitude towards his mother grew worse. He said that she talked so much about this automobile affair that he felt like going out and doing it all over again. He lost all interest in school. The principal had just before this said to the mother that William was erratic and chose the wrong companions, but that there was nothing vicious about him and he would give him another chance. In spite of this he now was truant for two or three days at a time. He seemed "crazy for automobiles;" his mother knew that he drove off in other cars, and felt that he had taken them, but he claimed that boys had loaned them to him. One evening she found a note saying, "Mother, you don't love me any more, and I'm going to run away." Later in the evening George called and said that he knew where William was and

would bring him home. He did so, but William was rebellious and said he wanted to go to work. The mother had supposed that George had been attending school, but she found that he had been working part of the time.

Their clergyman now advised a farm for the boy, saying that he thought William was really mentally upset. He was then sent to a nice farm near the Adirondacks and reports for a time were very favorable. However, the mother became convinced that these reports were made to encourage her because she was suffering from insomnia through worry about the boy. Later it came out that he fabricated very extensively about the family fortunes and tried to bargain for a second-hand automobile. He told many false tales about his possessions. (The truth was that the family fortunes had very seriously declined; the mother really had very little to live on.) The boy also wrote letters to people in T. about the equipment of the farm, which were quite untrue in their exaggerations. In the middle of the summer, the farmer returned William, saying that he could not stand him any longer, he was untruthful and dishonest. When the boy returned he cried much and said that all the trouble was because he was so homesick, but he later said that was not so, he really could not understand it himself, he couldn't seem to help it.

For a time William seemed anxious to do what was right and studied hard, but he did not keep entirely away from George and Irving. In the autumn he was entered in the fine preparatory school there is at T., although it was a financial drain upon the mother. He lived at home. Soon after this he was known to have been riding several times with George and she found that he was lying excessively, smoking and gambling, and that he had stolen another car. He demanded a larger allowance from her, but, instead, she reduced it. Then the police came to the house charging the boy with an automobile theft, which the boy finally had to acknowledge, and the mother again paid restitution. The principal of the preparatory school, out of respect for the family, came to see the mother and said that he would try him once more. Mrs. Rybart had become worn out by all this trouble and had to go to bed. William waited on her

and was really very thoughtful. When she got better he came home regularly, and she went to the library with him evenings. But soon there was more trouble, William and Irving had to appear in court informally for some mischief they had perpetrated. A week or two later there was a quite a scene when she refused to let him go out one night alone because she felt she could not trust him. He accused her of having led his father a terrible life. Then it came out that William had been seeing something of a cousin who had owed the father money and never paid it, and was now at outs with the mother because she tried to collect it. This matter was straightened out through the mother's explanations, and William begged her forgiveness and showed a better attitude.

But, after a few days, William was suspended from the preparatory school and the mother now went to court and made complaint about him (as related under Court Record). During the time that he was on probation William stayed out all one night, having sought refuge with the cousin mentioned above, the latter lying about the affair to the probation officer.

The report from the celebrated hospital for mental diseases, to which he was now sent states that during their observation of the boy for two weeks he was pleasant, accessible, and frank. He said the trouble was that his mother nagged him continually and there was much friction on account of this and because they were both quick tempered. (Their history of the case states that he had been much worse in his behavior following a slight attack of pneumonia which he had had the previous winter and that he had terrible temper spells and had threatened his mother with a knife and had simulated fits. They were afraid he would escape, so he was held in a closed ward.) He stated he had always been nervous, easily startled, and was apt to burst out crying if anyone looked at him. He denied sex habits or intercourse or any worry about sex matters. In the hospital he was quiet and seemed in every way normal; he responded to his environment quite satisfactorily. He had no outbreaks of any kind. The final diagnosis was "psychopathic personality."

From the correctional school to which William was now

6 Many points in this narrative of objective facts can be left to the common-sense interpretation of the reader. What might have been a strategic point of attack on his problem lay in the fact that there was such a clear-cut beginning of the delinquencies. It was not so much his lying, which is not uncommon with children at that early age, as it was his stealing accompanied by the highly significant evidences of nervousness—night terrors, nail-biting, etc. This sudden change in behavior trends with subjective symptoms should suggest to the observer that disturbing experiences have occured, and that while the boy might work through them, as many undoubtedly do, yet study of the causes themselves would be much more likely to bring about a cure. As one goes on reading the narrative, it becomes clearer and clearer that something is deeply and steadily going wrong with the boy. There are many evidences of great inner turmoil, signs of conflict, of emotional disturbances. Again and again he shows remorse for his conduct and desire to do better, with periods in which he succeeds in this; but invariably there comes a breakdown, oftentimes with worse misconduct following. At one period there was the rapid development of a bad attitude and extreme recklessness, but this was not consistently maintained. And the boy has not grown hardened or vicious.

Looking at his general behavior trends, we are impressed by the fact that William seems tremendously unstable; but yet with his good character tendencies, as shown in many ways, and his freedom from many of the symptoms of psychopathy, this should have suggested first of all that he possibly was suffering from some experiences and was torn by opposing impulses and ideations.

There are many indications of unwise management on the part of the mother; she seemed incompetent to discover what the trouble was, and even though recognizing the influence of bad companions, she was unable to break up the companionship, apparently unwilling to give up her home in T. and with the boy make a new start elsewhere. She was unable to interpret her observations as clues in the situation—for instance, her lack of suspicion when the boy was so angered by her entering his bedroom unexpectedly.

The boy's fabricating, which increased in degree, very likely was simply the result of his long practice of lying and was based upon his endeavor to make himself out as something other than he was, perhaps largely because he was not satisfied with what he really was. When in the institution his lies were so checked up that they became ineffectual for self-aggrandizement perhaps he, in order to accomplish the end, assumed another rôle, namely altruistic interest in others. It is unlikely that in so short a time there was a real change in his character. Such sex affairs form the worst feature of institutional life, as heads of even the best institutions acknowledge.

[It would be interesting to know just what the mother did about that first lie and the other character changes. Was a great opportunity lost, or did she try to get at the heart of the matter and fail because she lacked the child's confidence? The whole question of what, if anything, may be done towards securing confidence by an adult who does

sent in October, 1918 there came within two months a report of the boy's extensive fabrications there. The visiting clergyman had become interested in William and had been told by him that he had two brothers who had been killed in the war and his mother's mind had become affected by it and she had had him committed to the institution. He told this and other tales also to the school physician. The clergyman communicated with the family minister and found out the truth. The latter went to see the boy who denied making such statements. He bitterly complained at this time that his chances for going to college were now ruined.

The school authorities reported to us that they thought William a very interesting boy, but he lied much. He managed to get several of the teachers worked up about his case. Then he did better and himself asked for work that would keep him busy, because he said he did not want to have so much time to think about himself. It was felt that the school work was not of a high enough grade for him. Besides this he began complaining of a pain and queer feeling in the back of his neck and it was a question whether it was real or whether he was simulating. William himself set about trying to be of service to the younger boys. He was much concerned about the problem of immorality among them, which he came to know about. He seemed very religious and much concerned about his mother now. When this present study of him was proposed he said he was willing to come for the sake of his mother, but he knew he had nothing the matter with his brain—all the trouble was his own selfishness. Analysis of his conduct records shows that during the first two months there were more demerits than merits, but the main trouble was because of his dropping and breaking things. And then just lately the authorities had been much puzzled because William told such stories about the other boys' being in sex affairs together that, though they knew there was some truth in this, it seemed as if he must have been inventing. (Before we saw him William had been taken for X-ray examination of his neck and nothing definite was made out, although the clinicians at the hospital, in spite of this, felt that there might be some trouble there.)

not naturally command it is raised at various points throughout this case.

It is notable that when his mother fell ill for a long time, William was very helpful and did better. If one considers this in conjunction with the fact that responsibility was so often lifted from him in very serious matters by his mother's repeatedly making restitution for his thefts; and that in a comfortable economic situation like this a child is deprived of many of the cause and effect experiences which might come to him quite naturally in a rougher life; once more we cannot escape the feeling that whatever the excellence of his physical environment this boy had a psychic environment which did not encourage him to control the situation or resist being led away by bad companions.

The crescendo in difficulties which leads to the final clash and appeal to the court seems to have reached its climax in part through the increased low spiritedness and nagging of the mother as well as through the increased delinquencies of the boy. While in general it is true, as an old neighborhood sage observed, that "mothers are bad for some children" it seems to have been more strikingly true in the case of this adolescent delinquent than usual. Throughout the study one is puzzled as to what is cause and what is effect in the interplay of the lives of mother and boy. And at this point you feel doubtful if the mother could have helped the boy unless some one might first have revolutionized her early in the game. Could the imagination of a woman like this have been helped by reading for herself books that would give her more insight into the daily lives of normal children including fiction and autobiography, by her reading what her boy reads, and by their reading together? This might not obviate the need of expert guidance, but it might be a great source of help. L. W.]

Suggestions for such reading may be found in *A Selected List of Books for Parents and Teachers,* published by the Federation for Child Study, 2 West 64th St., New York City.

Study of the Individual

Physical

7 William is a rather good-looking boy with regular, refined features. He has a frank smile and boyish expression, but his eyes are somewhat sunken and tired looking. His posture is normal except that he holds his head a trifle on one side. He says that he supposes he acquired this habit because it has occasionally hurt him a little to keep it straight. His head is well shaped; there are no stigmata of any kind.

Weight 117 lbs. Height 5ft. 5 in. Thorax fairly well developed and strength about average. On the whole, musculature well developed. Vision 20/25 R and L. Hearing, left, perhaps slightly impaired; only a loud whisper at ten feet. Teeth in good condition. Heart sounds normal. Circumcised. Just a moderate amount of pigmented pubescence. All other examination negative.

Mental

8 (1) *Results on Psychological Examination:*[1]

(William works on tests very willingly and shows much interest in the harder ones. Works very carefully and neatly, but accepts first results too quickly sometimes; however can readily adapt himself and change his method, showing good self-criticism.)

According to age-level tests, William grades as being considerably supernormal in general ability. Intelligence Quotient 128 but this does not reperesent his full powers.

Auditory memory span, exceedingly good.

Motor control, only fair.

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[1] Stanford-Binet I. Q. 128; passes all the tests of the entire series.
Visual memory; higher tests not given.
Auditory memory span: 8 digits, almost 9. (Backwards, 7 digits.) In his work on this test we had a situation arise that sometimes comes up in examinations. When he first came in he did only 7 digits forward and 5 backward. But a little later he said that he knew he hadn't been able to concentrate then and that he could do much better. He now did 7 backwards readily and almost 9 forward. He thought that he could do better than the latter if he were not still somewhat agitated.
Trabue Language Scale C: score 18—above median for 4th year high school.
Pictorial Completion Test II: score 72—somewhat above adult median.
Tapping Test: score 74 squares, no errors—norm for 13-14 years.
Easy Opposites (W-W): score, average time 1.4", 1 error.
Mental Representation: code test, no errors; Terman paper cutting test, done with exactness.
Kraepelin Continuous Subtraction, 7's from 100: score 1' 5", no errors.

7 William's refined appearance and his boyish expression are significant for us as being not in keping with his delinquent career. And we naturally wonder why he is tired looking when he has just come from good living conditions. The report by the specialists on the postural difficulty would indicate the possibility of its being of subjective origin, whether simulation or not. The boy is somewhat under weight for his height and age. One would have to get a specialist's judgment on the difficulty with hearing, but it is so slight as to have little practical signficance.

8 Only a comparatively few psychological tests were given because, in the first place, when it became clear that William was highly supernormal there was sufficient knowledge that he could well profit by further academic training. And, furthermore, from the very nature of the problem which his delinquencies presented, it was apparent that the emphasis would have to be placed upon an analysis of his mental life and experiences rather than upon fine discriminations concerning specialized abilities.

[To the layman the tests seem to bear out the earlier high estimate of William's ability and the impression gained earlier in the record that this might be an able boy with inadequate responsibilities seeing through the adults about him better than they through him in a way that at least contributed towards the false positions in which he was always placing or finding himself. L. W.]

Mental control: in reactions, very rapid and good on special tests.

Apperceptive ability, exceedingly good with language and good with pictorial material.

Language ability, in general quite good; talks well, evidencing cultural opportunities.

Tests for higher school work and for vocational aptitudes not given.

(2) *Mental Balance:* In no way is there the slightest indication of an abnormal personality, as judged by this examination. He shows very good judgment, orientation. Has ability to size up the situation with regard to himself. Has normal emotional reactions. Good control of his mental powers.

9 (3) *Personality Traits:* As observed by us William appears normally frank, boyish, but rather manly, thoughtful, and affectionate. He seems thoroughly well balanced and self-critical in his statements that he has been through the mill, has made mistakes, and is not going to repeat them.

According to reports, William has shown varying traits at different periods and under different circumstances. It is apparent that he has been affectionate, very generous, decidedly loyal to his friends, enthusiastic, imaginative, untruthful to the extent of considerable fabrication, "shrewd in some ways, but childlike and immature," "careless and thoughtless," "makes a good impression," "impulsive"—"never seems to realize the consequence of his acts."

Boy's Own Story

10 (Interviews were conducted at length over two days during which the boy seemed eager in a manly way to talk over his troubles. Here we do not give the technic of obtaining the facts, as was done in Case 5, and the order in which they were obtained has been changed into a somewhat chronological account for the sake of brevity and clearness.)

In response to a question concerning what the trouble is, William says at once that it is just his bad conduct; he was taken before to see doctors, but there is nothing the matter with his head. "I thought I knew more than anybody. I

9 These personality traits are in the main distinct assets. There is nothing to indicate that the boy is vicious or has traits that in and of themselves predispose him to delinquency. A question may be raised concerning whether he is not over-suggestible, but even if he is, it is a trait that can be used for his betterment. He is certainly not stubborn and obstinate. More notable is the mixture of some mature interests with considerable childishness which leaves him a thoroughly poorly organized personality.

10 The mental mechanisms in part shown in this story are in many respects similar to those found in Case 5 and discussed there in Note 12. Here, too, there is seen to be a dynamic association between very early experiences concerning stealing, lying, and sex experiences, all of which were learned at about approximately the same time with plenty of even external evidences (see the first paragraph in Narrative) of emotional and nervous disturbance. Through intermittent experiences during all these seven years, although there has been repression and hiding of the sex feeling, outbreaks of the trouble through renewal of the chain of associations have taken place.

It is only because of not facing the essential facts of his difficulties that there has been no sublimation of them, in spite of his numerous good interests, qualities, and opportunities.

[Since William was an able boy, it is interesting to consider, after these eight years during which he must have been quite aware that he was a problem to a long succession of representatives of various professions, just what may have been the effect upon him of meeting with an adult who asked him to tell his own story and helped him to do it. In this case, perhaps, William's success with tests and his interest in them may already have established a good basis. But apart from this, the new experience itself, the setting apart of ample time for it, the discovery he must presently have made that this adult was placing his experience at his, William's, personal service and helping him to use it to discover any meanings in his experience that the two of them could work out together,—this must have been, (whether the boy could appreciate it or not) a revolutionizing encounter in such a career of misunderstandings. In its simplest aspect it seems to rest upon that high degree of respect for the individual which we all believe to be of such crucial importance to an adolescent and which appears to the onlooker the basic element in the work of the Judge Baker Foundation. That William had his own form of appreciation of the value of thinking out the situation and that thereby a load was lifted from his mind seems clear from subsequent history as well as from his own statement.

A short passage from Galsworthy's recent play "Windows" is very much in appreciation of the general lack of effort to understand the essential and dynamic situation in our dealings with our fellow creatures, especially with delinquents. He makes Bly (the window washer,

wanted my own way. I thought I could get away with what I did all the time." He thinks it is a good thing for him to have been sent to the correctional school, and he has been treated well up there.

Asked to recall his first stealing, he says he remembers that it was taking money that his mother had put in a bureau drawer. He was alone. (It was only after a considerable number of other details were recalled that the boy changed this statement.) The first bad boys he knew he met when he was only about 7 and staying with relatives. First there was Johnson, who showed him bad pictures and told him about sex affairs; and at about the same time he met Smith who used to steal and who "I suppose talked bad in that way, too." Johnson didn't steal because he had plenty of money to get everything he wanted; but Smith stole very frequently. He remembers now that it was immediately after Johnson told him about sex affairs that he took a knife from a hardware store, and at about this same time he knew another boy, the son of Dr. M., with whom he began doing bad sex things. It was following all this, when he returned home, that he began stealing from his mother, and at about this same time he began lying. Johnson started him in that, too, because he said that whenever he didn't wish to do anything he lied to his mother. Since then it has become so much of a habit that sometimes lies come right out of his mouth and he hardly knows it until afterwards. He says he really doesn't know why he told the remarkable stories at the correctional school; he didn't know that he had until afterwards. "It's a habit; I'm trying to break it."

From then on he heard at different times about stealing and about bad sex things from boys who lived in T. He discovered that there was a boy who lived on his own street who took things from his mother; he knew this because the boy told him so. And then when he was about 10 and on a farm where he and his mother had gone for the summer he had a sex experience that was much more of a shock than even Johnson's revelations. An elderly man there gathered little boys down in a barn and drew for them pictures of bad things and told them stories about this. He never told

whose daughter, an illegitimate mother at eighteen, was on trial for her life for suffocating her baby) say in recalling the details of the trial:—"Why, I've known people that could see nothing but theirselves and their own families unless they was drunk. At my daughter's trial I see right into the lawyers, judge and all. There she was hub of the whole thing, and all they could see of her was 'ow far she affected 'em personally, one tryin' to get 'er guilty, the other tryin' to get 'er off, and the judge summin' 'er up coldblooded." (Mr. March: "But that's what they're paid for, Mr. Bly.") Bly: "Ah, though which of 'em was thinkin' 'ere's a little bit of warm life on its own, 'ere's a little dancin' creature, wot's she feelin', wat's 'er complaint? Impersonal like. I like to see a man do a bit of speculatin' with 'is mind off of 'imself for once."

In a case like this it suggests itself to me that possibly it is not any more the discovery of causes that works the transformation than it is the disclosure to the boy of an adult world in which, though the full range of his delinquencies is known, his story of whatever troubles him will be listened to. Facing any habit disintegrating to personality as a thing to be overcome, and being helped to see yourself as the only possible agent in overcoming it, must be fundamental to recovery. The belated discovery of such possibilities must be a great experience in the life of an intelligent and able youth.

It is clear to me that this rôle of listener and of explorer of the mind of a juvenile delinquent is essentially the province of the expert. I have a feeling that not only do most adults lack the equipment, skill, and experience necessary, but that an important part of the relation rests on the fact of being in the presence of the impersonal, completely informed, but "non-shockable" listener whose skillful guidance without raising issues of praise or blame may lead to seeing one's self as others see one and to making one alive to one's best powers in the situation. However reasoning parents may wish to be, for example, it is, in the nature of things, almost impossible for them not to betray surprise, when the matter-of-fact tone may be the one necessary condition of confidence.

Something may be said, perhaps, on the subject of early sex information coming to children in undesirable ways. It seems to me important for parents to know that all of the sources from which this boy's experiences were derived may and do exist. This seems the only way of being prepared to give a child a chance if he is troubled or wishes to tell of it. To be sure, in this instance the mother and boy might not have been any better off for sharing the knowledge of his experiences except as it might have led to her imparting it to some one wiser than herself who could help him. According to my observations many parents forget or never knew that such things occur, whereas there seem often to be present in many public and private schools and in many neighborhoods individuals of unfortunate experience, especially moved to proselyte the innocent; there seem frequently to be senile or undesirable men standing ready to give their disagreeable interpretation of life to groups of children; and there often are bad leaders among groups of high school age. L. W.]

his mother about his man, nor did he tell Mr. S. who later counselled him about sex habits.

He began these habits very regularly, he thinks, after his experience with the man on the farm and has had a great deal of temptation, generally in the day time. Later both in the academy and in the high school at T. he has heard much talk about girls, and though he himself has never gone with girls or had anything bad to do with them, yet he has had his worst temptations following such talk. Then he has heard much of this sort of thing from George, with whom he has been going the last few years. This boy has been a very bad influence. William says, "He is an awful liar and he is immoral with girls." He told in detail all that he did with them and that he frequently took girls on automobile rides for this purpose. It is he with whom William has been in these difficulties about automobiles.

He has really stolen only one, although he has been mixed up in affairs about other machines. It was the stolen car that he and George kept in the garage for three months. Once he was in trouble for driving without a license, and once they had a smash-up with a machine that they borrowed. There is still another affair that no one knows about; he obtained about two hundred and fifty dollars from his mother by telling her that a friend would invest it in some money-making stock if she gave him the money at once. In reality he paid this money down on a machine which he was bargaining to buy. (Mrs. R. later confessed to us that she had most foolishly let him have this money.)

His truancy he thinks has occurred when he has been indulging in masturbation; his crossness to his mother was simply when he was in a bad temper. She didn't know at all about his bad habits. He has tried to check this habit but it made him nervous, though he acknowledges that he was probably more nervous when he was giving way to it. He has had other temptations in regard to stealing. Sometimes he has conquered these, and lots of times he has taken things and put them back.

When well along in the interview, William was asked if he thought there was any connection between his bad sex ideas and his stealing, he thoughtfully replied, "It seems

there is when it's all brought round to me. I never thought about it before. I never stopped long enough to think."

In the last interview, William reiterated much that he had said before, stating that he had never told anyone previously about any part of his most essential temptations. At the correctional school he has been having sex ideas; but he has been resisting them. There are no special pictures or words that bother him. He remembers the pictures that the man drew along ago, but they don't come up in his mind especially. He insists that he does not want to go home to T.; he wants to buckle down to work somewhere when he gets out — he wants to have something new to occupy his mind. And in regard to his main trouble he says, "I see now the cause. I didn't see it before. It takes a load off my mind. It takes it out of my system, telling it to you."

At this point SUMMARY OF CASE and SUBSEQUENT HISTORY follow.

SUMMARY OF STAFF CONFERENCE

PROBLEM: **Delinquencies:** Much lying beginning at 7 years, sometimes fabricating. Stealing beginning at that age and continuing at intervals, particularly stealing money and recently automobiles with companions. Some swindling. Excessive truancy at times.

PHYSICAL: Good general development. Fair nutrition. At present some trouble with neck, diagnosis uncertain. Attractive features; frank, boyish expression.

MENTAL: (1) **Abilities:** Decidedly supernormal. Good all-round ability, but especially good with language. (2) **Balance:** No signs of abnormality. (3) **Personality:** As observed by us and as reported, shows many good traits: affectionate, thoughtful, rather manly, etc., though at times shows almost reverse of these traits.

BACKGROUND: (a) **Heredity:** Paternal grandfather alcoholic. Otherwise negative, except mother neurasthenic. (b) **Developmental:** Practically negative. (c) **Home Conditions:** Material aspects very good. Father dead seven years. (d) **Habits:** At times restless sleeper and some nervous habits. Some smoking. Masturbation for at least five years, severe at times.

PROBABLE DIRECT CAUSATIONS: (1) Early unfortunate experiences concerning sex affairs and stealing with (2) Formation of dynamic association between these, leading to (3) Much mental conflict with efforts at resistance and repression, but with renewed activity from time to time. (4) Bad companions, first at 7 years; then an especially bad influence at 10 years and various poor companions more recently. These have been most important in his career. (5) Inadequate understanding and control. (6) Habit formation, particularly evidenced in lying.

PROGNOSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS: This boy's good abilities and personality traits speak well for the possibility of a favorable outcome under good management. We should not be surprised to see a great change in his character tendencies following the present exploration, though his fabrication will be most difficult to conquer. We feel that the institution has little to offer him; should be paroled as soon as possible, but, of course, under close supervision. Should not go back to home town; possibly for a time should be away from his mother, for the good of both. He particularly needs the help of an understanding man. Should be encouraged to continue his academic education and receive training fitting his mentality; but also needs plenty of good men-

tal content and wholesome recreation that will offer substitute for his previous unfortunate ideation.

[I have tried summarizing this case as, at the time of the study, a story of troubled adolescence of an intellectually able boy which seems to have been brought to its climax of recourse to public authority (1) in part through the troubled childhood preceeding, characterized overtly by stealing and lying, traceable in part to early sex information coming in undesirable ways; (2) to a home background broken by the father's death and rendered unhappy in spite of physical comforts by a low-spirited and eventually nagging mother; (3) but resting in part, no doubt, on impulses to wrong-doing, to offset which the boy evidently had neither instinctive nor trained powers. L. W.]

Subsequent History

William, of course, was returned directly to the correctional school, and reports soon came that now he was doing very well indeed;; but all felt that it was not the right place for him on account of the limited educational advantages. So he was paroled to attend a denominational preparatory school in New Hampshire. The boy had been showing a good deal of interest in religion for months past and was apparently glad to have a chance to go to this school. But he remained there only six weeks. His attendance at a hospital on account of his neck forced him to be absent on two occasions, and certain irregularities about his going and coming, together with the fact that some boys at this school, with whom he was known to be at least acquainted, had broken into a shop in the village and stolen, made the parole officer to feel it unwise to allow him to stay there.

William was permitted to come to see us again. We went into the matter of his conduct with great care and it appeared clear to us that though he had been weak-willed and had engaged in some misrepresentation, he had really neither stolen anything nor been in any other serious form of delinquency. The boy now complained that when he had gone back to the correctional institution after seeing us previously he had been thrown among boys who were thoroughly immoral in their tendencies and that it had created a good deal of disturbance in his mind. From Boston William once more returned to the institution from which he was on parole. Inside of two weeks, when a certain place in the country promised him failed to materialize, he ran away with two other boys, but eluding them, he merely went home, and returned to the institution by himself in a few days. We learned that there was at this time in one section of the institution a tremendous amount of unrest on account of the sex affairs that William had told us about and that a score of boys had run away within a month. After this return there was evidence that William was simulating sometimes about his neck, and indeed the boy himself acknowledged the fact.

The officers of the institution soon placed William on a farm in New York, where he got himself into bad repute by telling fanciful tales. Inside of a month he was changed to another farm where he did better; this was a simple place where the religious influences were strong. But a still better opportunity educationally was found for him in a few weeks with Mr. W., who kept, in the Adirondacks, an all-the-year camp for tutoring boys and who wished to have some one to help him about the place. At the beginning Mr. W. was informed of William's capacity for fabricating, and the reports for the next few months were that the boy, finding himself not believed, very quickly stopped lying. Then in the winter William left the camp without permission and went to New York to the automobile show. The parole officer, still having it in his mind that William must be mentally unsound (perhaps because of a suggestion once made that the neck symptoms might originate from some brain trouble) made all arrangements for William to go again to the state

hospital for mental diseases. But William came to terms with Mr. W., a really fine man of whom William was fond, and returned there. Directly afterwards, however, he succeeded in getting some people in the neighborhood to believe some new stories about his family wealth. This particular issue was met very wisely by Mr. W., and William settled down once more. The parole officer took the stand that William should be under full charge of Mr. W., so that there should be no divided authority and the boy should not be unduly self-conscious about his being a state ward.

He remained at this place two and a half years, after the early episode having done very well indeed. During the last two years there was almost no untruthfulness, and he was entirely honest. For his work he received a small wage, besides his board and a small amount of tutoring. His attitude towards his mother and her attitude towards him improved. The question had come up earlier whether he should go to live with her, and her friends had advised that on account of her nagging it would not be a good arrangement.

In the autumn of 1921 William did return to his mother. Mrs. R. by this time had lost so much of her money that she herself had to seek employment. (Judging by this, she was evidently in much better health.) William had a little money saved, which helped in the situation. Again he went to the high school in T., where he now got along all right. But soon Mrs. R., obtaining employment in M., a town fifty miles away, she and William moved there. He went to school for a few months until the difficulty with his neck had become so acute that he had to go to the hospital for an operation, it having been decided that there was some bone trouble. At the end of two months, during which William was very patient and brave, he was discharged as cured. This and the family misfortunes interrupted his high school career. The next summer he worked steadily. During this period William became an ardent reader of solid literature, being particularly interested in history and philosophy. It was reported to us by a friend that he and his mother were able to live together now; she no longer nagged and he was unselfish and thoughtful of her.

In September 1922, being still ambitious for a higher education, and the mother and boy having saved some money, William entered the last year of a preparatory school in central New York, where he has achieved high standing. Indeed, he is reported by the principal to be the ranking student of the school. There has been no trouble whatever with his conduct.

(In summary it should be stated that in these years of "Subsequent History" there has not been a single instance known of any stealing by William; and for a long time now, perhaps two years, there has been no report of his untruthfulness. He has long since been released from parole.)

FOOTNOTE OF DISCUSSION:

It is clear that the attitude and efforts of the parole officer were distinctly fine. The institution fell in line with our recommendations and he attempted to carry them out with wisdom.

Those familiar with institutions know that sometimes, as intimated in this case, real epidemics of sex practices spring up and are only to be stamped out by stringent measures.

Concerning William's own career it would have been interesting to know how well he has met his own sex temptations, but opportunity to get this information has not been afforded.

With regard to the therapy in this case, it must be remembered that William, after leaving his mother's home, had to face life's issues with strangers who would not help him monetarily out of scrapes.

Lying as a habit seems to be perhaps the hardest of overt delinquencies to conquer. The history of others (see Case 12) tends to bear this out. About this the prognostications of the summary were sound.

The boy's fabricating has, again in this case, very clear relationship to wish-fulfillment phantasies—brought out stronger than before with decline of family fortunes, cured by having normally to meet the realities of life.

Those who are interested in the psychology of family relationships will no doubt find it significant that the boy was first genuinely successful—and was so for two and a half years—when under conditions which afforded him approximation to paternal guidance through a father substitute.

FINAL COMMENT

In presenting this case we have in mind the class of cases of which it seems fairly typical, a class comprised of individuals with good mental equipment, sometimes coming from what is considered good home life, who have gone on and on in delinquency because their fundamental situation, often one of inner mental stress, has never been understood and met. No good vantage ground for therapy has ever been taken.

This particular study offers the picture of years of failure, despite the active interest of men in several professions, and then the revelation by the delinquent individual of himself to himself and to others, followed by well directed adjustments suited to his special needs.

Doubtless success might have been achieved years earlier, long before the boy seemed so definitely headed towards a criminalistic career. And there is reason to believe, in the light of the steadily increasing seriousness of his offences, and especially in view of many another criminalistic career known to us, that without such special understanding he would not have mended his ways.

JUDGE BAKER FOUNDATION

CASE STUDIES

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FOREWORD

The Judge Baker Foundation studies educational, vocational and conduct problems of young people who are brought for study by parents or who come through the Juvenile Court, school, and all types of agencies which deal with the young. Aiming to make intensive and all-round studies, its staff comprises those working from the standpoint of the psychological, medical, and social sciences. It is only through the devoted service of the entire personnel that the material for the present publication is available.

Readers cannot draw conclusions for scientific purposes from statements concerning localities, names, dates, nationalities, and facts of family history as given because, in the usual professional fashion cases are reported with disguises. But the general facts, even of heredity are accurately transcribed, and no matters of importance for interpretation of causation as it bears on therapeutic possibilities in the individual case are changed or omitted.

The plan of presentation is to offer a first series of twenty studies covering a wide range of problems of interest to educators, psychologists, psychiarists, sociologists, judges, probation officers, and all who deal with matters involving the adjustments of young people. For teaching purposes, a loose-leaf edition is available so that all pages designated with (a) may be withheld until the factual material of the first study of the case, given in the other pages, is treated by the student as a problem to be solved.

It is hoped that the publications can continue and include considereration of groups of cases representing types of problems in education, in make-up of individuals, in conduct, etc. It is planned at later dates to report on important facts of cases earlier published.

The gratitude of students who benefit by these studies is due to the Commonwealth Fund of New York, a grant from which has made this series possible.

The social treatment has been carried out through child welfare agencies of many sorts, and the spirit of their co-operation has been splendid. It would be a pleasure to give credit to the particular agency in each case, but since, for several reasons, it is inadvisable, we desire here to express our deep appreciation of their co-operation with the Judge Baker Foundation.

WILLIAM HEALY, M. D.
AUGUSTA F. BRONNER, Ph. D.
Directors.

Case Study No. 17

SERIES I

JUDGE BAKER FOUNDATION
40 COURT STREET
BOSTON

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CASE SEVENTEEN

Stasia and **Stanley Andrews** (Andrejewski): 18 and 17 years old respectively; both born in U. S.; parents Polish.

Introductory Statement

1 (Sept. 1919) Though it was only Stasia about whom we were consulted first as the problem in the Andrews family, we soon discovered that it was really a family drama that had to be studied. Her mother originally complained to the Polish worker for girls in the nearby settlement that her daughter was nervous, excitable, and so strange in her behavior that she was sure there must be "something wrong with her head;" she was afraid to leave the other children alone with her. Then, before we could see her, Stasia left her home and took a room in the neighborhood. We found it necessary not only to catalog the *dramatis personae* and describe their separate individualties as we always do, but also, and mainly, to know their inter-active relationships in their family group. A short time later we were asked to see Stanley. His vocational capabilities were in question and he was beginning to show delinquent tendencies. The vocational counsellor in the social settlement to which the boy had gone recently said that his observations had led him to wonder if the boy were not defective mentally.

The Family

(Our knowledge of the facts in this case is derived from seeing the several members of this family and hearing their accounts of the situation. Besides, a number of agencies have told us of their dealing with the family and their judgments of parents and children. Other information has been obtained from relatives who have known both parents since they were all young together in the old country.)

Discussion Notes

(As in Case 16, Miss Lucy Wright has collaborated in the discussion; her comments appear in brackets with initials.)

1 [If this illuminating and suggestive study of the aspects of mental life directly responsible for the development of a situation in human affairs were to be made the fullest possible use of for teaching purposes it would be desirable to discuss (perhaps in connection with the introductory statement) the recognition by agencies working with individuals of the importance of the whole family drama and the recognition by agencies working with the family unit of the dynamics of personality behind situations, and, if such studies are to contribute to treatment, the value of *early* recognition of these elements.

In this introductory statement we have a degree of recognition of what I should call problems of situation interactive with problems of personality that is not often so clear-cut as here in the approach of child welfare agencies or of psychiatry and psychology to a given problem. It makes one wish to ask the Judge Baker Foundation for further defining of the symptoms that lead an agency working with individuals, especially with young ones, to discovery of family drama. How does the Judge Baker Foundation know that they are ever safe in not studying "inter-active relationships?" The significant and challenging event in this case seems to lie in "before we could see her, Stasia left her home and took a room in the neighborhood." This following hard upon the mother's complaint, emphasized perhaps with unusual concreteness that there were at least two sides to this matter. L. W.]

As all the studies in this series show, we never omit in the study of an individual consideration of family conditions and influences; for whatever other forces are at play the family life is conditioning as well as is the personality, though its influence often is so subtle that it requires careful inquiry to evaluate it as either a positive or a negative element in the situation. It is not "symptoms" alone that determine the extent to which the details of family life are obtained, but rather the signficance of what the first inquiry elicits.

[The juncture at which such studies as this may best be made is of crucial interest to social agencies if we may hope that the findings are to be pertinent for treatment. From the point of view of family problems, accentuated by experiences incident to immigration, it is interesting that the approach to this case is through the settlement, and at least so far as Stasia and her mother are concerned, through a Polish worker in the settlement. I should like to know how long and well the settlement had known the family before acting; what types of workers conceived of the possible need of psychological study; whether the two children went to the same settlement. These points would be of interest in view of the importance of early recognition of problems of this kind. Relief agencies with their inevitable economic "fears" must so often await disaster before they have any basis of approach.

The Parents

2 **Father:** 48. He was brought up in a small town in central Poland where he had the modest educational advantages of the district: then he was apprenticed to an upholsterer. He worked at this trade until he came to this country in 1899 with his wife and one child. Here he has continued at his trade, always having had a small shop of his own where he does repairing.

He is short and frail appearing, about 5 ft. 2 in. in height, with rather thin features and a strident voice. As the result of a slight congenital hip deformity, one leg is an inch shorter than the other, so that in spite of a special shoe he walks with a somewhat defective gait. For the last few years he has gradually declined in general health, suffering in particular with occasional attacks of "nervous asthma."

He appears intelligent. His conversation is clear and well connected. He reads Polish and English newspapers and some magazines, but no books. He indulges in no particular social theories and is not in the least interested in religion, his thought being given to the facts of the immediate situation, whatever they may be. The relatives report that when young he already had a love of music and "of fine things." He agreed with the younger members of the family in the advisability of Anglicizing their name, but has not been interested in taking out citizenship papers, though stating that this country is a good place to live in.

His family regard him as nervous and easily excited, decidedly fearful about his own health. He complains a good deal about not feeling well and has been to hospitals and dispensaries for advice, but is thoroughly unco-operative about carrying out medical instruction. While he has been reported by some observers as a hard-working man, doing the best that he can under the handicap of his physical condition, the history given by his family shows that he has been too restless to stay long enough in one locality to build up a good trade. He undoubtedly feels very keenly his poverty and is bitter about it, saying the only outcome for him is to die in the harness. His reactions when talking about the friction in the family are those of great excitement,

The settlement, on the other hand, has a rare opportunity to discover the exceptional individual and the point of view of the younger generation in a given situation, provided they have workers equipped to do the recognizing. One wonders, then, in a case known to both relief agencies and settlements just what in the way of "social treatment" had preceded this somewhat belated consideration of mental aspects of this situation. In how far may treatment of situation be satisfactorily undertaken without regard to mental values? This seems to be the leading question for educational and relief agencies before problems of this kind. It would be valuable could we know how the various approaches—economic, educational, psychological—contradict, affirm, or supplement one another in a case like this. L. W.]

The settlement had not known the family very long, but its work for girls was well known in the neighborhood, and especially its head worker in the girls' department, for her understanding and her helpfulness to parents when difficulties arose with their daughters. She was well educated, alert, and progressive, making use of many of the resources of the city, including those for the study of behavior problems. The brother went to the placement bureau of the same settlement, where boys applied for help in finding jobs and where the policy was current of endeavoring to know the boy, as well as to keep posted about vocational openings.

Thus the settlement had no early contact with the family; the Andrews had moved frequently. The relief agency and the hospital workers had been acquainted only with members of the family separately, the former mainly with the mother, and the latter mainly with the father. Interestingly enough and true to what is generally found, each of these agencies was primarily in sympathy with its own client, hearing his or her version of things only, and not placing the facts in a setting that included the other members of the family. Thus the most favorable time for making adjustments that would have aided the welfare of the whole family as well as best helped the one individual with whom they were concerned was not seized. Who knows whether Mr. Andrews would not have been a better earner had he found more sympathy and happiness in his home life? Was not the problem of relief bound up to some measure with his familial relationships, though that might have seemed remote from the question of how much money to supply to the family?

[In these time of swiftness in estimating personalities and of explaining them by even more swiftly drawn conclusions as to mentality it is worth noting that this Polish mother and the vocational counsellor alike sought to explain what they could not account for in these two young people in similar ways:—The mother was "sure something was wrong with Stasia's head;" the vocational counsellor "wondered if the boy were not defective mentally." There is most decidedly a "moral" in that for the general public and the social worker alike. Social work too often aligns itself with the general public, as concerns mental classification, considering itself justified in applying technical terminology to fields in which it has not the necessary training for making discriminations.

although when discussing other topics with strangers he is perfectly calm.

Relatives maintain he has always had a bad temper and has been difficult to live with; he is stingy and has asserted his family mastery even to the extent of buying his wife's clothes.

Father's Family: They were of the artisan and shop-keeping class in the old country, fairly well educated people with no record of delinquency or mental abnormality in the family, but the grandfather drank heavily at times and then displayed a violent temper. Two of the father's brothers have come to this country and have been sucessful; indeed one of them is quite well off. Both live in Baltimore.

3 **Mother:** 47. She lived in the same town as the father. She received a very meagre education and then, until she was married at 24, lived at home helping her mother take care of the large family. She reads and writes in Polish, but has never found time to acquire English beyond very simple conversational necessities.

She is rather short, slight in build, appearing over-worked and worn out. Most notable are her large expressive eyes and her refined manner. She is subject to headaches and periods of feeling weak and dizzy. She has been diagnosed as having a mild, chronic arthritis and prolapsed abdominal organs; special corsets were prescribed for her.

She is variously described as a neat appearing, old-fashioned woman with ambition for her children, but thoroughly incapable of understanding American ways, and as interesting in conversation, interspersing old-world axioms, talkative, grateful, susceptible to little attentions, a great lover of music. She feels keenly her own lack of education. The home is said to have been uniformly neat and well kept.

At times in this country she has worked hard, sewing for tailors. Most of this work she has done at home. At present she seems worn out by the struggle and thoroughly discouraged.

Mother's Family: Four families of the mother's brothers and sisters have migrated to America and live in and about Philadelphia where they have done fairly well. They, too, are artisans or have little shops. All of them, and the

What then? Even suppose the label as to mentality is given by an expert! It would be worth knowing what the seeker of this kind of classification dreams of as following from the diagnosis. What, for that matter, are any of us looking to such studies for? For a mere lifting of responsibility from our own shoulders? Or for a guide to learning how to live better with limited or disturbed minds? And if the issue of mentality is eliminated, what then? Is there to be a renewing of determination to find out how difficult and differing people may live together? There is in any case need for an increasing amount of consideration, especially on the part of social workers, of the dangers both of over-use and of misuse of classification of individuals on the basis of mentality. While urging more frequent consideration of mental elements in certain types of situation we need also to keep ourselves reminded of the perennial dangers of allowing diagnosis to end rather than to guide treatment. L. W.]

2 [*Father:* In the effort to understand the father's part in the situation I cannot escape the feeling that if relief or settlement workers had approached him with imagination at the beginning of the family troubles they might have been able to discover, in his early life or in the past life of his family, factors which would have helped in the understanding and so in the treatment of his attitudes. It is a question if the adult mind of the social worker in approaching such problems without any check of objective tests, and without imagination, may not allow a barrier of presuppositions and prejudices to stand in the way of actual discovery of the true facts. Under such circumstances we need to keep not only all known facts in mind but the widest possible range of hypotheses before judging even a middle-aged, handicapped breadwinner to be well established in his disagreeable ways.

It would be interesting, for example, to know enough of the early ambitions and occupational history of this man to judge whether he had always been inclined to undertake things too large for him, as later history suggests he did in undertaking the New York venture, or whether he was impelled to undertake things too large for him as a result of the pressure and ambitions of his family (as, for example, occurred in Booth Tarkington's "Alice Adams"). It is late now to establish these facts, but the early workers on the case may have missed an opportunity of doing so.

The personality handicap of this self-centered breadwinner, who has evidently made a failure of his economic career and is sensitive to his limitations and to the family poverty seems greater than his physical handicaps. His sensitiveness to criticism, possibly his very readiness to Anglicize the name, perhaps his talk of "dying in the harness," suggest pride, fear, and a sense of despairing inferiority before his family. One would like to know if he suffers so much and is so concerned with himself that he cannot enjoy life from any angle. In any case he seems prematurely old, body and soul,—a striking example of the disappointed immigrant, the disappointed breadwinner, the dis-

grandparents and some other members of the family who remained in Poland, are said to be quite normal in behavior and mental characteristics.

The Children

Rosa: 22 years old.

4 In appearance this young woman is somewhat unattractive; she is short and stout, with coarse though normal features and teeth not well cared for. She graduated from grammar school at 15 and then went to work, but she attended night high school faithfully, completing the commercial course. She has worked steadily for one firm, being promoted from filing clerk to stenographer. She is considered very faithful by her employers and has secured several increases in salary. In disposition she is reported as mild and easy-going; some consider her lethargic. It is agreed by outsiders that she is careless about her personal appearance as well as about cleanliness in the home. Ever since she began work she has given her parents all her pay. Out of it her mother returns her an allowance for necessaries and pays for the girl's weekly piano lesson.

Stasia: 18 years, 6 months.

Developmental History: Walked and talked at normal age; no convulsions, serious illnesses or accidents.

Physical: Though short in stature, Stasia is well nourished. She is very attractive, impressing one at once with her neatness and good taste in simple dress. Her features are refined, her expression responsive and open, and her manner quiet and friendly.

Weight 125 lbs. Height 5 ft. Thorax well developed and strength good for age. Posture good. Normal in structural sex characteristics. Color of mucous membranes fairly good. Teeth, formerly several carious, now being filled; no abnormalities otherwise. Tendon reflexes normal. No tremors. Hearing normal. Vision R 20/40, L 20/60. Eye reflexes and movements normal. Nose and throat in good condition. Heart sounds negative. No stigmata. Very rarely headaches.

appointed individual. He has no American alternatives for the customs that have failed him. It is hard lines in any case to be looked upon chiefly as a source of income. This, perhaps, impelled him to rest upon traditional patriarchal authority in an excessive degree.

Such a situation can be redeemed for any man in one or more of three ways, all of which seem to have been lacking in this instance, (1) the personal ideal that might have helped him to control his own faulty attitude so that he did not hold himself at the mercy of circumstances or of other people's behavior—a possibility to be found on all economic and social levels, even in circumstances as adverse as these; (2) a family so understanding in their sharing of common hardships that he might be buoyed up by their appreciation of his other qualities as offsetting economic failure; (3) an outside influence combined with relief to the family on a basis that allowed him to keep his self respect, perhaps through industrial aid to the handicapped breadwinner as such, without any issue of praise or blame so long as he keeps up his end.

In view of the father's attitude, the fact that his own brothers are successful and well off may give added ground to his feeling of inferiority. L. W.]

3 [The *mother,* too, seems one whom fatigue has overtaken early, cruelly soon, in the face of her responsibilities and sensibilities;—on the one hand, emigration at 27, her husband a very poor earner, the failure of her old-world axioms to carry in the new country, and, on the other hand, awareness of the situation and ambitions for her children; a critical position involving presumably conflicting loyalties. If she is as lovable as the description sounds, the father may have had additional suffering, too, from his inability to do what he would like to do for her. The only hope of bettering things for any woman in such a position would seem to me to be by bettering the situation of her husband in some of the ways suggested and by finding some counsellor (why not the Polish settlement worker) to help her translate her old-world axioms into terms of American life. Both parents impress you as having had capacity enough to be helped by early and appropriate explanation of American ideas and conditions of life. L. W.]

4 [*Rosa,* the oldest child, born in Poland and growing up with her parents, seems to have been of a disposition to accept "that station in life unto which it has pleased God to call her." It is probable that she has never conceived of herself as a victim of circumstances, but enjoys the position of being responsible older sister and prop of her parents. Her recognized and appreciated place of usefulness in the family evidently gives her a status adequate to a girl of her personality and abilities. It is to be noted that there is concrete expression of appreciation for Rosa in the form of money allowance and piano lessons. L. W.]

Mental

5 (1) *Results on Psychological Examination:*[1]

(Co-operative and interested in doing tests; eager to know what she is best fitted for and ambitious to do well.)

Fair in general ability, Intelligence Quotient 96.

Auditory memory, average; visual memory, only fair. Slow in mental reactions; rather poor mental control; good motor control. Language ability fair. Apperceptions with pictorial material good; work with concrete material good. Poor in number work; slow, though fairly accurate on clerical examination.

(2) *Balance:* No signs of abnormality in judgment, will, or emotions. Good orientation and insight; entirely coherent in conversation.

6 (3) *Personality:* As seen by us on several occasions is pleasant, responsive; intelligent in her approach to her own problems; normally introspective; ambitious; seems thoroughly frank and to have good standards and ideals. As judged by her appearance and "Own Story" has fine sensibilities and aesthetic appreciations.

She is reported by her mother as irritable at home, sarcastic, showing ill-will to the other children and jealousy of older sister.

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[1] Stanford-Binet I. Q. 96; passes all 14-year tests except test (4): all 16-year tests except (5, 6), and none above this level.
Auditory memory span: 7 digits (5 backwards).
Visual memory: Binet geometrical forms, 75%; Healy form, 75%.
Trabue Language Scale D: score 14, equals median for grade VIII.
Pictorial Completion II: score 74, above median for adults.
Tapping Test: score 102 squares, no errors, above median for adults.
Easy Oposites: score, average time 1.5", no errors.
Kraepelin Continuous Subtraction: alternately taking 2 and 1 from 39, 82", 1 error; 4's from 51, failure, becomes greatly confused.
Mental Visual Representations: code test, 7 errors.
Word building test: score 15 words, equals median for 14 years.
Woodworth-Wells Hard Directions: score 151", 1 error.
Kansas Silent Reading, Test III: 25.1, between median for grade X and XI.
Construction A: score 26", 11 moves.
Construction B: score 87", 14 moves.
Dearborn Form Board 3: score 3, 5, 8, 9 moves, respectively, on the 4 problems (slowly done, carefully planned).
Clerical Examination: accuracy rank 70, speed rank 8, combined rank 18.
Writing: Judged by Thorndike scale, quality 14, much above grade VIII.
Spelling: Passage based on Ayres scale, 8th grade, all words correct.
Arithmetic: Inaccurate, makes mistakes even in the four fundamental processes.

Habits, Companions, Interests; School and Work History

It is reported that Stasia forms friends normally; when younger she associated regularly with school girl companions. Recently she has had a nice girl chum. She has shown little interest in boys. She is fond of reading, especially stories of romance and adventure, and when younger she read many fairy tales. She enjoys moving picture theaters; recently she joined a girls' club which has general sociability as its aim.

Her eating and sleeping habits are normal.

Because of frequent moving of the family, Stasia attended a number of public schools, losing thereby at least one year. She graduated from grammar school when a little over 14. During her vacations for several years previous to this she worked, and on leaving school at once found employment. For several years she attended night high school, where she took a commercial course, which, however, she did not complete. She has always worked in factories and has been employed in only three places during the last four years. In one of these, from which she was dismissed because of poor business conditions she was later asked to return. She has rarely been idle and never voluntarily.

Stanley: 17 years, 1 mo.

Developmental History: Practically negative in all details.

Physical: Decidedly small for his age, but normal posture. Pleasant features and lively expression; quick in movement; rather dramatic gestures.

Weight 100 lbs. Height 5ft. 1 in. Strength not very good even in proportion to size at his age. Thorax fairly well developed. Color good. Teeth normal except for one badly carious. Neurological examination negative. Heart negative. Hearing and vision both good by ordinary tests. Throat in good condition. Deflected nasal septum, with partial obstruction. No adenopathy. No phimosis. Head fairly well shaped. Considerable but not adult type of pigmented pubescence.

Mental

7 (1) *Results on Psychological Examination:*[1]

(Approach to test work immature; the boy seemed nervous and showed lack of confidence and not really good attention. He was talkative, pleasant, using gestures to help express his meaning when vocabulary failed him.)

Stanley grades as having somewhat less than average general ability. Intelligence Quotient 85; Mental Age 13 8/12.

He has a poor auditory but better visual memory span. Learning ability for rote visual material good, for ideas very poor. Apperceptions on both pictorial and language tests decidedly poor. Language ability in general poor. Common-sense information fairly good. Works rather planfully with concrete material, but has little adeptness with mechanical things.

(2) *Mental Balance:* On account of becoming easily confused, and showing poor control in general, egocentrism, nervous mannerisms, moderate hypochondria, childish phobias and definite instability, none of these traits, however, being excessive, we must judge boy as being a borderline psychopathic personality, but feel that possibly some of these instabilities are temporary adolescent characteristics.

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[1] Stanford-Binet I. Q. 85; passes all 10-year tests, all 12-year except (3,4), all 14-year except (1 and alternate), and does correctly (2, 4) of the 16-year tests.
Auditory memory span: 6 or 7 digits (5 backwards).
Visual memory: Binet and Healy form 100%.
Trabue Language Scale D: score 12, equals median for low grade VI .
Pictorial Completion II: score 49, about equals median for 10 years.
Tapping Test: score 83 squares, 4 errors, equals 15-year median for speed, but more errors than median for any age.
Easy Opposites: score, average time 1.3", 1 error.
Mental Visual Representations: Code test, 8 errors; Second cross-line test correct at first trial.
Construction A: score 12", 7 moves.
Construction B: score 65", 17 moves.
Dearborn Form Board 3: score 3, 7, 12, 9 (rather well done).
Stenquist Assembly Test: raw score 44.
Healy-Bronner Learning Tests:

A,	first trial	12					
B,	"	"	1,	second trial	3,	third trial	3
C,	"	"	3,	"	"	6,	"	"	7
D,	"	"	5½,	"	"	6,	"	"	7½

Writing: Judged by Thorndike scale, quality 10, grade VI.
Spelling: Passage based on Ayres scale, 8th grade, correct.
Arithmetic: Fails in long division; multiplies correctly.
Common-sense information: fairly good.

5 From Stasia's test findings as a whole we may conclude that it would have perhaps been better for her to have enrolled in a high school of practical arts than to have taken commercial courses. Her good ability with concrete material, especially her planfulness and good perceptions of spacial relationships, together with her aesthetic feeling and good taste, would probably make her both interested and successful in some skilled hand work, such as pattern making and design. There was no vocational guidance in her night school courses.

6 [*Stasia* is a striking temperamental contrast to Rosa. She is ambitious, and there is a basis for it. In some ways it is surprising that she did not displace Rosa as leader in the family. The very fact that she has "fine sensibilities" makes her more like either of her parents than Rosa and might make them, though they do not recognize it, sensitive to what they cannot do for her. There is clearly no recognized place of usefulness for her in their family life corresponding to that of Rosa, although later it appears that the mother, at least, really missed the order and beauty that Stasia had struggled for when at home. Second and later children often suffer from their chronological position in the family, especially if they are of marked or different personality. Parents seem not to have imagination enough to provide forms of recognition and appreciation equally appropriate for different children. What Stasia had to give neither she nor her family were, perhaps, able to evaluate and make a place for. The factor of jealousy, peculiarly fostered by this situation, is hard even for skillful parents to meet even under favorable circumstances.

The repeated thwarting in the matter of schooling through their moving must have been particularly hard for an able child to bear. But, on the whole, this individual seems to have had within herself the necessary means of working out her own salvation. L. W.]

7 Stanley's test findings show that he is well above the border of mental defect. He, too, is somewhat better in working with concrete material, though he shows no marked special ability of any kind so far as he was tested.

8 [*Stanley,* in contrast, would be a problem for any family, but is at a peculiar disadvantage with a family background which so far appears to be that of parents prematurely aged and of temperamental limitations without intellectual training and fitted to cope only with children, who, like Rosa, fit neatly into their scheme of life. L. W.]

[Mental tests have a peculiar significance here for the lay worker in eliminating an issue in one case and in making the problem clear in another, both factors of strategic importance in disproving the mother's ground for fear and in confirming the vocational counsellor's doubts. L. W.]

8 (3) *Personality Traits:* Talkative, tense, distinctly immature, boyishly irresponsible, dramatic, ingenuous, interesting, likeable. Reported suggestible, easy going, easily discouraged, honest.

Habits, Companions, Interests; School and Work History

Stanley rarely smokes; he drank much coffee earlier, but wanting to grow more, he stopped drinking it. He denies bad sex habits of any kind.

Formerly he took violin lessons, but his younger brother so outclassed him that he gave it up. However, he is rather fond of music. Occasionally he goes to moving picture shows. He has no very special interests and reads but little.

Earlier he had school boy friends, recently he has been steadily going with several undeniably bad companions, one of whom has a considerable court record. With him he stayed away over night, sleeping in the park.

Stanley had an indifferent school record, graduating from grammar school at 16. He repeated two grades, but there is a question whether this was not due in part to the family's moving about so much. Going to work first at 16, he had three jobs, each of which he held for only a short time, leaving for different reasons; then for the last eight months he has worked in a drug store. The hours have been very long and the boy became dissatisfied and has just now left this place.

Vladimir: 12 years

9 Small in stature, he is healthy and attractive looking, especially because of his large expressive eyes. He is reported as high-strung, talkative, restless, interested in school work, in which he does just fairly well. He shows considerable musical talent and for several years has been taking violin lessons, given at a greatly reduced price, from a fine teacher, a member of the Boston Symphony Orchestra. He practices faithfully and is very enthusiastic about his music. He is said to be rather demonstrative and quite spoiled, but he works before school and on Saturdays to earn money for his music lessons.

9 *Vladimir:* Exceptional talent in the family is another type of problem for almost any family in poor circumstances. While it may be a source of pride, it also in the case of music in small quarters makes life practically very difficult. Perhaps in this family too many wished to be performers instead of listeners. L. W.]

10 [One has a feeling that economic goals were for some reason not wholly satisfactory to this family. Did they consider them beneath them? The most striking evidence on this point is their complete capitulation as a family to music. But even so, it is equally striking that it does not appear to have provided an adequate common bond. It is strange that the father should have approved of devoting so much of their time and money to music and have feared Stasia's being like the dramatic aunt, as appears later to have been the case. Perhaps something out of the past haunted him beyond the ordinary. It would have been interesting to know what he really wished to be in his youth and whether he was like Stasia.

This graphic picture of a family, barring certain variations and exaggerations, in many ways differs little from countless others. The range of personalities is perhaps somewhat startlingly varied, especially when they are thought of as living at such close quarters and getting on each other's nerves. This perhaps contributed one more element to the general lack of unity. It is quite clear that at this juncture the situation was one of *impasse* and for the parents a tragedy. There was clearly no power within the group to save Stasia to the family. (One wonders if they were all as unhappy as this accounts suggests or whether they had some capacity for enjoying the excitement of friction.) Poverty, talent, and ambition make a trying blend with physical and personality handicaps. The sheer strain of living in small quarters under poverty with this varied assortment of high-strung individuals is quite terrific in itself, especially when leadership has failed. In this instance the only form of leadership offered had been the father's futile efforts to maintain his traditional role as patriarchal head of the family. It is rather rough on the older generation to find themselves in the position where the only customs they know, those of the past, fail them and the external forces of the present are more encouraging to the individual and to the younger generation than to the family and to the older generation. They find here, on the whole, a world committed to the idea that the individual may apparently thrive by evasion of responsibilities to the older generation and by a self-cultivation at the expense of family relationships.

Any such situation is hopeful only if in addition to such common purpose as may come from economic necessity there is affection as well as tradition to hold them together. Stasia later mentions the need of love (one wonders where she got the idea). But one cannot help feeling that while she longed for it from her elders she herself brought very little to the situation. She is in fact very modern in dwelling on what others lack rather than what she herself may bring

The Home

10 Mr. Andrews has continued at his trade ever since he came with his wife and Rosa to this country in 1900. He has had a little shop for upholstering and furniture repairing, moving a number of times as new districts seemed to offer better trade prospects. Living quarters have always been separate from the shop. They have remained practically the same in character; four or five rooms in rather congested tenement neighborhoods. The home is said to have been always clean and neat. The father managed to do fairly well in business during this period.

Then in 1911 Mr. Andrews moved his family to Baltimore and opened a larger shop there which proved a complete failure and they had to receive outside aid. Soon they returned to Boston and the father started again in a smaller way. But ever since then he has done so poorly that his earnings have never averaged more than fifteen dollars a week. Here too, although the family tried to do without it, aid from public and charitable organizations was received for a time. Two or three new neighborhoods were tried, but with each move the living conditions have been worse.

For five years now the family has occupied the second floor of a dilapidated wooden house. There are four rooms and a bath, kept fairly neat, but all in poor repair and very poorly furnished, although overcrowded with the family belongings. The kitchen is used as living-room. In the parlor, occupied at night as a sleeping room, there is a piano, a violin, and a banjo. On the walls there are family portraits.

As the older children have gone to work they have contributed to the family support and conditions have, consequently, been somewhat better, but the income has always been inadequate for good standards of living, although there has been a considerable amount spent for music in the home, the musical instruments mentioned above have been purchased and all the children except Stasia have taken music lessons.

to the situation. It might be said in fact that the general tendency of this family seems to have been to dwell on negative rather than positive elements in their life. They seem to have had a habit of looking on the dark side. No one except Rosa seems to have been quite fitted to sustain the part of father, mother, daughter, brother, sister in the conventional way.

What is cause and what is effect in this case is hard to say. But any change in such a situation at any juncture must have rested on either or both of two bases: (1) From within the family through children of more heroic mould and parents whose physical and mental courage had not given out, but who had power in themselves to recognize that "to understand is to forgive." Many things in the story make one feel that in both Stasia and her father there were common traits that might have transformed the situation if they could have broken through the crust of circumstance and habit. He was sufficiently sensitive to "faint" under her verbal attacks. She wished she might go into the shop and say, "Let us be friends." Both were proud and sensitive and must have had the virtues of these faults could they have been hauled out by even a little mutual appreciation. (2) Any change in such a situation from without could best be brought about by social agencies prepared to meet the difficult question of what to do with the specific examples of the possible fact that "family life is declining and that there is little left of the old sentiment for the patriarch." Concretely, the possibilities are in an instance like this, (a) early understanding and interpretation of old world customs, principles, and axioms, and translation of them for both parents and children, and (b) if relief is necessary, giving that in a way that will sustain the self-respect of both generations, possibly, in such a case as this, by industrial aid to the handicapped breadwinner and scholarships to a girl like Stasia at the right time to keep her in school.

It is noteworthy that not only is there little suggestion of sentiment in his family group but little suggestion of affection among brothers and sisters, no pairing off of children as is so common; supposing Stasia, for example, had cared for the musical or for the somewhat delinquent younger brother. She seems to have had in general very little of that maternal quality which sometimes shows itself in attitude toward parents and younger brothers and sisters and supplies one bond where another fails. L. W.]

Home Life

Mother's Story

(Obtained by Polish speaking worker.)

11 They were not always so poor, but ever since they came to this country they have had a hard time to get along. But they used to live better than they do now and she was not always so worn out and broken in health. (In proof of this she shows a photograph of herself taken eleven years ago.) Now she lives only for her children. She is sorry for them because the family is so poor and doesn't blame them if they grow discouraged sometimes. She only hopes that they will get on better in life and have more education than she had, she has found out how little you can do without an education.

Her oldest girl Rosa has never given them any trouble. She is a fine girl, "an angel," ambitious, good to her parents.

Stasia is altogether a different kind of girl. She never gave a great deal of trouble until she was about 14 years old, but since then she has been very ugly at home, making sarcastic remarks, and being mean to all of them. Sometimes when the children talk to her she doesn't answer. She slams the doors behind her. She is worst of all to her father. This, her mother thinks, is because he made her leave school to go to work. But they needed the money. Stasia wanted to go to day school and she has borne her father a grudge ever since. She showed that she disliked him. If she saw him coming she would say, "Oh, he's coming already!" And then, she always said that her mother loved the other children, especially Rosa, more. Of course, this wasn't true. It was because Rosa had a better position and was working in a store while Stasia has had to work in a factory and associate with girls who were beneath her that Stasia was jealous, and because her sister bought a piano and took piano lessons. She would always say that the practicing annoyed her, but Rosa offered to teach Stasia and Stasia refused. She began to be so ugly to her father that he wouldn't speak to her, and once he got so excited that he fainted. Then she began fussing about the children, saying "This one is this and that one is that," until her mother was afraid to have her even eat with the children or be alone with them for fear

she would injure them in some way. She hates the family and they are all afraid of her. She makes life so miserable for her father that he won't come home while she's there.

Stasia has always gone with good girls and she has worked hard. In one factory she had her pay increased, and sometimes she took jobs that she knew she wouldn't like rather than be without work. Her mother has no trouble to get along with her and wanted her to have as many chances as her sister had. Stasia has always been very neat and clean about herself. "She loves to bathe herself often." Of all the children she has taken the most interest in trying to keep the house looking nice.

Her sons are good boys, only lately Stanley has been giving some trouble, though he has never been bad at home. Sometimes he gets cross, but he gets over it quickly. Vladimir is nervous, but not a bad boy at all. He is going to do a great deal with his music, she is sure. His teacher says he has great talent and he gives Vladimir his lessons much cheaper for this reason. They are all musical; she has a brother who is a fine musician; she herself loves music, and so does the father.

Of course her husband does not earn very much, but he works hard and does the best he can, and he always wants his children to do the right thing. There was almost no trouble in the family life when the children were little.

Stasia's Story

11 She has never been happy at home. She doesn't understand herself just why she has always had such a feeling of grudge and dislike for her father. It infuriates her sometimes just to see him. She would come home from work and see him sitting at the table and she would feel she couldn't bear him. This feeling, she thinks, began when he made her go to work instead of allowing her to stay in school and get an education. (But see later facts.)

"He wants to be the king in the household; he wants to boss us all. I think it's because he's a failure, and he wants others to be, too, so that they won't be better than he is. Anyway, he should have made good. He's got enough sense and education. When he was successful in a little way he

wasn't satisfied. He wanted to make more. But since he lost his money he's never had any ambition. He's been willing to keep a little shop and let the charities help him. Of course, when he lost all his money they had to help us. But after that he thought it was all right to take help and he's never exerted himself since. If he had he could have made good." (All this is said with much bitterness.)

In the evening the father sits at the table and reads the Polish papers to her mother and if she or one of the others makes a comment he tells her it is not for her to talk but to listen. She has never been able to give in to him as the others have. "Rosie, the queen of the family, to this day does just as she is told. She brings home all her money. She takes piano lessons although she doesn't want to and practices evenings when she is tired, just as she's told to." Stasia acknowledges that Rosa is really a very good girl, but Rosa's mildness makes her furiously angry, makes her rebel at home more than ever. Her mother, too, keeps quiet no matter what her father says, in order to have peace.

Asked what is her earliest memory of any incident that she resented, Stasia tells us that she thinks it was something that occurred when she was about five. She loved to go with her mother on shopping expeditions because she was usually given candy or some treat. Once when she was very good and her mother had promised to take her, her father forbade it for no special reason. When she cried through disappointment he beat her in front of some customers in the shop. From that time on she avoided him; if he tried to whip her she would hide and lock her door, which aggravated him exceedingly. Then they disagreed about her likes. She was always fond of dancing around the house and waving her arms about. This made him furious because he has a sister who was on the stage and whom he says she resembles. When she would dance and sing at home her father would forbid it, telling her she would have a bad end.[1] She knows now that she often was unreasonable — she is so much like her father — but she thinks it is only fair to say he didn't know how to manage her. He never drinks, but he is not clean about his person, and that always disgusts her.

[1] Through later inquiry we learned that this aunt really came to no bad end—she merely was unsuccessful in her stage career and abandoned it.

While never obscene, he swears a good deal in Polish. "The point is I think the home needs love, and he never seemed to believe that." She likes music but she has never had any lessons, although the other children all have.

Of her school career she says she was not a success and not a failure. She has always been most fond of drawing, gymnastics, and dramatics. She doesn't know that she has any great talent for any of them but she enjoys them much. She has great need for exercise and activity, and the keeping quiet at home has always been hard for her, whereas the noise of the others practicing and the quarreling that goes on at times "nearly drives her wild."

Asked about outside influences, she says she doesn't think there have been many that have shaped her life. She never was a hero worshipper and had only one teacher whom she admired. Reading has been a much greater influence than people. She remembers that at 8 years she lied about her age to get a library card and she has had one ever since. Then she read many fairy stories and day-dreamed a good deal, imagining herself a princess. At about 12 she became interested in love stories and read so many that she became sick of them. Now she likes mystery stories, although she reads some better books and current fiction. During recent years she has indulged very little in day-dreaming, and never romances to herself. She is quite sure that bad companions have been no influence. She is rather ashamed of her attitude about sex matters, being afraid she will be thought too good and smug about this. To tell the truth she has never been interested in sex things at all. Although she heard some talk at school, she understood and knew very little until at 15 she herself asked a married woman for some information. She was told in a very sensible way and had no shock from it. In the factories where she has worked she has avoided such things through lack of interest. Recently, for instance, a bad joke was passed about and she handed the paper on unopened.

She has always had girl friends and some boy friends. She goes now with a group of six girls who occasionally give little affairs to which they invite boys. The club is the settlement to which she belong have debates of which she is very fond, she likes to argue. They occasionally give

dances and plays. She much enjoys going to parties, but doesn't go often. (She shows some embarrassment at this point, and in response to questions about the matter seems rather shame-faced.) That is a matter about which she feels badly although it is really too petty to talk about. The trouble is about her clothes. She loves pretty things and of course can't go to dances and parties without having something decent to wear. She finds it difficult to earn enough to buy the things she would like to have besides paying her board and giving some money at home.

She has never liked the hand work in factories which she has always done; she could earn better at machine work but she has always had a feeling that that was beneath her because, "You don't need any brains, you are only a machine yourself." Her commercial training was not adequate for her to hold even a clerical position.

She does worry a good deal about the home situation and at times is quite depressed. Nowadays she visits her mother but not her father. Sometimes when she passes his shop she wants to go in to say to him, "Let's be friends, even if we don't get along well enough to live together," but she can't make herself really do it. "He's repulsive to me." She is happier living under the present conditions than she was at home, but even now is discontented largely because of the money difficulties and her dislike of her work.

Stanley's Story

11 He has been having trouble at home lately because he lost his job. He graduated from grammar school a year ago. He didn't get along very well in school; he had to repeat two grades. Then he went to work, first as an errand boy, but he didn't like it. Then he had a couple of other jobs, each for a short time. His last job was in a drug store in his own neighborhood. He was to do errands and help in the store. After a time he had charge of the soda fountain. He kept this job for about eight months. He is sorry now that he gave it up, but it was because he got all mixed up there. "There were so many bums around and they'd come into the store and holler at me all at once. They'd ask for all kinds of different drinks and call me 'bone head' and 'sap head'

11 [The consummate part of this record is in the Stories, and particularly Stasia's—you feel the power, honesty and illuminating quality of it so tremendously,—and what this survey of her experience under skillful guidance may mean to her future.

What a picture! What an impasse! How truthful, how penetrating! What an evidence of character that Stasia knew what to do, so much so that one can conceive of her later in life as the one child who may appreciate the tragedy of her parents' lives and by choice wish to have a hand in the careers of her younger brothers. At this juncture there is clearly nothing maternal in her make-up. She is an analyst, a critic, intellectually honest and unafraid, vastly superior to the other members of her family in intellectual insight and grasp. Her aesthetic tastes and longing for external order perhaps run away with her. She asks love of the others but has none too much to put into this economic and psychological situation which she analyzes so acutely. She feels her own needs but does not see herself as a possible power in this home situation. Had she, she might have found a career right here, were she not so wholly modern in considering what parents owe children rather than what children owe parents. Like them, perhaps, she "feels above the situation" that both they and she are in, rather than sees it as a challenge, not that any one has a particular right to expect this; only such an attitude has been known to provide a very full and fascinating life for able individuals even younger than Stasia. The life at home and at work is clearly below her capacity, as explicitly stated by her and her mother. She cannot see her way through such an assembly of distasteful obstacles and probably sees no fun in the idea of working her way out.

From the point of view of decision at this juncture about these two young people there is obviously adequate and interesting data here on which to decide and scarcely any ground for debate. It was high time Stasia left home; her own story is the superlative piece of evidence for this; she has not had a chance. Stasia was not "out of her head," at least unless staying at home made her temporarily so. For any consideration of family treatment concerning Stasia it is clearly "too late."

And also for Stanley, with his mental limitations, the home promises to be inadequate and unsatisfactory.

The study is, however, so suggestive of possibilities of getting at the interaction of personalities as basis for better treatment of families in in certain circumstances that one longs for more—more about the basis of recognition of problems needing this type of analysis; more about what had been tried by other agencies in this case; more about the early life and ambitions, especially of the father—why not Father's Own Story? Exploring the mind of the ablest and probably the most responsive individual in the group may give us the truth as to the present situation, but not necessarily as to the father's point of view, however mistaken, or the causes for it.

In general in facing the possible fact that the institution of the family is on the decline and that certainly there remains no sentiment for the patriarchal idea one wishes all the more to discover promptly

if I made a mistake. And they'd try to get out without paying, and while I was trying to get at some one, another would be taking cigars or things off the counter. They mixed me up so much I just got crazy." He says that several times he made a mistake in getting change from the cash register, and he thinks the proprietor, Mr. S., sometimes made a mistake and that he, Stanley, got blamed for it. He strongly maintains that he never stole a cent.

There were some other things about the job that were hard. Mr. S. was very nervous and used to make Stanley nervous too. This winter there were some hold-ups in the neighborhood and so Mr. S. used to ask Stanley to stay late and not leave him alone in the store. "And then when I'd go home I was so scared I'd shake at every alley I come to, and when I'd fall asleep I'd wake up saying, 'Who's there!' And it got so I got a pain behind my ear and I couldn't sleep any more. Besides there were terrible rats in the place and Mr. S. was afraid of them. He would make me go down to the cellar. Sometimes they would jump out of the boxes. Once one jumped right at me."

Recently he went away from home with another boy. He went because, since he has been without a job, they holler at him all the time at home and call him names in Polish. All of them do this. His mother has been scolding him and his father talks a lot about it too. But it is his oldest sister Rosa who makes the most trouble for him. "She's too fresh." She keeps telling his mother that if he doesn't work he shouldn't have anything to eat — not until he brings in money. He doesn't know where to get money from until he can find another job. There was so much trouble about this lately that he sold his banjo for five dollars and gave his mother three dollars.

He never had as much trouble getting along with his father as Stasia had. His father is cross a good deal. Stanley thinks this is because his father doesn't earn much. Once his father threw his keys at him and really hurt him. "When he goes to bed nights he sometimes keeps yelling 'I'm dying, I'm dying.' and he gets the whole family stirred up." When the children don't do things quickly enough when he speaks to them he bangs his fist on the table or thumps the stove with the poker.

case by case whether we have "the makings" of a real family before us or not. The process of individualizing to the degree illustrated here is most illuminating in this particular issue and suggestive of the general need for fuller study by similiar processes of certain types of situation with a view to defining more closely appropriate forms of adult education and relief if any attempt at social intereference is to be made. Sufficiently good general case work early in this instance might certainly have given Stasia her chance and fostered self-respect in the father. The question of the degree of individualizing called for in any given situation is an interesting and crucial one for social case work at this time. L. W.]

Had Stasia read treatises on the modern conception of the reactions of an individual to feelings of inferiority she could scarcely have given a truer picture or keener analysis of such a situation. Probably because of her own sensibilities she was able to see the motives that actuated her father and of which he was himself unaware. It would be difficult to find a more vivid picture of the man, a failure among his fellow men, with compensatory domination of his family. Perhaps even his unco-operativeness for the betterment of his health, in spite of his constant complaining and fear of dying, was again a refuge, since through his ill health he could justify to himself in some measure, at least, his economic failure.

Nor could we wish for a more explicit statement of the kind of parental behavior that may form the basis of a child's deep-set grudge. Stasia's reaction to her father's arbitrary and unjust action, even when she was only five years old, is not at all unusual, though it may be more extreme and more lasting than with the average child. Perhaps it was because of this early childhood experience that she interpreted little things, remarks and actions, in a manner very different from her brothers and sisters. It may have been her interpretation rather than her treatment that caused her to feel discriminated against.

Much that bears on the discussion of this case can be found in Fluegel's *The Psychoanalytic Study of the Family,* in Adler's *Neurotic Constitution,* and in various other literature of the psychoanalytic school. Most interesting is a point not mentioned by Fluegel or these other writers, a point which this case so clearly illustrates, namely, that to the same situation the reaction of different individuals may be very unlike. As far as the father's domination and ill temper went, the situation was identical for all members of his family. But the reaction thereto of the mother and the different children was vastly unlike. Compare, for example, Rosa and Stasia, the former accepting, acquiescing, the latter rebellious and unyielding; the one insensitive apparently to many of the features of the home life that were exceedingly irritating to the other with her love of cleanliness and order. And let the reader attempt for himself other comparisons.

This boy that he went away with did steal, and Stanley knows that he has a court record. He has known him for about a year, but he has never gone with him much. Once lately Stanley brought this boy home to stay all night and Rosa made an awful fuss about it.

He goes with one or two other bad boys. About a year ago he ran away and was gone all day. The boys with whom he went off that time were bad ones, he knows. One of them, who is only fifteen years old is a gambler and is now being held on $800 bail for some serious stealing that he did. It is this bad crowd of boys that used to come into the store and purposely torment him. And maybe it was partly because they have tried to get him to go stealing with them that he gave up his job. Recently he has been going around with these boys, but he has not stolen with them; and now that he knows what crooks they are he is going to quit them.

At this point SUMMARY OF CASE and SUBSEQUENT HISTORY follow.

SUMMARY OF STAFF CONFERENCE

Stasia

PROBLEM: Because of peculiar behavior at home, mother questions girl's mental normality.

PHYSICAL: Short, but well nourished. Somewhat defective vision. Pleasant, responsive expression. Refined appearance.

MENTAL: (1) **Abilities:** Fairly good general ability. Good motor control. Planful with concrete material. A slow but careful worker. (2) **Balance:** No signs of abnormality. (3) **Personality:** Makes a very favorable impression because of neatness, friendliness, intelligent and critical approach to her own problems. Seems ambitious and frank. Strong aesthetic feeling and sensibilities. Reported at home as exceedingly irritable, quarrelsome.

BACKGROUND: (a) **Heredity:** Father nervous, hypochondriacal. His family negative. Mother and her family negative. (b) **Developmental:** Negative. (c) **Home Conditions:** Shabby and unattractive. Inadequate income. Much friction. Father bad tempered, domineering, repressing all members of the household, thus arousing (d) **Development of mental attitude:** strong antagonism based on feeling of injustice and dissatisfaction with the unaesthetic features of family life.

PROGNOSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS: This girl's reactions to her total situation seem normal. Her attempt to solve her problem by leaving home and boarding with friends appears most sensible, especially as she visits her mother. In view of her characteristics the prognosis for her seems good. Incidentally, vocational maladjustment should be considered, since her work is not commensurate with her abilities nor in keeping with her interests. Her commercial training, though incomplete, should enable her at least to do some clerical work. Her abilities, if she had opportunity for training, would indicate capacity for skilled hand work. A specialist should be consulted about her vision. The settlement worker has promised to act as "Big Sister" and give friendly supervision and help concerning all this and her recreations.

Stanley

PROBLEM: Vocational advice, also prevention of delinquent tendencies which are just now being shown—staying out all night, associating with bad companions.

PHYSICAL: Very short, but fairly good nutrition. One badly carious tooth. Deflected nasal septum. Pleasant features; responsive expression.

MENTAL: (1) **Abilities:** poor in general ability. Poor in school work. (2) **Balance:** Border-line of psychopathic personality, showing

poor control in general (see details). (3) **Personality:** Immature, talkative, egocentric, likeable, suggestible.

BACKGROUND: (For (a) **Heredity** and (c) **Home Conditions,** see summary of Stasia.) (b) **Developmental:** Negative. (d) Bad companions recently and earlier. (e) Unemployment recently and consequent nagging by family, leading to his remaining away to avoid unpleasantness.

PROGNOSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS: The chances for his developing stability are not good under the conditions of his family life. They would be considerably better if he were living in a quieter home atmosphere.. If a good Home for working-boys existed here, as in some cities, Stanley would be a suitable candidate for it. No special ability of vocational significance having been found we should advise placing the boy at some work similar to what he has been doing fairly successfully recently.

One tooth needs attention, specialist should pass judgment on his nasal condition.

Subsequent History

During the three and a half years since this family was first known to use they have continued to live in the same place under conditions in the home that have become steadily a little worse. The father's health has declined, and sometimes for periods of a month or more he has been unable to work at all. The added poverty has increased the discouragement of both the father and the mother, who have been compelled from time to time to accept outside aid. It has been observed that since the father brings in almost no money the mother has lost patience with him; there is now much quarreling between them, the mother asserting herself much more than she did earlier. Indeed the father has lately gone to the relief agency for sympathy, complaining that he is no longer wanted at home; Stanley calls him names, and his wife threatens to lock him out if he does not earn more money.

The home itself has been neglected, until now there is only slight semblance of order and cleanliness. The mother has become somewhat erratic and increasingly complaining. Recently our visitor found her moving about the room putting things in one place and then in another in a purposeless way. The house itself was dirty, the floor strewn with papers and bits of cloth, the bathroom so neglected that is seemed impossible that it could be used, and the beds were covered with dirty linens. The mother said that since Stasia had left no one had cared whether the place were orderly or not. Rosa is uninterested in such things. The curtains have not been washed and put up for a long time, —it was Stasia who used to look after such matters, and the mother alone cannot cope with the situation. The income has been very irregular.

Rosa is the only one who has been working steadily, but now, as she

has grown older, she has had to have more money for her clothes, especially recently since she became engaged. She still is good to her parents and is the only one who shows affection to both of them.

Stasia has remained away from home, living for a long time with the same friends with whom she was when we first saw her. Through the worker in the settlement who was interested in her she obtained a clerical position in a publishing house with which she was much more contented than she had been with factory work, and which she retained for about eight months. During this time she not only cared for herself and saved, but regularly gave money to her mother. The department in which she was employed having been given up, she lived for a short time on her savings, but after these diminished and other employment could not be found, she rather unwillingly accepted the advice of Miss A., the settlement worker to whom she now frequently went to talk over her problems, and went as a mother's helper in a family living in a suburb. Stasia herself later said that once having gone she thought it wise to stay long enough to learn about the proper care of a household. And besides, her pay here could be almost entirely saved except for the several dollars a week which she continued to contribute to her family. During the six months that she remained here a question arose whether she should not go to the town high school and complete her commercial course; but at a conference with us in which the matter was thoroughly discussed, the point was made that Stasia was right in not desiring to attend the ordinary high school class and take her place among girls so much younger.

Then an opportunity was again found for her in office work and she once more came in to the city to live with friends. This position she held until she was asked to return to the publishing house where she had earlier worked; there she remained, working steadily, until her marriage a few months ago.

During these three and a half years the relationship with her family has remained much as it was at the beginning. With her mother she has been friendly, but the feeling between herself and her father has never been overcome, and she has not been on very friendly terms with her sister or brothers. She has kept up with her club interests. It was on one of her summer vacations that she met the young man whom she has married. Although she took him to her home to introduce him to her family she refused ever to bring him for a visit and she did not invite her family to the wedding, solving the matter by being married by a justice of the peace. Largely through her influence, her husband, who is reported to be an ambitious and industrious young man, has found employment in Philadelphia and they have started housekeeping there, Stasia making it distinctly plain to her family that she wishes to live her own life according to her own ideals and standards.

Stanley has remained at home. Work was obtained for him in a small factory, where, after several weeks, his employer reported that he was a splendid worker; that he only wished he had several more just like him. This employer took quite a personal interest in Stanley and said he would try to promote him as soon as possible. But the mother

at this period complained that Stanley had not given up his bad companions; he claimed that he had no one else with whom to go. The vocational counsellor was approached and asked to arrange for Stanley's joining some of the boys' clubs, since Stanley himself seemed to lack initiative.

About six months later the vocational counsellor again discussed the boy with us. He wondered if there were not something wrong mentally with Stanley, he seemed so suggestible, having recently been led by another fellow at the factory to stop his work for several days and go on a trip in a borrowed automobile. His employer, however, kept him on at the factory and things went fairly well until the following summer, when, at the urging of his former bad companion, with whom he had earlier been away from home, he gave up his job to try to find work in a summer hotel. On the way, the boys, who were tramping up to the mountains, were picked up by an automobilist and late that afternoon were arrested, the police claiming that the machine was a stolen car. Together with the others, Stanley was held in a county jail for ten days pending investigation. His club leader from the settlement, who had all along acted more or less as a big brother went up in the boy's behalf and was able to have him dismissed from the court. He did not think that Stanley seemed to appreciate the seriousness of being in jail, or the folly of trying to get a new position in such a way and in such companionship.

Since his return home he has worked as an extra helper to a house painter. He earns quite well when his employer has a job for him, but often is idle. His parents make no complaint about this; they think he is not lazy; and during the periods when he is not employed he helps his mother somewhat about the house. His mother says he is still restless and subject to outburst of temper, usually shortlived, and sometimes he and his father have terrible scenes in which she gets embroiled. He has been in no further delinquency, but the workers at the settlement still regard him as a fellow with poor judgment who is likely to be influenced by others to get into foolish scrapes.

Vladimir, when seen recently, was showing typical adolescent traits. He had just left high school in the third year, apparently having lost ambition for further schooling. He is still deeply interested in his music, in which his mother encourages him, listening with rapt attention while he plays. He is at present exceedingly self-centered, and apparently a very high strung, nervous lad. He has not yet obtained a job. The family have aspirations that he will become a musician.

Music still remains the great interest of the family. The father within the year has bought an expensive phonograph; no one can understand just how he obtained the money with which to buy it. It is kept in the living room covered with a sheet, and the key he carries in his pocket, not permitting any one but himself to touch or play it.

FOOTNOTE OF DISCUSSION:

In this picture of later conditions we see the marks of progressive disintegration of the elements of family life. Unlike so many homes

where poverty exists when children are young, conditions have not improved as the dependents became earners. Both personal income and greater freedom help many children to tolerate disagreeable home circumstances, but in this family, with the continued desire of several to dominate, there has been reversal of the usual evolution.

The one member of the family who completely broke away seems to us the most normal of all. What could she have done, single-handed, to have essentially raised the family level? She was loyal in contributing to the family budget to an extent that is not done even for equally poor families by girls who are working. Clearly we were justified in our belief in a supervised laissez-faire policy towards her.

The mother, controlling the main income, the children turning over to her their pay, now has the whip hand, and the father feels it. But what a touch it is that he controls the phonograph!

The careers of the two girls seem definitely shaped; the futures of the two unstable boys, the one psychopathic, the other adolescent and at least spoiled, are unsolved quantities.

The family situation, as such, has never been touched, even though its undesirabilities have been a fundamental part of the problems of each of the four members of the family who have been worked with by agencies. But even now the situation probably is susceptible of some improvement.

However, social work is most backward in dealing fundamentally with such family situations. What can or will be done in this special case, or what could be done when confronting family circumstances of any similar import is quite uncertain, for it is our experience that the fewest of resources exist among social workers for modifying the subtler forces in family life, especially as they are represented in the interrelationship of members of the family.

Specifically, what is quite within the limits of possibility in this case even now, is an analysis of family conditions directly with each of the present actors in the drama, with the chance, if not probability, that under expert suggestion each might not only realize the part that each has played in evolving the present set of conditions, but that there be a willingness to modify, again under direction, such behavior tendencies as are definitely breaking their family life. This is not a dream of impossibilities—if expert social analysts did exist for work with the basic social unit, the family.

Otherwise, we still recommend that Stanley live away from home, perhaps following Stasia's example in caring for himself, contributing what he can to his parents. Then perhaps Vladimir may be some help and comfort to them. If, however, when he goes to work he, too, shows rebellion and inability to do well at home, it might be that the father and mother would find more peace and happiness together left to themselves, the father earning what he can, and aid being given in whatever measure is necessary, and the sons visiting their parents. Rosa, even after she is married, probably will stand by her father and mother.

FINAL COMMENT

Behavior tendencies as seen in the individual may, with enormous frequency, be found to be vitally formed by both the more clearly observable and the more subtle forces active in family life. What goes on, as life's reactions, within this primary social organization, the family, is thus of inevitable importance for those who study individuals and the conduct of individuals—as well as because the inter-relationships of members of a family make for or against the deep integration of the family and for its happiness and usefulness as a whole.

We have chosen this case for presentation because it exemplifies the fact, seen in American as well as immigrant families, namely, that many young individuals come from a family whcih has very largely moulded the tendencies we have been asked to study.

In presentation we have attempted to give family portraits, "close-ups," and then "motion pictures" of what has been going on in this home where the drama has had two main themes—the consequences of poverty and the desire for domination. Several members of the family have been, on account of their individual problems, in touch with private and social agencies, and there has been in each instance some attempt by the agency to form a picture of the individual as seen separately. But we make a study of home influences because such study demonstrates the necessity which so frequently exists for knowledge of relationships within the family circle, even if we have only one member of the family before us with his presumably individual problem.

And the therapeutic needs of this specific situation, to our mind, is representative of one of the next great steps that must be undertaken in social understandings and constructive social work—understandings leading to modification of the subtler forces at work in family life, when these forces mar the careers of either parents or children.

The dynamics of emotionally disturbing experiences, of compensations and over-compensations, of self-assertiveness, of grudge formation, of revolt, may be all shown in this case as a paradigm, whether or not they are casually relegated to manifestations of the "ego instinct;" "will-to-power," or carefully analyzed with a view to specific understandings and specific meeting of the issues which they represent.

Plainer, perhaps, than any other "moral that adorns" this tale is the showing of how different personalities react very differently to the same background situation.

JUDGE BAKER FOUNDATION

CASE STUDIES

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FOREWORD

The Judge Baker Foundation studies educational, vocational and conduct problems of young people who are brought for study by parents or who come through the Juvenile Court, school, and all types of agencies which deal with the young. Aiming to make intensive and all-round studies, its staff comprises those working from the standpoint of the psychological, medical, and social sciences. It is only through the devoted service of the entire personnel that the material for the present publication is available.

Readers cannot draw conclusions for scientific purposes from statements concerning localities, names, dates, nationalities, and facts of family history as given because, in the usual professional fashion cases are reported with disguises. But the general facts, even of heredity are accurately transcribed, and no matters of importance for interpretation of causation as it bears on therapeutic possibilities in the individual case are changed or omitted.

The plan of presentation is to offer a first series of twenty studies covering a wide range of problems of interest to educators, psychologists, psychiarists, sociologists, judges, probation officers, and all who deal with matters involving the adjustments of young people. For teaching purposes, a loose-leaf edition is available so that all pages designated with (a) may be withheld until the factual material of the first study of the case, given in the other pages, is treated by the student as a problem to be solved.

It is hoped that the publications can continue and include considereration of groups of cases representing types of problems in education, in make-up of individuals, in conduct, etc. It is planned at later dates to report on important facts of cases earlier published.

The gratitude of students who benefit by these studies is due to the Commonwealth Fund of New York, a grant from which has made this series possible.

The social treatment has been carried out through child welfare agencies of many sorts, and the spirit of their co-operation has been splendid. It would be a pleasure to give credit to the particular agency in each case, but since, for several reasons, it is inadvisable, we desire here to express our deep appreciation of their co-operation with the Judge Baker Foundation.

WILLIAM HEALY, M. D.
AUGUSTA F. BRONNER, Ph. D.
Directors.

Case Study No. 18

SERIES I

JUDGE BAKER FOUNDATION
40 COURT STREET
BOSTON

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May, 1923

CASE EIGHTEEN

Three Mentally Defective Girls

CASE A

Anne Manville: 15 years, 3 mos. Born in U. S. of American parentage.

Introductory Statement

(July, 1919) From a family relief agency came an inquiry concerning what vocational training Anne could best profit by. She had just received employer's compensation for an injury to her foot and Miss. W., the worker who had known the family for a number of years and had interested herself in their affairs, was eager to have the money so expended that the girl herself would receive the benefit. The family agreed that the money should be spent for the girl's further education; the question was what training was best suited to her capacities.

Study of the Background

Family: (The information was obtained partly from the mother, who made only a fairly favorable impression; she was a thin-faced woman, neatly dressed, but her expression was hard, she seemed not very intelligent, and she hardly intimated the facts that were derogatory to herself and her children. Additional facts were obtained through agencies, six of which had, at various times, had contact with the family.)

Father: 50, born in Georgia, of French descent. For years he has been heavily alcoholic and he has been in court for this and once for fighting in a street brawl. According to the mother, he was earlier immoral; he was treated for venereal disease in 1913. He had little education and has been an unskilled worker, frequently changing jobs; earlier he supported the family poorly. When not drinking he was always kind to his children and since prohibition his conduct and family support have improved remarkably. His father was born in France; his mother was of French stock. Little is known of them except that of their eight children, five were

somewhat alcoholic. So far as known there is no history of nervous or mental disease in the family.

Mother: 44; born in a mill town in Massachusetts. She left school at 13 years because she "wasn't interested in learning." She worked for a couple of years in the mills, then married. She claims that she has always been healthy. She has a long record for drunkenness, has been in court for this and for immorality more than a dozen times, and has served sentences at the house of correction. At times she has worked out to help in the family support. Since prohibition, she too, has been behaving much better. Her parents are French-Canadian Her father is reported a moderate drinker but a good man, not known to have a court record of any kind. Her mother died young and little is known of her. Two maternal uncles are said to be "fond of drink" but not heavily alcoholic; a maternal aunt is reported immoral.

Children: (1) Albert, 23, married; not living at home. Left school at 15; then in sixth grade. Has worked fairly steadily, usually in shoe factories. At 14 was in court on a charge of larceny. (2) Gladys, 21, reported to have been in sixth grade at 13 years. Mother says she is a bright girl but always "headstrong and cranky." Has been in court four times; twice for shoplifting and twice for immorality. Served a short term in a correctional school. At present is working and living at home. (3) Geraldine, 18. Healthy. Attended trade school for a year after leaving sixth grade at 14. Reported in school "a girl who needs good guidance." At 15 was in court for larceny; at 16 for immorality and sent to a correctional school. Shortly after her release at 17 she married; since then she has been once in court for immorality, was placed on probation, and is now living with husband. (4) Anne.

Developmental History: Mother, from whom alone account of developmental history was obtained, claims that father was drinking at time of conception, but that she was not. Pregnancy and birth normal; large baby; breast-fed. Walked and talked at about 13 months. (All her children she says, talked early.) Children's diseases mildly in childhood. At 10 years severely ill of pneumonia; a year later, diptheria.

No convulsions or enuresis. A year ago was in hospital five months following injury to foot. Menstruated at 14.

Home Conditions and Influences: From agencies who have known the family at various periods it is clear that home conditions have varied much according to the degree of the parents' drinking and the amount the father has worked. For the most part, until recently the family has lived in cheap tenements and poor neighborhoods. Five years ago they were occupying four rooms at a very low rental, and of these, two rooms were entirely bare except for dilapidated bedsteads. Another room contained only a bed, a crib, and a large chair in which Anne slept. The kitchen was described at that time as very dirty and containing a stove, a table, several chairs, and a large box filled with beer bottles. Shortly after this, while the mother was serving a sentence, the family was broken up, the children being placed in a church Home.

At times there was great poverty, and for many years never adequate income. Besides, the parents indulged in constant recriminations. No effort was made to provide necessities, much less interests for the children at home, and so lax was the supervision that various agency visitors state the whereabouts of the older children was a matter with which the mother did not concern herself. One record contains the item that when the children were young the mother was immoral at home, bringing men to the house.

Recently conditions have been better. The father and the children are working, and with a larger income, they occupy a better tenement in a fair district of a suburb.

Habits, Interests, and Companions: Anne is said to have always been a quiet girl who had few interests and who was seemingly content to stay indoors doing very little. There is no account of her interests as a young child. Since she has been out of school she reads much, chiefly magazines and cheap novels, and she goes very frequently to moving pictures. She does not care for dances.

Anne has never had any close companionships, not even with her sisters. She seems happiest alone even in her recreations. Her mother says the girl has never been confidential

Discussion of A

1 It is the figure of this girl, standing out in great contrast against the character background of her family life, that is so striking—although in one matter that has been so emphasized lately as if it were the most essential, namely in mental capacities (and herein is a lesson for all of us), she is, in her limitations, of a piece, as far as we can judge without testing the others, with the members of her family.

The factual material of the case, whether study of the background or of the individual, can all very readily be discussed in relation to this girl and to her history and her prospects:

We have a girl of quite fair size and general development, but without over development of sex characteristics, who shows no sequelae of the severe illnesses which she had in childhood, and who has made a distinctly good recovery from a serious injury to her foot. There is no special handicap in locomotion or appearance, and we note, that she can be called a rather attractive looking girl.

Her mental incapacity is very readily demonstrated by tests—the performance is on a low level throughout except for the special ability in auditory memory, which is noted in the text, and a fair amount of motor skill. It is interesting to compare Anne's poor results on the printed Following Directions Test with what she did on the K-P Cube Test, which tests the ability to follow imitatively directions shown. But we have repeatedly pointed out the irregularities in performance on this test and have, on this account, largely given it up. All the findings are in accord with her school history, which is so defective for scholarship.

Trying to draw lessons from our findings on tests, we are at once led to wonder whether, if it had been known that Anne was a mentally defective girl, she, immediately after her fourteenth birthday, would have been placed at work on a dangerous machine. We should hardly think so if the employer and liability insurance company had any concern for their own possible losses.

Next, thinking of Anne as a mentally defective girl who has shown no delinquent tendencies, it is fair to ask ourselves how she has escaped them. We are rather obligated to attempt such an explanation, because of the widespread notion that defective girls are particularly prone to be delinquent. We first must consider the family situation because of influences naturally derived from that source for character building, or the reverse,—influences that must affect feebleminded girls as much as ones who are mentally normal. We at once strike the terrifically bad record of Anne's immediate family. As far as we can see, there has certainly not been thrown about her in the home any guidance or influence whatever that would seem to tend to make her the decent girl that she is. Nor is it merely on the negative side that the home circumstances have been bad; she has not been free from actual experiences with vicious situations, drinking, quarreling, bad talk, actual immorality known to exist in the home. Much has surrounded her that ordinarily would tend to drag a girl down, and, indeed, did induct her sisters into vicious ways.

with her and seems more fond of her father than of anyone else.

She eats and sleeps well and drinks little tea and coffee.

School and Work History: Anne entered a public school when she was 5 years old and withdrew soon after her fourteenth birthday. She was then in the seventh grade and thought she was not going to be promoted. She repeated both the fifth and sixth grades and in the seventh grade she had failed in five of her seven subjects.

Soon after leaving school, she obtained work in a factory operating a machine. She had been employed only two weeks when she caught her foot in the machine and was so severely injured that she was taken to the hospital, where she remained five months. Since then she has been at home.

After the accident, a friend of the family who had had a somewhat similar experience, urged the family to consult a lawyer from the Legal Aid Society so that Anne's interests might be protected. This was done, and about a month ago the case was settled when the employers agreed to pay a lump sum of six hundred dollars. The lawyer, who wished to see the money used for Anne's good, rather than squandered by her family, had discovered that earlier Miss W. had been a frequent visitor, and he called upon her, asking if she would not undertake to guide matters while the parents were still willing to permit the money to be wisely used. Miss W. agreed to undertake the task.

Study of the Individual

1 **Physical:** Anne is quite attractive in appearance; she has regular, fairly strong features, and a normally shaped head. Her expression is quiet and responsive.

Weight 119 lbs. Height 5 ft. 4 in. Thorax fairly well developed. Heart sounds negative. Strength good. Just normal development of sex characteristics. Teeth in good condition. Vision and hearing normal by ordinary tests. Reflexes normal. Right foot considerably deformed by accident, but the trouble is hardly noticeable when her shoe is on, she walks now with only a slight limp. (Examinations, including Wassermann test etc., under prolonged observation at hospital last year, negative.)

Second, nor has she escaped by reason of non-attractiveness. We find her a normally developed and fairly good looking girl. To be sure, there is no over development of sex characteristics, such as we and other observers have found to be frequently correlated, especially in defective girls, with special sex temptations, at least from without. Of course, some who have their faces set in the direction of the biological theories of today will be inclined to say that there is a very considerable question of glandular function being involved, the girl not showing any particular sex urge which might be fundamental in the development of immoral tendencies. Granting that the future may have much more in store for us in knowledge of this kind, at present it is drawing a long bow to come to a conclusion of this sort—we have absolutely no structural signs of any glandular deficiency, and no other tests afford us knowledge.

Third, we do find in the study of Anne's personality traits a good deal that is interesting and that very likely bears more directly than anything else upon her freedom from delinquent tendencies: She is not socially suggestible to even an ordinary degree; she is not gregarious; she is not as restless as girls of her age frequently are; and she is easily contented and satisfied, even self-satisfied—there is not the reaching out for excitements and pleasures that one would expect, even of a mentally defective girl, in her particular environment.

No thoughtful reader is likely to leave this case without turning over in his mind some of the problems which this family suggests; eugenics, alcoholism, recidivism, the legal handling of behavior problems. Of course in the situation as a whole it would be difficult to segregate the different types of original causations of conduct disorders: There is mental defect and alcohol and improper upbringing, as they either or all of them mean poorly inhibited conduct reactions. And still more difficult would be the separation of the secondary causations: habit formation in general, and specifically as related to alcoholism; bad neighborhood conditions; formation of degenerate human associations; poor hygienic living conditions, poverty; lack of wholesome ideational or recreational interests. It is the complexity of a situation like this which stands in the way of any scientific student speaking of a single cause or of a main cause of such behavior as we see most of the members of this family exhibiting.

And on the practical side we cannot fail to be much impressed by the improvement in family conditions and in individual behavior of the parents through the removal of one of the causes, alcoholism.

Finally, we are led, with the developing trend of thought nowadays in social work, to wonder again in this case whether if the family situation as a whole had been approached earlier by skillful social workers who had a grasp of personality problems, as well as the more overt features, earlier steps might not have been taken towards regeneration of conduct in this family circle.

Mental: (1) *Results on Psychological Examination*:[1] (Attitude on tests very good. Works willingly, but with considerable lack of self-confidence and frequently requires encouragement.)

According to age-level tests Anne grades as defective, high grade moron. I. Q. 71. Auditory memory span exceedingly good, a superior adult performance. (If it were not for this very specialized ability, Anne's I. Q. would drop to 65.) Visual memory very poor. Motor control about average for age. Powers of mental representation very poor. Apperceptive ability with language poor. Language ability, as judged by tests and by conversation, very poor. Ability to follow directions imitatively very good; following printed directions very poor. School work: Writes well and spells fairly well but reads poorly, with very poor powers of comprehension, and is poor in arithmetic.

(2) *Mental Balance:* Normal. Has good emotional control and is quiet and well poised.

(3) *Personality Traits:* As observed by us Anne is pleasant, somewhat immature, with a childish manner of attacking a new problem, for example accepting tests more or less as games.

By her mother she is reported as quiet, obedient, and truthful. Since her accident she has at times been irritable.

Girl's Own Story: (No facts of any importance were obtained, there being very little need apparently for any further analysis of experiences.)

At this point SUMMARY OF A and SUBSEQUENT HISTORY follow.

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[1] Stanford-Binet I. Q. 71; passes all the 9-year tests; (2), (5), and (6) of the 10-year, (5) and (6) of the 12-year, alternate of the 14-year, and test (3) of the 18-year.

Visual Memory: Binet geometrical forms, very poor; neither figure correct.

Auditory Memory Span: 8 digits forward, (backwards 5 digits).

Trabue Language Scale E: score 11—equals median for low grade V.

Tapping Test: score 86, 1 error—median for 14-15 years.

Mental Representations: first cross-line test correct on second trial; second cross-line correct on fourth trial.

Knox-Pintner Cube Test: 10 lines correct—above 16-year norm.

Easy Directions (W-W): 5 errors; Hard Directions: 180", 7 errors.

Reading: Kansas Silent Reading for grade VI to VIII, score 7—much below any median.

Writing: Judged by Thorndike scale, quality 11—about 8th grade.

Spelling: Based on Ayres scale, 6th grade correct.

Arithmetic: Does simple work in all four fundamental processes; many errors when problem at all difficult. Makes change correctly.

SUMMARY OF STAFF CONFERENCE

A

PROBLEM: Vocational and educational advice in relation to expenditure of money received as compensation for injury.

PHYSICAL: Good development and nutrition. Good general condition. Deformed R. foot; slightly lame.

MENTAL: (1) **Abilities:** Defective, moron grade. Very good auditory memory span and very good ability in following directions imitatively. Fairly good motor control. (2) **Balance:** Normal. (3) **Personality:** Quiet, dependable; shows no delinquent trends.

BACKGROUND: (a) **Heredity:** Father alcoholic, several times arrested for this; reported earlier immoral and diseased. Several members of his family reported alcoholic. Mother earlier excessively alcoholic and immoral; many times arrested; served several terms. Maternal grandfather and two uncles alcoholic. Maternal aunt immoral. The three siblings in court for larceny; the two sisters, also immoral, have served sentences. (b) **Developmental:** Father probably alcoholic at time of conception. Several severe illnesses at 10 and 11 years. (c) **Home Conditions:** Earlier exceedingly bad. Parents as above. Poverty. Very poor parental supervision.

PROGNOSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS: Girl too poor in general ability to profit by further academic education. No special abilities that warrant training for any skilled trade. Memory span for digits might be considered in relation to such work as that of telephone operator but lack of general intelligence stands in the way of success; her other special ability—following directions shown her—is only useful in routine work which she can learn through apprenticeship. Therefore advise placing at some simple occupation not of a dangerous character and that her money be saved for her.

Of very considerable interest is the fact that this girl has not been delinquent; however we feel that she needs very careful supervision, at least over adolescence, and that for her welfare it would be best to place her away from her family, unless they continue on the up-grade.

Subsequent History

A

Miss W., feeling that the family conditions were still not as good as they should be in order to insure Anne suitable protection, discussed with the mother the possibility of sending Anne to a school for the feebleminded, but the mother was unwilling to entertain the idea, nor was she at all receptive to the suggestion that the girl should go away from home for a time. She was willing, however, to allow Miss W. to be appointed guardian and have control of Anne's money; and this matter was accomplished through court action. Following this, a position was obtained for Anne addressing envelopes, but the pay was extremely small, and the girl found for herself a much better paying job as a packer and dipper in a candy factory, work which Miss W. was quite willing she should accept.

Anne has held this same position up to the present time, a matter of more than three years. Her pay has been increased, and even when some employes have been laid of because of work being slack she has been retained. It is reported to us by Miss W. that Anne has grown considerably and is a very healthy girl though the condition of her foot is much as it was earlier. She has been in no trouble of any kind. She has formed a friendship with a girl who seems to be thoroughly nice, and occasionally they go out walking together or to moving picture shows.

The home conditions are fairly good at present. The family now live in a moderately good neighborhood, although in a rather shabby looking apartment house. The mother's health is poor nowadays. The sister who lives at home seems to be behaving pretty well, although she and the mother both seem more desirous of pleasure than Anne; they are frequently out evenings. The house, however, is kept quite neat and clean. Anne is said to be a great help after she comes home from work. For the most part she stays in evenings and enjoys sewing and particularly reading. A strong bond of sympathy exists between the girl and her father, for both are fond of reading and Anne reads aloud to him evenings. Their main interest seems to be in a rather poor grade of exciting novels. The sister says that Anne has a young man friend who is quite attentive to her, a nice young fellow who is industrious and gets along well in business. He has told the family that he would like to marry Anne, but she does not seem especially interested in him and has said that she does not wish to get married, at least not for the present, but prefers to stay at home and help her family.

CASE B

Filipa Napola: 12 yrs., 4 mos. Born in U. S., Italian parents.

Introductory Statement

(Nov. 1920) Filipa with two girl companions was arrested for shop-lifting in a large department store. They had various articles, silk stockings, underclothes, cheap jewelry, picture post-cards, and so on, which it was found that they had stolen from three different shops.

Study of the Background

Family: (The mother, an elderly, cleanly, peasant type of Southern Italian, talked of her family to our Italian-speaking worker freely and with much gesticulation; she seemed genuinely concerned about Filipa. The woman seemed fairly intelligent. Corroborative information was obtained from a fourteen-year-old daughter.

Father: 58. Healthy; a good worker and husband; formerly a street laborer, now working in a foundry; illiterate; very lively and talkative, always joking. His family quite all right as far as Mrs. N. knows.

Mother: 56. Healthy; has never worked out since in this country; illiterate. She says her family are all good people and healthy.

Children: Filipa is the youngest of eight siblings, six of whom are alive, two having died in infancy. All but the last three were born in Italy. Three of them are already married; the eldest has five children. Mrs. N. says that none of her children ever gave her any trouble; they are healthy and all are "smart." The girl of 14 is in the seventh grade.

Developmental History: Filipa was born after a normal pregnancy and has always been very well. She walked and talked

at the usual age, has had no enuresis since babyhood; she never had any convulsions or severe accident. Her appetite is very good. She has coffee once a day and is allowed a little wine on Sundays and holidays. She sleeps soundly.

Home Conditions: During all the eighteen years they have been in this country their home has been the same three rooms on the second floor of a brick tenement house in the Italian quarter of a thickly settled town adjoining Boston. Through the children getting married there are only five in the family, one girl working, and the two youngest going to school. The father earns about twenty-four dollars a week, and this with the daughter's wages, enables them to get along comfortably. A visitor reported the home as neat and clean, but with only the barest furnishings. The room occupied by Filipa and her two sisters is light and well ventilated.

Interests and Companions: Filipa likes housework, her people say, and does her little jobs very well, "like lightning." She does not care for books because she does not read well. Formerly she went to a sewing class in a nearby settlement, but that is given up this year; she has belonged to no other groups. She comes straight home after school and has been allowed to play only in front of the house where her mother can see her. Mrs. N. is very strict about this and will not even allow her to go to the playground. Occasionally she goes to the "movies," but only with some member of the family.

Filipa used to go with nice girls who live on the same street. Her mother has tried to prevent her going with these F. girls with whom she is now in court; she has known them for the last few months. Her father has punished her several times for going with them, but it made no difference. Her mother believes that in company with these girls Filipa earlier stole a doll from a store in Boston and some things from the local Ten Cent Store.

Court Report: In court with her father and sister Filipa acknowledged her part in the shop-lifting, but stated that everybody knew the F. family stole things and now the F.

girls want to throw the blame on her, but she has simply gone along with them when they had asked her. The probation officers thought Filipa was bright, by far the brightest of the three,[1] and consequently more than likely the leader. The store detective said the girl seemed so shrewd and observing that she could not be the girl who was led. The detective remembered that these same girls had been in the store before and had been ordered out. Filipa (with the others) was found delinquent, and the case continued for further study.

In a later investigation the probation officer found out that there had been more stealing. Filipa had a suspicious amount of money for candy at school and she sold to other girls for six cents some notebooks that were worth at least twenty-five cents. And she had given away a bar pin worth fifty cents, as well as other things. Filipa acknowledged stealing several of these things, but proved herself at the same time untruthful about other matters. The teacher said she was very unreliable in statement. The mother was much disturbed about the situation and blamed the F. girls for calling for Filipa; she begged that Filipa be not "put away."

Study of the Individual

2 **Physical:** Petite; good nutrition; strong posture. Height 50 inches, weight 63 lbs. Thorax and musculature well developed for general size. Four teeth badly carious. Tonsils enlarged and ragged, with tonsillar glands much enlarged. Partial obstruction of L. nares due to deflected septum. Vision, hearing, heart normal. Neurological signs and all other examination negative. Well shaped head and very good features. Alert, quick movements; direct, responsive, intelligent expression.

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[1] It happens that we can give information concerning these others: They were two little girls, both younger than Filipa, (the elder, 10 years old, considerably larger than Filipa and one year in advance of her in school grade) who come from a family in which at least three of the siblings have been delinquent, apparently mainly as the result of poor home control, general dishonest standards in the family, and much street life. The younger child of 8 years we did not see, she was so obviously led into the affair, but the older one had an Intelligence Quotient of 100, which, of course, is very good considering her poor family level. In spite of her much better mental capacity and vastly better school acquirement, this other girl is slower in response than Filipa and, in contrast, is rather stolid and dull in appearance.

Mental: (1) *Results on Psychological Examination:*[1] (Seen by two examiners because of the unsuspected character of the findings. In work on tests was very friendly, co-operative, vivacious, unperturbed at failure, always giving an answer promptly and confidently, even though absurd.)

According to age-level tests, grades as defective, moron. Intelligent Quotient 67. Auditory memory span defective. Visual memory, work with concrete material, apperceptions all very poor. Rote memory for verbal material surprisingly good; glibly recites poems of which she does not know the meaning. Common-sense information, responses absurd. In school work does simple addition; can not read even the simplest words; writes only her own name.

(School report, later obtained: attendance good, scholarship very poor, conduct fair. In the Sisters' School which she attends she is nominally in the fifth grade, although she can not do much of first grade work. She is reported inattentive, and the teacher feels that this is due to lack of home training. She has been tried two years in most grades and then advanced.)

(2) *Mental Balance:* Unusually well poised for her age. In conversation is always coherent.

(3) *Personality Traits:* Quickly responsive, vivacious, buoyant. On account of this and her attractive appearance and expression makes a wonderfully good impression. Is a great "bluffer." Reported obedient, helpful, affectionate, demonstrative, generous, a great talker and having a way of telling "funny stories" at home which makes her family go into convulsions of laughter.

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[1] Stanford Binet I. Q. 67; passes all 8-year tests except test (6); passes only (3) and (5) of the 9-year and test (5) of the 10-year tests.
Porteus Age-Level Tests: 6½ years.
Visual Memory: Binet forms complete failure.
Auditory memory span: 5 digits forward. (None backwards.)
Pictorial Completion II: score 24, median for 8 years.
Construction Test A: failure in 5'.
Writing: Writes her own name legibly.
Spelling: Almost nil, only the word cat.
Reading: Reads two simple words in Gray's passage No. 1.
Arithmetic: Adds simple numbers but does not know the process of carrying. Knows the simplest multiplication tables.
Common-sense Information: Samples of this are: Fourth of July because George Washington discovered America — Christmas comes on the last page of the calendar —She was eleven years old two years ago and will be twelve or thirteen years old two years from now—There are twelve days in the week, when started she names them correctly and then says there are only five — Fails to name the months of the year, but when given January glibly recites them correctly — Can not tell time — Makes change only with the simplest coins.

Discussion of B

2 The interest of this case centers about the fact that Filipa is regarded by all who casually observe her and witness her conversational powers as a bright and especially active-minded little girl. The judge, the probation officer, and the store detective commented on her cleverness and, comparing her with the two other children she was with, denominated her clearly the brightest of the three. She met the situations as they arose, in apparently much the most intelligent way. Indeed, even critical observers, the psychological examiners in our office, record her as not only being a strong and particularly active little girl, very small for her age, but also as direct, responsive, and intelligent in expression.

And yet we come to learn that Filipa is mentally defective, a moron of not high grade, and that, on the contrary, her companions are probably quite normal mentally, one of them whom we examined proving herself in intelligence rating somewhat above the average for the social group under consideration.

Filipa's ability to appear to great advantage in the eyes of the casual observer depends upon (a) her personality characteristics, dynamic qualities, vivacity, self-confidence, quick response by word and facial expression, (b) her good features, well shaped head, strong posture, and (c) her readiness and coherence in conversation and her glib use of language, even if she does not always know the meanings of the words she utters. (Of course there is no doubt that her failings in this and perhaps in other ways are not checked up as they would be ordinarily for a girl of her age because she is so small and seems younger and is of foreign parentage.)

Filipa is somewhat of a verbalist, but not at all to the extent of Case 87 in *The Individual Delinquent,* where a Russian Jewish young woman with a mental age of not more than ten years and ranking much lower than this on tests other than age-level (which of course involve so many tests for language) proved herself to know four languages, not only conversationally, but to be able to read and write fairly well in Russian, German, and English, and somewhat in French. Filipa's verbalistic ability rests only on her aptness in conversational reactions and in her very good verbal memory.

The social importance of personality characteristics takes on very serious proportions in many situations in life, being made much of nowadays and with many calculations of values in the business world, and having been utilized to its greatest extent so far in the formal ratings of the personnel division of the army during the war. Filipa's case offers a rather exquisite example of just the point at issue, namely that personality characteristics form an entity very largely separated from the matter of mental capacity as estimated by mental tests.

But we must not forget Filipa's physical characteristics as bearing upon any opinion which would be formed of her by bystanders. Her alertness of physical response is quite out of line with the former conception of mental defect which, before "intelligence tests" were

Girl's Own Story: She first began stealing with the F. girls, never stole before she knew them. Several times they have all gone into stores and taken different things. It was the oldest F. girl's fault that they stole this time. She begged the others to go down town with her, saying she had to do some shopping for her mother. And when they were in the store she began to take things and told the others to do the same. "I used to go into stores and never think of taking anything, and when there was money on the table at home I wouldn't touch it."

She likes school very well, and in response to a question as to how she gets along in school says, "I don't like to say I'm smart; I'd rather not say how I am. I'm half in half." Says she doesn't learn so much in school because afternoons they send her to the office to do errands.

She is going to keep away from the F. girls and will not steal, for she knows that if she does she "will be put away forever."

At this point SUMMARY OF B and SUBSEQUENT HISTORY follow.

developed and utilized, rated and diagnosed the feebleminded to a considerable extent in terms of motor disability, awkwardness, clumsiness; but we, with our occasional instances of mental defectives who have musical or boxing ability—to offer a wide contrast in statement—are long past this earlier notion of feeblemindedness; we know that there are plenty of mental defectives who are able to float in society just because they have motor skill.

And in this connection should be mentioned the fact that Filipa's well shaped features and head are also quite against an earlier idea that the feebleminded are individuals physically stigmatized. Many years ago one of us undertook to photograph a mentally defective individual in a group of normals and defied anybody from appearances to form a correct judgment concerning which one was feebleminded. Later we noted a frontispiece in *Biometrika*, illustrating the same point made by Karl Pearson—the defectives were not to be distinguished by any such observational methods. It is evident, then, that it is a pretty crude conception of feeblemindedness which stands for the value of a snapshot diagnosis, a judgment made either by ordinary observation or upon the basis of casual conversation. This is rather an important point, because every now and again one knows of judges or others maintaining that they can discern feeblemindedness readily enough by taking a good look at the person before them.

There is very little doubt where Filipa gets her mental defect, the family is very evidently rather low grade in mental powers, but yet, here again we are interested in character traits that are by no means so bad,—and this, of course, bears upon the prognosis of the case if she is left at home.

The whole outlook in this case would certainly seem to be complicated by Filipa's having developed somewhat of a habit of thieving. Habit formation is a matter that ordinarily cannot be safely left out of account. But over and against this we have to balance the possibility of depending on the Italian idea of strict supervision of a young girl's life.

SUMMARY OF STAFF CONFERENCE

B

PROBLEM: **Delinquencies:** Rather extensive shop-lifting with companions several times. Other petty stealing.

PHYSICAL: Very short but normal nutrition and strength. Tonsils diseased. Four badly carious teeth. Alert movements; responsive, intelligent expression.

MENTAL: (1) **Abilities:** Defective; moron. No special abilities noted except good rote memory for verbal material and good conversational ability. (2) **Balance:** Normal. (3) **Personality:** Makes remarkably good impression because vivacious, good in conversation, and attractive physically. Industrious, friendly, but very untruthful and a great bluffer.

BACKGROUND: (a) **Heredity:** Parents illiterate, of peasant type. They and their families negative, but incomplete account. (b) **Developmental:** Reported negative. (c) **Home Conditions:** Crowded.

PROBABLE DIRECT CAUSATIONS: (1) Mentality as above. (2) Bad companions. (3) Development already of somewhat of a habit of delinquency.

PROGNOSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS: We feel that on account of her mentality and developing tendency towards delinquency this is an institutional case, but it probably will not be easy to persuade others of this because of the good presentation she makes of herself. There probably will be difficulties arising in the future on account of her ready friendliness, attractive appearance and "smartness." If she is tried on probation, she should be transferred to a special class for defectives where she may receive the individual training she needs. Should join classes at the settlement again and her family should give even closer supervision. Her teeth and tonsils badly need attention.

Subsequent History

B

Filipa was placed on probation and room was at once made for her in a special class in her home district. The first report of the teacher states that the girl seemed eager to learn and was very responsive in general, and the teacher was surprised at her being recommended for a special class. She made inquiry to see if there was not some mistake. To the school visitor we explained about the girl's deceptive smartness; the visitor thought that the teacher had been deceived by this.

Later the teacher reported that she was rather afraid of the influence of Filipa upon the other girls (defectives) because some of the older ones had developed an adolescent "crush" for her—the girl was so vivaciously attractive. She thought the weekly visits of the probation officer helped check her tendencies to bad behavior. One teacher still insisted that she thought that part of the trouble with her scholarship was that Filipa did not pay attention and try hard enough.

Next summer, after conference with us, the probation officer suggested that her family send Filipa to spend a vacation period with a married sister out of the city, and this was done. During this time reports from home were very satisfactory. On one occasion Filipa with great delight took the baby of a neighbor to the Floating Hospital for five days because the mother could not leave the little shop she kept.

In the middle of the next school year it was decided to transfer Filipa to a special school for defectives where she would receive more trade training. Her conduct was somewhat troublesome, although there was no more stealing, and on account of this probation was extended. An early report states that Filipa causes endless trouble although it is difficult for the teachers to point out the specific misdeeds. She gets the younger girls under her control and excites them, but she is extremely friendly. One of the girls came to school in an old hat and was much teased about it, whereupon Filipa quite cleverly made it over to look more stylish.

She has remained in this school up to the present, having had three different teachers, all of whom recently report her helpful and now eager to do what is right. Her conduct has steadily improved; there is still a slight tendency to show off and she is rather flighty but well liked both by the girls and by the teachers. She is regarded as somewhat of a leader, quick to see details in games and showing quite a little initiative. She comes early mornings and stays after school to do helpful errands; once she arranged a surprise party on a holiday.

Her scholarship is reported as follows: Reading poor, about the equivalent of first grade. Spelling and penmanship fair, and arithmetic good, as compared with the group. Hand work fairly good. In cooking she is more helpful than efficient. She memorizes well (sometimes learning thus whole sentences in reading when she cannot read

the separate words of the sentence). She is especially quick in memorizing poetry and songs; she has some musical ability, and she is graceful in the folk dances. Because of her singing and dancing she is popular in school entertainments.

In this school she is not known to have stolen, though one teacher tested her by leaving money on her desk. As far as she has been observed, coming to and leaving school, she has shown no interest in boys. (Only girls attend this school.)

When our visitor called recently at the home, Filipa took complete command of the situation, doing most of the talking while her mother watched her with evident admiration and pride. Filipa said that she liked her present school better than the former school because she learns things faster now, and Mrs. N. affirmed, saying, "She seems to be getting smarter all the time; she often reads the newspaper to the family in the evening." Filipa showed some very pretty and well made paper flowers in pots which she had made in school and then went on to tell how she cleaned the house at Easter, washing "my floors" and "my curtains" and adding that she liked to do such things without her mother's having to ask her. With an air of affected nonchalance she showed the visitor her bedroom, which she shares with her two sisters, apologizing in an absurdly sophisticated manner for its untidiness. Filipa evidently enjoyed being questioned. She answered with vivacity and appropriate gestures, making almost a dramatic recitation of each response. She said that she hadn't joined any clubs at the settlement but that she belonged to a sewing group in connection with her church. On Saturday afternoons she goes to the moving pictures with her chums, who live nearby, and occasionally with her uncle in the evening. Otherwise she never goes to shows—"My mother wouldn't let me."

A short time ago Filipa appeared as an exhibitor of handwork at a local bazaar held in a neighborhood settlement. There she took charge of a booth, meeting visitors with such ease that she attracted quite a little attention, even though she told impossible details about the rapidity and the skill with which she and other girls had made the articles. The pictures of Filipa and an account of her and her booth appeared in the local newspaper, describing her as an attractive and rather unusually intelligent girl.

CASE C

Nora Cantry: 16 yrs. 2 mos. Born in U. S. of Irish parentage.

Introductory Statement

(March, 1919) When this girl was in the juvenile court for shop-lifting a number of articles it became known that she, with an older woman, had previously been arrested by a policewoman for accosting sailors in a public park. Her mother acknowledged that she had been worried about Nora; she had not been working steadily, had misrepresented the facts to her family, and recently she had been staying out late at night. A short time ago she had gone away from home and a social agency to which the matter was referred found her living in a town nearby and working in a factory.

Study of the Background

Family: (From the mother, who is rather small physically, not very neat, rather emotional and inclined to feel that too much is made of girl's offence, we obtained a fairly full account when she later talked very freely about the home situation. Other facts were obtained from social agencies, relatives, and from teachers who had long known the family.)

Father: 51. Came to this country in young childhood; attended grammar school, leaving in the sixth grade; bad tempered and head-strong as a boy; he has been alcoholic for years and arrested several times for this. Has been a steady worker, however, until four years ago, when he was found to be tubercular. He is good to his family except when drinking. He is reported from different sources as unreliable and untruthful; as "worthless," "shiftless," "at home seldom sober," "he is the black sheep of a family of good reputation." His father was "a smart man," not alcoholic, who worked up to be superintendent of a factory. His mother, a vigorous woman, is still living. One brother is slightly alcoholic, but a

steady worker. Three sisters are capable and rather well educated.

Mother: 52. Came from Ireland in infancy. She states that she left school in the eighth grade and then worked as a saleswoman until her marriage. Since then has worked out at times. She admits that she drinks somewhat; it is reported that she is frequently intoxicated. By one worker she is recently described as "hardworking, kind, but a very poor housekeeper." The teacher has found her "helpful, polite, co-operative." A factory superintendent says she is a satisfactory and efficient worker. Others believe her shiftless and less honest and truthful than her husband. Her father was an accountant, a steady worker, though a heavy drinker. Her mother was a good woman who lived to old age and whose four other children are all strong and of good habits; they had at least grammar school education.

Siblings: Resulting from the fourteen pregnancies there was one miscarriage and seven who died in infancy, all, the mother claims, of digestive troubles. Of those living, two are older than Nora; a son of 22, healthy, left school in eighth grade, now the main support of the family, and a girl, 18, who is sickly, learned slowly in school, now living with maternal aunt. Two boys, 13 and 11 years old respectively, are in special classes for defectives, one of them is a great truant; a girl of 9 years is the brightest of the family. None of the family have had epilepsy or other nervous disease. None have been delinquent except one boy was in court once for very petty street stealing.

Developmental History: Father alcoholic at time of conception. Mother drank a bottle of ale daily during this, as in other pregnancies. Healthy pregnancy; baby was of average size; bottle fed, but no nutritional trouble. Walked and talked at about a year. Children's diseases mildly. At 11 years had abscess of the ear followed by otorrhea lasting about four months. Diseased adenoids and tonsils removed at 14. Menstruation established at 15.

Home Conditions: The family has lived for five years in their present neighborhood, a district of tenement houses near

factories. They have five rooms in what is described as a ramschackle frame building. The rooms are poorly furnished, usually upset, the mother making some excuse whenever visitors called. There has always been some poverty, even when the mother worked. The last year they received outside aid when the oldest boy was in the service. On account of the drinking, there has always been some quarreling.

Habits, Companions, Interests, School and Work Record: Nora's eating and sleeping habits are normal. She rarely reads, but likes hand work, especially knitting, and is quite good at helping in the house. She attends moving picture theatres several times a week; has shown no interest in boys. Recently she has been friendly with an older girl whom she met at work and seems much influenced by her. They were together arrested in the park. Just recently this girl, Lily, asked Mrs. Cantry to board her, which she did and now much regrets. Other companions are all good so far as the mother knows.

Nora began school at 6 years and left at 14 in the sixth grade, having repeated two classes. She frequently had poor reports at school, where she was said to be inattentive and somewhat truant. Since leaving school she has had many jobs, keeping most of them for a very short time. As soon as she has a little money she stops working. She has been taken back in a candy factory a number of times because she is said to be a good worker.

Study of the Individual

3 **Physical:** Fairly neat in appearance. Small, characterless features. Fairly well shaped head. Only slight development of sex characteristics. Responsive, but dull expression.

Weight 103 lbs. Height 4 ft., 11 in. Color and strength good. No carious teeth. Vision R 20/60; L 20/100. Hearing normal. Neurological signs all negative. Heart sounds normal. A short time before we saw her, girl had been examined by a woman physician with general and local findings negative.

Mental: (1) *Results on Psychological Examination*:[1] (Works with persistence, evidently trying to do well, but laughs foolishly about tests; self-assured, seems undisturbed by her deficiencies.)

According to age-level tests, grades as defective, middle grade moron. Intelligence Quotient 56. Mental age, 9 years. Auditory memory span comparatively better than visual. Motor control and work with concrete material good. Language ability, apperceptions, visualizations, all very poor. Does school work much below her grade, the sixth, except writing.

(2) *Mental Balance:* Normal.

(3) *Personality Traits:* With us, pleasant, friendly, very talkative, and self-assured. Reported affectionate, good hearted, helpful, and honest about money matters at home, but misrepresents. Is lazy and rather suggestible, although toward her family stubborn and independent. Is better controlled through coaxing than by commanding.

Girl's Own Story: It is true she has had many different jobs. Doesn't know exactly why she leaves them so often except that her friend Lily tells her she could earn more in other places. She has made as much as $11 a week, all of which she gives to her mother, who gives back to her what she needs. She has known Lily for about two years; goes with her to the "movies," and lately sometimes to a dance hall. She herself doesn't know how to dance, but she likes to watch Lily dance with different boys up there. Lily has been living

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[1] Stanford Binet I. Q. 56; passes all 8-year tests; passes tests (1), (3), (5), and (6) of the 9-year and (4) and (6) of the 10-year tests; nothing above that level.
Visual memory: Binet forms 25%. Healy form 0.
Auditory memory span: 6 digits forward, (3 backwards).
Tapping Test: 89, 2 errors, median for 15 years.
Easy Opposites: average time 1.9", 7 errors, 2 failures.
Pictorial Completion II: score 28, median for 8 years.
Trabue Language Scale C: score 8, median for 8 years.
Mental Representations: first cross-line, correct at second trial; second cross-line failure at fourth trial.
Construction A: 12", 5 moves.
Construction B: 81", 18 moves.
Writing: Judged by Thorndike scale, quality 11, above eighth grade.
Spelling: In passage based on Ayres scale, 6th grade, about half the words incorrect.
Reading: Sixth grade passage, Thorndike scale, read poorly, mispronouncing many words; comprehension poor.
Arithmetic: Does simple addition and subtraction with occasional errors; fails entirely on anything but the simplest multiplication.
Common-sense information: Poor.

Discussion of C

3 In Nora's case the reader at once senses a much more serious situation morally than with the preceding two girls. As regards conduct disorder, Nora may fairly be said to be "on the dangerous list."

She grades on age-level tests as considerably lower than either of the others, and this finding is corroborated by the results in a number of other tests, although in planfully working with concrete material her performance is much better than with other tests. Nor are her failures, evidently, to be attributed to lack of friendly co-operation; indeed, her personality traits probably lead her to utilize her powers to something like their full extent.

But it is just this girl's traits of character, particularly her easy-going, friendly attitude and her suggestibility which lead us to look askance at her future, unless she can pretty continuously be under the influence of good companions.

The central interest in the study of this family life, even in considering the origin of their tendency towards mental defect, is of course alcoholism. Here we have, what is not so common in America, a family plainly degenerating. Even though we have had no chance to know the older generation, it seems perfectly clear from accounts received from reliable sources that the family of each of the parents was much above the level of this present generation in mental ability. It is hard enough to judge of the influence of heredity or any other factor in the production of mental defect, but in this case it is more than suggestive that two alcoholic parents coming from families probably mentally normal should produce a large percentage of biological and mental defect among their offspring. To be sure, the mother's regular drinking during pregnancy may be considered as a factor even more direct—there can be little doubt about the pernicious influence of bathing delicate embryonic cells of the nervous system with the alcohol which circulates through the blood of the fetus.

It is extremely difficult to attempt to separate the influences in an instance like this: heredity, that is mental defect inherited directly through the father who might have been defective, or through either of the parents carrying defect as a recessive trait; alcoholic degeneration of germ cells at the time of conception (having in mind the findings of Stockard); or direct antenatal alcoholic poisoning of nerve tissues. We might leave out the first two and yet see that the offspring in this family had a small chance. We do not wonder that so many of them succumbed early and that several of the survivors are mental defectives.

at their house; Nora's mother was sorry for her and took her in. After she, Nora, was arrested, Lily left saying she was going on the stage; she thought she could get a job for both of them and Nora thinks she would like to go.

Nora says that she was with Lily both times when she was arrested. This last time they went in to the store at Lily's suggestion to buy some clothes, and when they were in the store Lily suggested that it would be easy to take a waist and some stockings and so they each did so; and then they got arrested. Nora claims that she never knew anyone else who stole, although through Lily she met a girl who told them of having been successful in stealing from several department stores. She denies worry about sex affairs or sex experiences, saying she doesn't care for boys. She is sure, now that Lily has gone, that she will not get into any more trouble.

At this point SUMMARY OF C and SUBSEQUENT HISTORY follow.

SUMMARY OF STAFF CONFERENCE

C

PROBLEM: **Delinquencies:** Once shoplifting and once arrested in public park for accosting men. Out late nights. Not holding jobs. Earlier truancy.

PHYSICAL: Short in stature, but good nutrition Very defective vision. Dull expression.

MENTAL: (1) **Abilities:** Defective, middle grade moron. Comparatively good ability with concrete material. (2) **Balance:** Normal. (3) **Personality:** Affectionate, helpful, suggestible.

BACKGROUND: (a) **Heredity:** Father excessively alcoholic; arrested for this several times. His family negative. Mother and maternal grandfather alcoholic. Her family otherwise negative. Siblings: Three backward, two being in special class for defectives. (b) **Developmental:** Parents alcoholic at time of conception. Mother alcoholic during pregnancy. Children's diseases mildly. Otorrhea three years ago. Adenoids and tonsils removed two years ago. (c) **Home Conditions:** Home poorly kept. Poverty. Drinking. Mother working out intermittently.

PROBABLE DIRECT CAUSATIONS: (1) Mentality and personality as above. (2) Bad companion who has had strong influence. (3) Poor parental control.

PROGNOSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS: On account of having fair earning capacity it may be that this girl will be able to maintain herself in the community if she has good supervision. Of course her friendship with this older girl must be broken up, and if left at home she should have strict probation. She shows no sex interests at present; should she later, we should strongly recommend institutional commitment. It must be understood that she is only suited for routine work with her hands. Her family should not expect anything more than this. Eyes should be examined by a specialist. Family already has contact with several social agencies and it is doubtful whether conditions there can be much altered.

Subsequent History

C

Nora was placed on probation after a conference with the probation officer, who, being told the girl's needs, said she would plan to give strict oversight, with frequent reporting. Nora found work in a box factory. Two months later her father died. At this time the family income had improved, the oldest boy, Nora, and the mother all contributing, the mother worked out the equivalent of three days a week.

We have had frequent reports showing that Nora worked steadily at the same factory and that there were no complants of any kind about her. She obtained glasses, but did not wear them, claiming they did not help her eyesight. There is no doubt in the minds of those who know this family well that they are leading very decent lives; there has been no further development of delinquent trends. Nowadays there is no evidence that the mother drinks.

At a recent visit, the family were found in the same neighborhood in another building of about the same character. Nora was at home endeavoring, she said, to clean up following the repainting of the rooms; hence the general disorder. She said that her oldest brother is now married, but that both the younger ones and her mother are working. She is still working at the box factory, having been there now for about four years. She likes the work and earns on an average twenty dollars a week, sometimes making as much as twenty-five dollars. She comes home at her lunch hour and is home evenings, except for going once a week with a girl cousin to a dance. They go and come home together. She meets young men at the dance hall, but never allows them to bring her home or to call on her. She hasn't any "beau"; doesn't think she wants ever to get married. None of the family go to church.

She never sees Lily any more; she heard that she really went on the stage. Lily's sister, who reported the news, told Nora how foolish she was to work in factory when she could earn better as a waitress; but Nora says, "I couldn't hold down that kind of a job with my mallet head; I'd drop the dishes, and I told her so." Besides she enjoys her work so much she hasn't taken a vacation in three years. She hasn't any place to go and would rather work than "stick around the house and look at myself." When her boss asked her last year, if she wanted to work in place of taking her vacation and told her that she could earn five dollars a day, she said she would rather work because, "Gee, you know when you see anything like that coming your way you like to snatch at it." She gives her pay, with the exception of two dollars a week, to her mother who buys her clothes, because if she kept it herself she would use it all up. "I just can't hang on to money."

She has glasses for which her mother paid $10, but she doesn't wear them, though the doctor said she should; they make her look "funny."

Nora is described now as neatly dressed but pale and very thin. She still has a silly giggle and is very loquacious and friendly.

General Discussion

Comparing these three feebleminded girls, we see that though their degree of mental defect varies somewhat, they have all been able to meet social demands made upon them, even though remaining in their own homes, where in each case conditions would seem none too favorable for intelligent supervision and control. The two who are of working age have been successful earners, working steadily at a fair wage in routine factory occupations. Even when delinquent trends had been exhibited, the ordinary procedure of court action followed by ordinary probation has proved adequately deterrent. One must conclude that these three girls have not required institutional care either custodially or temporarily for training.

It is on the basis of such outcomes that we have ourselves modified our earlier convictions; whereas not so long ago the prognosis for defective individuals, especially girls, was felt to be unfavorable outside of an institution, we have come to know that many are vocationally and socially educable, that they respond to ordinary stimuli, incentives and deterrents, much as do normal individuals, and that under suitable conditions they succeed in the community. Sometimes some special ability or character trait is found which has vocational or social significance; such cases are discussed by Healy in *Normalities of the Feebleminded,* Proceedings of the American Association for the Study of the Feebleminded, 1918, and in one chapter of *Psychology of Special Abilities and Disabilities,* by Bronner.

As pointed out by Anderson in an article based largely on a questionnaire *(Education of Mental Defectives in State and Private Institutions and in Special Classes in Public Schools in the United States,* Mental Hygiene, Jan. 1921), the attitude towards the feebleminded has undergone several changes. Following a period of optimism concerning their educability, there was an extreme swing in the opposite direction with statements of the hopelessness of training them and of the social dangers consequent upon their existence in the community. Statistics of their huge proportion among dependents and delinquents led to the thesis that all defectives should be permanently segregated. These figures, following diagnosing by mental tests, were based on the definition of feeblemindedness by the American Association for the Study of the Feebleminded as inability on the part of adults to pass mental tests standardized for children 12 years of age, or if not adults, inability to pass tests standardized for chidren at levels three or four years below the chronological age of the individual examined.

But with more critical, intelligent study and the gathering of more data have come a lowering of the upper limits of mental defect and a saner, better balanced view based on greater knowledge and experience. Careers of defectives who have been trained in institutions have been studied as well as careers of those trained in special classes of public schools. Mental examination of over a million and a half men, not including officers, gathered together in our army during the World War showed that 3% were under ten years mentally, while

.5% were recommended for discharge because of mental inferiority. It was clear that there were in the community, filling a useful place, a much larger number of defectives than had been realized; many defective men had evidently presented no problem either as dependents or as delinquents; for the most part they had been earning their own livelihood without in any way coming in conflict with the law.

In 1919 Dr. Walter E. Fernald published an article, *After-care Study of the Patients Discharged from Waverly for a Period of Twenty-five Years* (Ungraded, Nov. 1919). These patients were not discharged because believed suitable for parole; the majority were discharged under protest. The general results of this survey of 646 defectives were as follows: 24% were earning a living; 16% were working at home but receiving no wages; 13% were living at home unable to work—a total of 53% living in the community apparently without cost or trouble to the community; 12% had been arrested, a little less than 60% of whom were committed to penal institutions; 23% had been readmitted to Waverly or committed to other non-penal institutions; 12% had died.

More recently, with the definite policy of parole from institutions for defectives, there has been more selection of those discharged, the emphasis, of course, being placed on those who give promise of success. With greater vocational guidance, more placing in suitable homes, and supervision this experiment has been found worth while. Among the thirty state institutions replying to Anderson's questionnaire, nineteen stated that they paroled into the community, five having parole officers. A questionnaire was also sent out from the Michigan Home and Training School. The facts gathered are published by Z. Pauline Hoakley, *Extra Institutional Care for the Feebleminded* (above proceedings, 1922). Of the twenty-six returns, seventeen institutions were paroling into special colonies or into the community. The colony plan is described and discussed by Dr. Charles Bernstein *(Colony and Extra-Institutional Care for the Feebleminded,* Mental Hygiene, Jan. 1920), who states that one-third to one-fourth of all the cases admitted to the Rome State School are suitable for colony life and that of those placed in colonies over 60% are successful. (These figures apparently are based on statistics for females only.) The figures from the Michigan Training School, from the Wrentham and Waverly State Schools, all show a large percentage of success among those paroled into the community. (Details may be found in the articles cited and in a report by Mabel A. Matthews, Mental Hygiene, April 1922.)

In *A Study of the Careers of 321 Feebleminded Persons who have been in the Special Classes and Are Now Out in the Community* by Anderson (above proceedings, 1922), it is shown that approximately half of the 298 cases reported on are gainfully employed in industry: only about 6% were sent to institutions for defectives; less than 1½% were serving sentences in correctional institutions; and only about 20% had ever been in court or in institutions for delinquents. This writer, as well as others who have compiled data concerning the proportion of defectives who are also delinquent, emphasizes the untruth of the belief, earlier so firmly held and so frequently stated, that

delinquents were very largely recruited from the defective class and conversely that the vast majority of defectives were delinquent. Actual "follow-up" of defectives shows a surprisingly small amount of criminality among this group.

In Miss Matthews' study of 100 males who had been in the community from ten months to five years, she found that only 3 boys had been arrested, 2 of whom had been sent to a correctional institution. Miss Raymond's report on 272 cases paroled from Wrentham covering a period of seven years, quoted by Hoakley, shows 11% of males and 14% of females delinquent aside from sex offenses. The old point of view that every female defective was likely to become sexually delinquent is not borne out by actual findings. Of the group reported on by Dr. Fernald (see above), 176 were women, of whom 27% were known to have been immoral after discharge; 15% of the group had married, and of this number about 41% were entirely successful; 11 of the total number had 13 illegitimate children. Commenting on the small amount of criminality found in the survey, Dr. Fernald stresses the unexpectedly small proportion of sex offences, and especially of illegitimacy.

In recent writings it has been frequently reiterated that where delinquency arises among defectives it is due not so much to the grade of intelligence as to personality traits. This point is not only made in the article by Anderson, but also in a paper entitled, *A Report of a Study of One Hundred Feebleminded Girls with a Mental Rating of Eleven Years* by Wallace, and in one by Potter, *The Relation of Personality to the Mal-adjustment of the Mental Defective*, all of which articles are also to be found in above Proceedings, 1922.

A group on which we have recently gathered statistics for the purpose of this study, although not very large in numbers, is of special interest because (a) the individual cases have been carefully studied and followed, and (b) the group is composed of the entire number of those designated as definitely feebleminded in our series of repeated offenders. The figures relating to the 78 girls, 39 of whom are sex offenders, are as follows:

	Success	Failure	Disappeared	Negative
To institutions for feebleminded, 10; of those paroled, 3.....	0	1	2	0
To correctional institutions, 28; of those paroled, 22	16	1	2	3
Remained at home on probation, 30	17	4	1	8
Placed in foster homes, 10	6	2	0	2

(Negative means not positively delinquent, but only negatively successful; or else too recent [only 3 cases] to be certain.)

For 193 boys of similar status the proportions are much the same.

FINAL COMMENT

We have presented the study of these three cases, selected as representative from among our case histories of mental defect, as offering data bearing upon the evolution of opinion concerning the life of mentally defective people in the community.

With the basis of feeblemindedness defined as mental age of 12 years or less, many of us made haste to find high correlations between failure in life—represented by poverty, dependency, vice, delinquency—and mental defect.

But with further statistical studies, such as those of the army psychological findings, we note great masses of the population getting along quite all right on their respective social levels and yet not being able to grade up to 12 or even 11 or 10 years on the standard age-level tests.

And also such representative studies as these we are offering, and the published records from institutions for defectives and schools with special classes, show similar evidence, namely, that many defectives live normal social lives in the community.

Thus we must change our earlier expressed ideas that mentally defective girls "are potentially prostitutes" or that defective boys are almost necessarily delinquent or dependent.

In this study we have taken girls' cases because they are supposed more vividly than boys to illustrate the alleged fact that the mentally defective are social failures. And we have gone still farther by offering one case that has an extremely bad family background and two that have even themselves shown delinquent trends—all in proof of the normal social role that many of the mentally defective can and do play.

What there is intrinsic, in the way of character or personality make-up, or what there is extrinsic, in the way of environmental influences, that leads some to be morally or economically successful, while others are failures, is "another story."

JUDGE BAKER FOUNDATION

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nal, vocational and ught for study by rt, school, and all ning to make inten- hose working from the standpoint of the psychological, medical, and social sciences. It is only through the devoted service of the entire personnel that the material for the present publication is available.

Readers cannot draw conclusions for scientific purposes from statements concerning localities, names, dates, nationalities, and facts of family history as given because, in the usual professional fashion cases are reported with disguises. But the general facts, even of heredity are accurately transcribed, and no matters of importance for interpretation of causation as it bears on therapeutic possibilities in the individual case are changed or omitted.

The plan of presentation is to offer a first series of twenty studies covering a wide range of problems of interest to educators, psychologists, psychiarists, sociologists, judges, probation officers, and all who deal with matters involving the adjustments of young people. For teaching purposes, a loose-leaf edition is available so that all pages designated with (a) may be withheld until the factual material of the first study of the case, given in the other pages, is treated by the student as a problem to be solved.

It is hoped that the publications can continue and include consideration of groups of cases representing types of problems in education, in make-up of individuals, in conduct, etc. It is planned at later dates to report on important facts of cases earlier published.

The gratitude of students who benefit by these studies is due to the Commonwealth Fund of New York, a grant from which has made this series possible.

The social treatment has been carried out through child welfare agencies of many sorts, and the spirit of their co-operation has been splendid. It would be a pleasure to give credit to the particular agency in each case, but since, for several reasons, it is inadvisable, we desire here to express our deep appreciation of their co-operation with the Judge Baker Foundation.

WILLIAM HEALY, M. D.
AUGUSTA F. BRONNER, Ph. D.
Directors.

Case Study No. 19

SERIES I

JUDGE BAKER FOUNDATION
40 COURT STREET
BOSTON

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CASE NINETEEN

Richard Dowling: 16 yrs. 10 mos. Born in Maine; New England ancestry.

Introductory Statement

1 (Dec., 1919) Not until he had been in jail two weeks in Boston did Richard give his correct name, address, and age. His case had been held over to the grand jury from the municipal court, where he appeared upon the charge of robbery. The officers of the juvenile court, to which he was transferred after he told the truth about himself, found through the records of the Probation Commission, that Richard had been in court a number of times, and that he had been committed to schools for delinquent boys in two states and returned to each for further delinquencies while on parole. Before the case was disposed of in the juvenile court we were asked to see the boy, but had less than a day for the study and conferences, the superintendent of the last institution in which Richard had been having come to Boston and desiring to take the boy back with him if the judge so decided. His father we saw later.

Study of the Background

Family

2 (From the father, apparently a very straight-forward man, bluff, and hearty, we obtained most of the following facts concerning the boy and his family. Some of the details of developmental history he could not remember; the mother was away on a visit and could not come to Boston. We noted at the time that from this man, who spoke in rather sweeping terms concerning his family, we could not expect in an interview of an hour or two to get at the character traits of the many members of the family. Investigating parole officers furnished the few additional facts.)

Father: 45. A sturdy, healthy, and honest-appearing owner of a small sash and door lumber mill. In a reasonable way he is proud of his success and reputation in his town and of the similar prosperity of other members of his family. Born

1 The Probation Commission of Massachusetts has developed an exceedingly valuable method of recording certain facts about offenders in order to render important service to judges, probation officers, and other officials. A matter emphasized over and over again by many of us is that no one can hope to deal to advantage with offenders unless there is knowledge of previous career. This is what the records of the Commission attempt to supply in short; there being gathered from courts and institutions the fact of the offender's presence in that court or institution with date, offence, and disposition of the case noted. It is not a system of identification, as such; that is left to the police authorities.

By consulting the original sources here listed, details can quickly be obtained from probation and other records so that the experience in the past with the individual is at hand. Judges and officers have come to rely upon these records and are finding them invaluable.

So far, only the most populous portions of the state send in returns—about 60% of the criminal courts of Massachusetts. Reports are sent by probation officers from the various jurisdictions, not by clerks of courts. It is hoped that this service, which is so simple in its workings and so satisfactory in the ends obtained, may be spread throughout the state. And the system can well be looked up to as worthy of emulation elsewhere in this country, which is so devoid of business-like methods of handling offenders under the law.

A sample of the service rendered is shown in the ease and expeditiousness with which the career of this boy, Richard Dowling, was checked up. Or another case: The other day a lawyer, affirming, perhaps through ignorance, that his client had never appeared before a court previously, was challenged by a probation officer present who was quickly able to show the judge from the records of the Commission that the man had been in several times before for the same offence. And what more important fact could the judge possibly have before him?

The really curious thing about these centralized records for a large district is the fact that they are unique. We know of no other place in this country, in any large district, where there is this gathering of first-hand information about careers of offenders. Police records and identification material as gathered by such experts as Chief Vollmer in California have something of the same value, but it particularly requires the records of probation officers who have dealt with the individual to make the system of the great worth that it is in Massachusetts.

2 It is not from the standpoint of inheritance of criminal tendency as an entity that in this case one would like to know with more explicitness about the various members of the family. (We have set forth our findings of some years ago on this subject; see Case 6, page 5a.) But since the study of the entire background is here so largely negative, one wonders where a clue to causation might be unearthed. Hence one thinks of the possible influence of relatives. One would like to know more of their bearings upon the life of this boy. Was there anything in the family life, including the more distant members, that could possibly have influenced the behavior of Richard?

in a rural district, he says that he had merely an elementary school education, but he is well read and interested in civic and church affairs and in the education of his children, of whom he is very fond. He makes it clear that he is a man of no bad habits; and he looks the part. From others we learn that Mr. Dowling has an excellent reputation as father and husband and for being an honest business man.

Father's Family: He tells us that he comes of an unusually large family, nearly all of whom are in business for themselves in small towns in Maine near where the father lives. He says that his parents and his brothers and sisters have all been remarkably healthy; none of them have had any mental disease, and none of them have been criminally inclined.

Mother: 40. A good woman, affectionate; gets along well with her children. Had ordinary grammar school education. (A parole officer informs us that this mother makes an especially good appearance away from home, looking quite like a woman of wealth, but that she is a decidedly poor housekeeper, even being slack about her own appearance in her home.)

Mother's Family: She also comes from a large family, people of rather small means, but none with bad reputations. They are mostly clerks or have small stores in the towns in the same district where the father lives. No near relatives have had any mental trouble.

Children: Richard is the eldest of six children, three boys and three girls. All of them are healthy and those in school have made good advancement, his sister immediately younger, being in second year high school at 13. None of them have shown any delinquent tendencies; all get along well with their parents.

Developmental History

Pregnancy normal. As the first child it was a long and difficult labor, but there was no damage to the child. Richard has never had any serious accidents or illnesses in his life except that last year in the institution he had pneumonia. The father is sure that there was nothing peculiar

whatever about his development. He walked and talked at the usual time and never had any convulsions. He is sure he would have remembered had there been anything unusual that had occurred in the health history of the boy.

Home Conditions and Influences

3 The family live in their own large house with garden and orchard. The father has had a good income for years and their home is very comfortable with plenty of wholesome amusements for the children. (The parole officers tells us that it is well furnished, but not neatly kept.)

The father thinks that there has never been any partiality shown by either of the parents toward any of the children. The mother is easy-going and has been very lenient with Richard; she is affectionate with all of them. He himself has tried to be very companionable with the boy and has had him often at his mill and has made every effort to induce him to behave himself. He has frequently talked over with Richard the problem of his stealing and has tried to get him to tell just why he gets into such trouble, and has tried to make definite plans for helping him. He has never aroused Richard's resentment by his inquiries, even when he has "forced him to the wall and made him tell" what he has previously denied. There is the best of feeling among the children; the others are fond of Richard and he is of them. When in the institutions he has always written very nice letters, inquiring about their progress in school and whether they were well.

When the father first found that the boy was inclined towards stealing he whipped him severely for it and he repeated this on several occasions until he found that it did no good. At one period he used regularly to search the boy's pockets to see if he had anything which he had taken. Richard was given a liberal weekly allowance, but stole even then. On one occasion when he was on parole, a girl came directly to the father, instead of going to the police, saying that she believed Richard had stolen her pocketbook. Mr. Dowling made restitution, as he had a number of times before the boy was committed, when the police had brought him to the father without taking him to court. Several times

the father has had the boy working for him in the mill in vacation time or when on parole. The boy worked well for a time; indeed he earned enough then, and when working for others, to save quite a little, and he had a bank account. The father has encouraged him to study and read; he earnestly desired Richard to go to college. He has tried to know something of his companions and to break off bad friendships when he thought that the boy was making them, although he frankly says that he thought that none of the boys with whom he went were as bad as Richard himself. More recently he has desired Richard to go into business, thinking that responsibilities would develop him. To this end he offered to double every dollar that Richard would save toward starting himself in some small business in a few years.

Mr. Dowling and his wife have written regularly to Richard when he has been in institutions. His father went a number of times to see him when he was in the school in Maine, and he even came three times to the Massachusetts institution to visit. The father's spirit has also been shown by his acquiescence in the commitments after his own various attempts to reform his son have failed, and by his well-worded and appreciative letters to the authorities expressing much concern when his boy has been in institutions.

Mr. Dowling says that he has long wondered "if there is not something wrong with the boy's head"—he has had so many good opportunities. At present the father's attitude is that if authorities who know so much more about delinquents than he does, think that the boy should go to the reformatory for adults in order to get stricter discipline, then he agrees.

Companions, Interests, Habits

4 Richard never regularly went with a gang or with any special crowd of companions, good or bad. His father says that in the neighborhood there were boy associates who were in trouble for stealing with Richard, when the latter was 11 to 13 years old, but they all soon "straightened out;" even the boy, Albert S., who was sent to the correctional school soon after Richard went there, did well after return.

3 One scarcely expects to find the ideal home, but this one seems to be particularly good, except for slackness and indulgence by the mother. The lack of orderliness, however, may not be a bad influence; it is a feature of home life that is hard to evaluate. We have known of homes so orderly that they must not be disturbed by children's play, and where the home was more important that the child.

There seems nothing in the relationship of this boy and his mother that is extreme or unusual and nothing seems to indicate a need for analysis of the family relationships, which appear, in general, quite sensible. Nor is there anything which would suggest a need for compensatory reactions on the part of Richard; he seems in no way to be part of a family situation that would develop in him feelings of inferiority.

Clearly the father is the stronger character of the parents and he gave an unusual amount of thought to the problem which his son presented, and evidently tried in sensible ways to meet the situation. His talking matters over without undue severity, as well as many of his plans for checking and correcting the boy's misconduct, represented his desire to play the part of father wisely. But his making restitution put upon him rather than on his son the penalty of the stealing. One wonders why he did not make Richard pay out of his spending money and his earnings as much as he could of the sums he took. It is not, of course, uncommon for parents to shoulder the consequencies of delinquencies of the children, and even courts accept this vicarious punshment. The psychology of this is altogether wrong, except where the parent is dirctly or indirectly blamable and requires deterrence from being a party to the delinquency.

That Richard saved a part of what he earned seems to indicate that he was not innately a spendthrift and rather makes one infer that his stealing was not for the sake of what he thus acquired.

The fact that this boy was regarded with affection by members of his family and that he, in turn, was affectionate toward them may be surprising to those who think of the criminal as a person apart from the ordinary run of mankind, different altogether by reason of his feelings and thoughts, as well as his actions. But anybody who has really studied delinquents and criminals knows that many of them have normal sensibilities and just such deep family affection as this boy displays.

4 The facts given under this heading are very largely negative. There was neither paucity of interests nor poor interests in this case, and those who hold to theories that some one bad interest or habit is very frequently the underlying cause of misconduct have little support in this instance—smoking, moving pictures, pernicious reading, all would seem to be ruled out. The only apparent clue to the causation of the delinquency, so far given, is concerned with companions, even though the father says that they were not so bad as Richard himself, but one knows that frequently a delinquent may have gone much farther in delinquency than the instigator or initiator of his misconduct.

Richard has had no steady chum, but he has always associated in normal fashion with boys of his own age. His father was told once or twice that Richard, when he was about 16, had been seen in a gambling crowd, and his father thought that at one time the $60 or so which the boy had in his possession might have been his winnings, but the boy denied this and said that he had earned it; and the father had no proof of the fact being otherwise. All of Richard's later delinquencies, as far as is known, have been committed without confederates.

Although before that time he had done well, Richard ceased to have interest in school life after he finished the eighth grade; he said that he wanted to go to work. His father tried to persuade him to prepare for college, but he never fell in tune with that idea. As a young boy he was fond of mechanical toys; when a little older he went in for sports with ordinary enthusiasm and played on boy teams; he won a prize for swimming. All of his spending money at one time went for his interests in athletics. He joined the Boy Scouts as soon as he was old enough.

Richard was always moderately interested in reading and was fond of books of adventure, particularly Zane Grey's and other western stories. When at home he accompanied his father regularly on Sundays to church. He never cared much, if at all, for the company of girls. He went very moderately to theatres and never was overly fond of moving picture shows. He always seemed to thoroughly enjoy the rides about the country which the family took in their automobile.

Richard has "never been much for smoking." He does not drink or take other stimulants in excess. His family have not had the slightest intimation of his ever having had bad sex habits or of his being immoral with girls. His eating and sleeping habits have been entirely regular.

School and Work History

Richard began school at 6 years of age and advanced regularly. He must have received some double promotion that his father forgets, since he was in the ninth grade at 13 when he was first committed to the industrial school in his home

state. His record in school was consistently good. Since then, naturally, his schooling has been most irregular; the highest grade he has attained is the second year of high school. He was never truant.

In the intervals when he has been out of institutions Richard has worked for his father or has readily obtained employment at other places. He has been found a good worker and has earned well for periods as long as three months at a time, especially when he was working in the machine shop of a factory.

Delinquencies; Court and Institutional Record

5 Richard began his delinquencies just about the time he was 12 years old. The police several times apprehended him or received complaints about him and either took him to the station or went to his father about him; but on account of the standing of Mr. Dowling in the community, and the fact that restitution was made by him, they did not take the boy into court until after a number of months. Then the first complaint in court was ordered "filed" by the judge; on the second appearance, five months later, with companions, for stealing, he was given a suspended sentence to the correctional school; then, when only one month later he was again in on a larceny charge, he was committed.

At this time and later the charges against Richard were for stealing in one form or another. At first the thieving was from stores. The police of his home town say that he was "imbued with the desire to steal," and that he was of the "snatch thief" variety of delinquent. "Everything has been done for him, but he seems to steal just for the fun of it." "He would rather steal than eat." "He was one of the worst boys for stealing that we ever had in our town." They suspect that he has been in many thieving affairs when he has not been caught, and earlier he was much excused by everybody on account of his youthful age and the respect in which his family name is held. His father reports that no stealing has ever taken place at home; he has been trustworthy there in all ways.

He was retained in the institution for juvenile offenders, a wholesomely conducted place on the cottage plan, sur-

rounded by a large farm, and where quite fair schooling is given, for about one year. And then he was paroled to live again with his parents. Soon he was in further delinquencies; he was once in court for a rather serious larceny, and restitution was made. But he again stole and was returned to the institution. After four or five months there he was once more placed on parole to return home, where he, so far as is known, did well for a matter of five months or so. Then, when he was at work and earning well and had money in the bank he, on a holiday trip to Boston, snatched a woman's pocketbook in a department store crowd, but was immediately arrested and, after his record was ascertained by correspondence, he was sent to the correction school for older boys, another institution on the cottage plan, with many well-conducted activities. There he remained six months and then was paroled to his father.

After a period of working in his father's mill Richard decided to enlist in the navy, leaving home with plenty of money in his pocket, stating to his father that he would come to Boston and enlist and would not return until he could behave himself and be a man. (It is not known whether he had been again in some stealing for which he had not been caught.) Arriving in Boston, however, he robbed a woman of her purse in a theatre and was immediately caught and returned to the institution in Massachusetts. After three months he ran away.

The superintendent of this institution, characterizing the boy, says that he was a good inmate, being courteous and willing. About some affairs he stuck to lies for a long time, but when thrashed he acknowledged the truth. At first he had in such a straight-forward way denied that he had stolen the pocketbook in the department store that the superintendent was inclined to believe that the police were mistaken, but at the time of the thrashing he acknowledged this too. He did so well that he was allowed much liberty and was given a position of some responsibility. When he was returned, this position was after a time given back to him. He then made a very deliberate plan for escape, obtaining and secreting keys to a clothes room till he was able to make the necessary change from the institutional uniform. He

5 As in so many of our other cases, we note that the history mentions a very clear period of beginnings. This is a matter that we insist on as being very important, both for undertaking at a later period a careful study of what influences were paramount in the genesis of the delinquent tendency, and also because there evidently is a special time when, if there had been a thorough-going attitude toward the development of delinquency as something that should be cured, effort should be made to ascertain and meet the fundamental and causative fact.

And it is rather interesting that if there was such a definite time of beginnings, the boy's criminalistic inclinations could hardly have been innate; he was, then, not "the born crook" that the good parole officer classifies him as being. (Of course the "born criminal" idea of the European schools of criminology receives little credence by the modern student of the genesis of behavior tendencies.)

We note that Richard was returned home over and over, to fail each time. It might be conceived that a point of vantage for understanding the boy as well as for achieving a cure in his case might have been through trying him in a different home environment. But it is by no means sure that this would have succeeded or brought out any new fact concerning him without expert study. It is merely a point that occurs to us as suggesting a possibility which was not tried.

A much more important point is concerned with the fact that nobody seems to have taken the commonsense point of view that recidivism, repetition of the same offense in this case, meant necessity for trying to thoroughly understand the situation. One can think of analogies in many other fields where a recurrence of an untoward event would set those concerned by the ears to ascertain enough of causes to carry out radical treatment.

A cardinal principle that we steadily urge is that repetition of offense after the individual is checked up, represents a most important phenomenon. Our own studies of repeated offenders is based upon this discrimination. Early in Richard's case there was plenty of suggestion for the study of him as a special individual, as a family and a community problem in the fact that he was repeating his offences after having been taken in hand by the police and his father. The court, the police, the probation officers, and the family might well have asked at this period for a careful study of his case—and very likely they would, had there been in existence in their community, or anywhere within reach an agency equipped to do such work for them and commanding sufficient respect to get measures of treatment carried out. The day is certainly coming when there will be such centers for the study of problems of children and young people. And when they exist and the proper personnel is in charge, they will probably do more than any other one agency to point the way to better treatment and to preventive effort.

And exactly the same need for study of causation could have been discerned at the time of Richard's return to the first institution. The work at such an institution should, more than anything else, be aimed at cure. And how could that possibly be attempted without a vigorous

was to have been released in two or three weeks, and he knew it at the time he ran away.

The parole officer's lengthy reports give the family circumstances and the boy's police record as we know them. He writes, "there is no doubt in my mind that the boy is a born crook and that the training we have been giving him is not what he needs. In the institution he did well and was much liked, but he should have much stronger discipline. The reformatory for adults is the proper place for him. I recommended long ago that he should be studied by a specialist."

Richard was lost sight of for about a month until he appeared in the municipal court of Boston for robbery, having taken, in a restaurant where he had gone for lunch, a traveling bag which the owner had placed aside. The man who owned the bag walked the streets to see if he could find the thief, and a few blocks away he came up behind Richard, who was quietly walking along, carrying the bag. He followed until they came to a policeman and then had the boy arrested. In court Richard gave a wrong name and address and his age as 19. He had been held over to the grand jury and had remained two weeks in jail before he gave his correct name and age. After his father was communicated with the boy was transferred to the juvenile court. He was held in jail for a day longer, until his case could be studied somewhat, as preliminary to disposal.

It was later reported by a probation officer of the juvenile court that when Richard was there the officer who was in charge did not know that the boy had come from the jail and needed special guarding. He left him alone in the waiting room with the door open into the corridor, and Richard might very readily have escaped had be been in the least inclined to do so. (It is a matter of easy access from the corridor to the street, and this must have been plainly seen by the boy when he went in.)

Study of the Individual

Physical

6 (On account of inquiries concerning it, we are offering here a reproduction of our minimum physical examination record, which is added to, of course, in many cases.)

attempt to understand why there was a recurrence of the boy's trouble. His return was, it seems to us, another important critical point in his history where everything would seem to point to the necessity for understanding him better.

It is a matter of not a little significance for the student of delinquency that Richard made no attempt to escape from the court-room when he could very readily have done so and within a few hours have been outside of the state and outside the jurisdiction of the authorities who could have held him either for the present offence or as a violator of parole. It shows clearly a lack of what might be called professional intent on his part. Evidently he had no idea of going on in a criminal career.

Name: *Richard Dowling* Age: *16-10* Date: *Dec. 16, 1919*

Present Ailments: Pain:
Headache: *0* Vertigo: *0*
Epilepsy: *0* Habits: *practically negative*

Examination:
Personal cleanliness: *normal, considering just from jail* Deformity: *0*
Posture: *upright, active*
Expression: *very direct; friendly; open smile* Stigmata: *0*
Speech: *normal, free*

Nose: *neg.* Thyroid: *neg.*

Throat: Tonsils: *slightly ragged* Adenoids: *0*

Eyes:
Vision: *R. 20/20, L. 20/20* Fields: O. D.
Pup. form: *normal* Reactions: *prompt* Strab: *0*
Movements: *normal* Ptosis: *0* Nyst: *0* Diplop: *0*

Hearing: R. *normal for whisp. voice*
L. " " " "
Otorrhea: *0*

Reflexes: Conj: Palat.-phar: Abd: Upper: *normal*
Arm: *equal, normal* Lower: "
K. J.: " " Achilles:

Sensation:

Motor: Strength up. extr.: *distinctly good* Lower extr.:
Coord. up. extr.: *good* Coord. low. extr.: *normal*
Gait: *normal* Tremors: *0*

Trophic: Musc.: *decidedly well developed* Bones: *normal*
Thorax: *fairly well developed* Adenopathy: *0*

Heart: *sounds and size normal* Lungs: *neg.*

Temp.: Pulse: Blood: *color of muc. memb. fairly good* Phimosis: *0*

Teeth: Spacing: *good, very even* Carious: *none observed* Hutch.: *0*

Weight: *130* Ht.: *5 ft. 3½ in.* Chest: insp. exp. Head: Circ. *rather well shaped* Length Breadth

Develop:
Pubescense: *considerable pigmented* Breasts: Menstr'n:
Genl. devel.: *short, sturdy* Nutrition: *good*

Compl.: *rather dark, brown eyes* Physiog.: *regular, pleasant features; eyes bright, considering has been in jail. Not in least dissipated looking.*

Other tests and information: *appet. good; bowels reg.; denies v. d. or exposure. Reports from institutions, Wassermanns neg., no gon.*

Mental

7 (1) *Results of Psychological Examination*:[1]

(Richard was much interested in tests and very co-operative. He proved himself a rather undeliberate worker. Because of lack of time he was very incompletely tested.)

According to age-level tests, he graded as having fairly good general ability, Intelligence Quotient, 97. (Coming directly from two weeks in jail, this may not represent his best ability.)

Auditory memory span, normal.

Apperceptions with language, normal; with pictorial material, poor.

Ability to deal with abstractions, good, as shown by generalizations in fables test, giving difference between abstract words.

(2) *Mental Balance:* No signs whatever of imbalance. Thoroughly well oriented and rational; cogent and coherent in conversation. Insight normal. No evidences of delusions, episodes or aberrations of any kind.

8 (3) *Personality Traits:* Mr. D. says that at home Richard always seemed normal and wholesome. As a young boy he had no tantrums, was not difficult to control, nor was he unduly restless, or fussy about his food. He had no peculiar habits of any kind. Even as he grew older he was exceedingly good-hearted and entirely obedient, his father states, displaying an attitude that was always respectful and especially thoughtful and affectionate towards his mother. "He would do anything for anybody in the family. He used to write home that he hoped the others would make good." For the most part he was truthful; after his delinquencies were discovered he seemed repentent. He had normal, boyish enthusiasms. At home he was absolutely honest. He

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[1] Stanford-Binet I. Q. 97; passes all 14-year tests; (1) (2) (3) (4) of 16-year tests and nothing above this level.
Auditory Memory Span: 7 digits, (5 backwards).
Trabue Language Scale D: score 15, median for grade IX.
Pictorial Completion II: score 56, median for 12 to 13 years.
Easy Opposites (W-W): score, average time 1.2", 2 errors, 1 rapidly corrected.
Mental Representations: Code, 2 errors, 1 omission. Second Crossline, correct on first trial.
Writing: Judged by Thorndike Scale, quality 13, much above eighth grade.
Spelling: All words correct in eighth grade passage.
(Other school work not given.)

has never been regarded as particularly lazy; at times he has worked very well. At school and outside he has always been well liked, making friends easily.

Richard never showed any liking for vice or indecencies. His attitude toward the opposite sex is normal.

According to the superintendent of the correctional school, Richard, on the whole, was considered a good institutional inmate on account of being courteous and willing; he seemed to show little dislike for his life there; he fitted in so well that he was soon granted privileges by cottage masters and teachers. But it was difficult for him to stand steady routine. The parole officer in Maine wrote that Richard seemed to like to have things come easily, and he appeared to be averse to hard work.

Richard made a distinctly favorable impression on us; he was polite, boyish, and he seemed direct and almost ingenuous. He had a frank, open smile and an altogether friendly manner, talking apparently freely and seeming thoroughly frank and unrepressed. But there was no doubt about his being remarkably calm—he showed astonishingly little emotional reaction to the whole situation. We particularly noted an absence of furtiveness or any suggestion of sneakiness. Nor was there any particular suavity; indeed he gave the impression of being spontaneous, sincere, genuine.

Boy's Own Story

9 (Richard very pleasantly meets us more than half way in telling his story, and the facts which he gives about his family are the same as those given later by his father. In order to get two opinions concerning the boy, the interviews were conducted on the same day by two of the staff.)

He first began stealing when he was about 12. At that time he was going with a boy named Albert S., who was of the same age. They did a great deal of little stealing before they were brought to court. He is quite sure he remembers the first thing he ever took. It was a ball from the Five and Ten Cent Store. He was caught, scolded, and allowed to go. Then he took a bat, and many times later, from that and other stores, he and Albert took various small things,—toys,

6 Richard is 4 in. below the median for his age in height; his nutrition is extremely good. The findings on the minimum examination are so entirely negative that they indicate no need for more detailed physical study. There is no reason to believe from the heredity, developmental history, or examination that any problem exists from the physical or medical points of view. In some cases the physical examination is much more extensive, this depending upon the leads offered by the minimum study.

7 Even the brief psychological examination makes it perfectly clear that Richard is normal mentally; considering his irregular schooling in the last few years and adverse conditions at the time of testing, consequent upon his stay in jail and the hurried nature of the psychological study, the results are very good indeed. No facts could be obtained concerning any irregularity of special abilities or disabilities, but at the time this was a relatively less important aspect of the problem.

8 There are two main points of interest concerning the personality make-up: First, Richard has extremely pleasant traits. Perhaps his looks and manner belie his real character and lead him to be misjudged; perhaps they do not. In any case they are an element in his so successfully winning approbation and friendliness, more than his delinquencies merited. And this, in turn, is of very great importance as related to his delinquency, the outcome of which is often much less disagreeable than it would otherwise be.

Second, his emotional life is significant. Of course make-up in this respect is difficult to estimate, since there are no objective criteria to determine how far anyone is from normal in emotional response. But this, too, is very important in the development or checking of conduct tendencies. Punishment has for its *raison d' etre* effect upon feeling tone, even more than upon intellectual perceptions. It is most difficult to know whether Richard finds jail and institutional life so little disturbing because of lack of emotional tone in him, or whether on the basis of his years of experience he has adopted a philosophical attitude and become somewhat of a stoic. We remember that his father states that earlier he showed repentance following his misdeeds.

In any case it is noteworthy (See also Boy's Own Story) that Richard is most adaptable, usually finding something to enjoy wherever he is. His estimate of jail is the more surprising when we consider the good conditions of his own home. We have known boys accustomed to far fewer comforts than Richard, who found jail conditions almost intolerable.

9 During this interview only surface conditions were touched on, but none of the usual inquiries elicited any clue that opened up an obvious field for further delving. Home, companions, sex life, interests, all seemed normal enough. It was evident that what was required

pencils, and candy. This was during vacation when he had nothing to do. After these first few weeks of stealing with Albert he never stole with any one. All the rest of his stealing has been alone. Albert was not a particularly bad boy; he used to swear a little like all boys do, but he never said any bad words; he had no bad pictures; they were in no bad habits together. Each of their mothers used to claim that the other boy spoiled her boy, and he thinks that one of them was not any worse than the other. He never stole at home or at school.

Many times during the interview Richard repeats that he "never went with a bunch." And he insists that he never thinks of stealing beforehand. He never plans it. "I go into a store with no intention of stealing. Perhaps I go in for something good. Maybe I want to buy a sheet of music, say for my sister, and the first thing I know, I grab something; I guess you'd call it an impulse." (This was a spontaneous, the word "impulse" not having been used by the interviewer.)

Albert was later sent to the same correctional school, but they were in entirely different parts of the grounds and did not see each other there. Of course he knows fellows who hang around the street. Occasionaly he has been asked by them "to go in for auto stealing, joy riding, or something of that sort," but he always refuses. When he was home last on parole, he was going with four fellows who are a good, clean, decent sort.

He maintains that he has never had any sex experiences either with boys or girls. Of course he has heard some talk, most of it in the correctional school, but he has never gone in for that sort of thing. He has no curiosity about it and never has thought much about it at any time. He has very rarely practised masturbation. Then, too, he heard the boys boast of their skill at picking locks and various bad things they had done, but that never interested him either. He never thought about it afterwards and when he was home again never tried to copy them.

His father is a very good, quiet man and they have been quite good friends. On his way home from school he would often stop in at the mill and they would walk home together. Their only disagreement concerned itself with his father's

was probing, deeper analysis, digging up, if possible, unsuspected, perhaps unconscious, effects of experiences.

Most interesting was Richard's statement, "I guess you'd call it an impulse." This leads to a very real question, namely, whether misconduct ever rests on a basis of impulse alone. Here we use the word impulse in its everyday meaning, just as the boy himself did—feeling that impels to action. Experience has shown us that it is necessary to know upon what basis an impulse to misconduct rests, to what ideation, experience, or influence the impulse is due, and how it is dynamically associated with a particular kind of delinquency.

Why has Richard impulses to steal, and why are these impulses so poorly inhibited and controlled? This boy acts suddenly and not in conformity with any standards, "mental sets," attitudes. His tendencies to act in this one sphere of his conduct are not of a "habit order"; yet he does not seem in general impulsive; in many respects he seems calm, well controlled, well inhibited. Nor is there anything obsessive about his impulse—no ideation or recurrent thoughts, no delusion or peculiar notions.

Why was not his stealing subject to the laws of habit formation? (For presentation of these laws, see Case 7.) He was caught, scolded, punished, committed to institutions, and none of these served as deterrents to check or cure his tendencies to steal.

These challenging questions might have required long and intensive study before arriving at the answers.

At this point the reader, if he has not already done so, will wonder why there has been no discussion of the fact that at the Judge Baker Foundation Richard received such a short and incomplete study. It is fair to state that there is disagreement about how advisable it would have been at that time to undertake a longer study.

On the one hand (Dr. H.), if the boy, being in the clutches of the law, had either to be returned to the boys' institution or to go to the reformatory (the latter was likely, the superintendent and others feeling that his return was not advisable) it appeared most undesirable to undertake such a thoroughgoing study as evidently would be necessary to unearth the deeper facts at a time when no action could be taken by way of rational treatment. It seemed that it would be much better to wait until his release, or until he was in the reformatory, the whole idea of his going to the reformatory, of course, having been strengthened immensely by his own statement of his wishes. It appeared a more economical procedure to have him studied where he could be seen over and over again for a prolonged analysis. It seemed as if an injustice to the situation might be done by getting the boy up to the point of working out with us a rational treatment and then not giving him the treatment.

On the other hand (Dr. B.), such study, had it led to success in unearthing the causation, would have had the advantage of revealing the boy to himself and possibly of guiding further study in the reformatory; for the conditions for analysis in the institution unfortunately are usually not very favorable. And then, had some very definite causation been discovered, perhaps the judge and the superintendent

desire for him to go to college when he wanted to leave school and work. His mother is all right, "she's too lenient with me; she let's me get away with things." He gets along all right with his brothers and sisters. He is proud of their good school records. He knows that his parents have always been as much interested in him as in any of the children. He has always been treated fairly by everyone.

Richard talks freely about his earlier interests, telling many of the facts given in his father's account, showing pride in the prizes he has won in athletics. He always liked school. In the first institution he liked the work in carpentry and with building plans; in the second he enjoyed the office job which was assigned him. He has been smoking somewhat recently in jail, but before that very little. He never drank or gambled. He never liked to go round with a crowd of that sort. All of his trouble has been stealing or picking pockets.

He claims that most of his trouble has been when he is idle, either during vacations or, more recently, between jobs. When he wanted to enlist he was genuine about it and fully expected to, but he was not accepted on account of his age, although his parents had consented. They thought it might straighten him out; and he himself had become restless there in his home town. He doesn't know why he ran away from the School. He had been in no trouble and was well treated. After he ran away he worked, first on a farm, then coming to the city, he at once found a job.

Richard gives details of several occasions on which he has stolen. When he took the purse in the theatre he had plenty of money, but when he saw the purse in the pocket of the woman's coat he suddenly put his hand in and took it. And this last time he was working and had gone in for his lunch without the slightest thought of stealing. He saw the bag, suddenly took it and ran with it. He can not remember that he had a single thought or idea prior to grabbing it, and he certainly had no need for it or its contents.

He hasn't been uncomfortable at the jail. "It's all right over there. It's a good place, light, clean, and has plenty of magazines." He has made friends with the guard and is allowed to have food from outside. Anyway he never worries about his troubles. He takes things as they come

would have been sufficiently convinced of the boy's specific needs, even to the extent of willingness to permit something very ususual in the way of treatment to be attempted. The father was in a position to help had financial consideration been involved. Or if this was impossible, some plan to be carried out later, on parole, might have been formulated. In any case, the therapeutic effect of the effort to go beneath the surface might in itself have been worth the longer remaining in jail and the inconvenience to the superintendent, and the amount of time that such study would have consumed.

Richard's mental attitude expressed in his willingness and almost desire to be sent to an institution where he would be a considerable share of the time shut in a cell is very curious. We wonder whether it represents a state of mind occasionally seen among delinquents, where the individual seems to feel the necessity for being protected against his own impulses. Occasionally a situation arises in which the individual seems almost to crave cell life as if it, most anomalous though it seems, afforded a means of escape.

and makes the best of them. He doesn't worry about anything. When he steals he does feel a little excited. Sometimes he thinks, "Gee whiz! There's a thing I can get away with." He illustrates this: Looking around the room, he spies a bag and says, "It's just like I'd see this bag here and just suddenly take it and go off." When he has an article he uses it, or gets rid of it, perhaps sells it, and forgets all about it. It doesn't bother him a bit. He doesn't feel nervous in his stealing except "when I see a cop." Sometimes he has seen a thing and felt tempted to take it and resisted, and then maybe ten minutes later he'll go back and get it.

He insists that he has derived no ideas of stealing from moving pictures. He thinks he ought to go to the reformatory for men even if he would have to stay in a cell part of the time. He would rather go there than go back to the last institution he was in; he was well treated there and he is ashamed to face the superintendent. He thinks he could do well in the reformatory and get out quickly. He firmly states that he does not think anything will help unless he changes his character and helps himself.

At this point SUMMARY OF CASE and SUBSEQUENT HISTORY follow.

SUMMARY OF STAFF CONFERENCE

PROBLEM: **Delinquencies:** Repeated serious thieving at intervals for years; now again after having been four times to institutions. Once running away.

PHYSICAL: Short, sturdy; good posture; active movements; examination entirely negative; direct, pleasant expression.

MENTAL: (1) **Abilities:** Fairly good general ability. Perhaps better in proportion with language and vocabulary; good reasoning powers. (2) **Balance:** Normal. (3) **Personality:** Makes notable impression as being ingenuous, boyish, clean-minded, sincere; but certainly as observed and reported shows little emotional response to his situation. Is likeable and adaptable.

BACKGROUND: (a) **Heredity:** Reported negative. (b) **Developmental:** Quite normal. (c) **Home Conditions:** Good. (d) **Habits:** Negative.

PROBABLE DIRECT CAUSATIONS: (1) Recurrent impulse upon basis of early formed associations.

(From the short study we have been able to give this case the above seems to be the only factor that is clear.)

PROGNOSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS: Much discussion with the judge and the superintendent. The latter makes the point that his boys' institution has done the best it can for Richard; he probably would soon run away again. Boy tells us he should be sent to reformatory for older offenders. Possibly the discipline of this institution and being kept from chance of running away or giving in to his stealing impulses over a considerable period may be good training. (Very interesting that boy today had a chance to escape and did not do so.)

Dr. B. dissents, feeling that because he says he does not want to face the music at the institution from which he ran away, it is no sign that it would not be best for him to do so. Then, punishment has never seemed to touch him; boy is very comfortable wherever placed and can easily make friends; would adapt himself probably fairly well in the reformatory, and it is an open question whether he might not be hardened by this experience.

All agree that his good mentality and good personality traits would seem to make the prognosis hopeful but his past record makes everything uncertain. Most of all he needs complete and prolonged enough study to get at the basic nature of his conduct disorder and to determine such adjustments of his life as really fit his needs—he has not had this yet.

Subsequent History

Richard was sent to the reformatory, an excellent institution of the walled-in, cell-block type, on an indeterminate sentence. Reports about him during the next few months were indifferent, the boy receiving a number of demerits for petty infractions of the rules and once for getting into a mild fight with a fellow prisoner. After three months Richard made a great effort to be paroled, and his behavior was exemplary during the next four or five months. He wrote letters to the parole officer full of phrases of repentance and containing many promises of reform. The recorded judgment of the officials was that Richard appeared insincere. His case received no expert study whatever. At the time we saw Richard we said to the father that when he was ready to undertake again anything for the boy and the latter was free, we should be glad to really study the case, and we had suggested this to the boy himself; but neither made any effort to obtain our services.

At the expiration of about a year Richard was paroled, after his father had promised to employ him in his own mill and watch the boy and report on him regularly. As far as could be ascertained by letters from the father and the boy and by a few visits made by a state parole agent in Maine, Richard did very well for some four months.

(This officer wrote us that he had learned that while many members of this large family bore exceedingly good reputations, there were exceptions. It was rumored that a maternal uncle had been involved in some fraudulent sales of land. Another maternal uncles had been convicted of larceny but had not served a sentence. A girl cousin was spoken of as immoral.)

Then after stealing his uncle's valuable automobile and taking some money from home Richard drove over to Montreal, where, following an accident, he managed to sell the car—at least, this is what was reported to his father. Inside of a month he was arrested in another Canadian city for the larceny of an automobile, and without ado was sentenced to three years in a Canadian penal institution, where he now is.

FOOTNOTE OF DISCUSSION

Of course, no one should believe that this subsequent history represents Richard's career since he was paroled from the reformatory, except in its high lights. He may have been in much more misdoing, and what his behavior was while at home we do not know—the father has not been seen again by us, or interviewed in detail by anybody connected with the case. But it is clear enough that Richard had ample opportunities to do well and plenty of chances for enjoyment, nor can we consider associations in his home town to blame—some of his worst delinquencies being committed earlier when away from there. Perhaps it was in exhibition of a very common optimism that the father and boy believed they could manage the situation again without advice from special students of delinquency—if the matter of going scientifically into the case ever came again into their minds.

FINAL COMMENT

Our aim in giving this case is not only to offer a criticism of ordinary methods of treatment of offenders, but also to give a specific example of failure that is in very striking contrast to the case which is to follow.

Despite all the years put into the attempt to reform Richard Dowling, his case, in any essential sense, has been and is unstudied and unknown. The method of treatment, one might say, has been empiric, or in other language, hit-and-miss, whether by probation, institution, or parole.

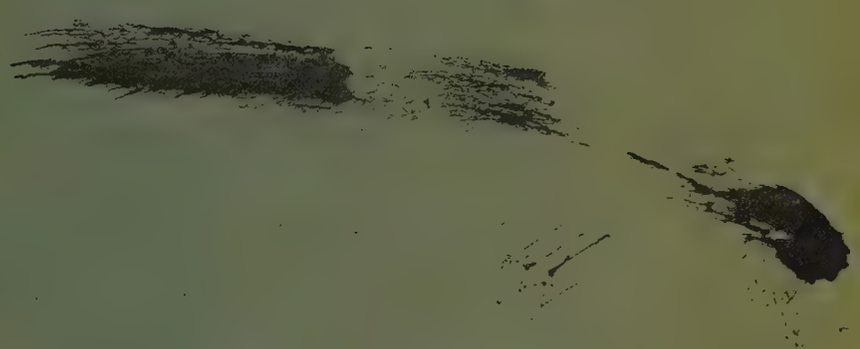
We are not rash enough to undertake to specify how hard or how easy it might ever have been to have reached a level of underlying causes wherein was the ground in which seeds of better inhibitions might have been planted to take root and successfully bear fruit. But there is every probability that careful search here, as in many quarters of human service, might have paid well, at least there never was adequate excuse for expending so much effort without investigation of how more efficaciously to expend it.

The whole case shows the crudity and the chaos of ordinary methods of dealing with offenders. Before long this young man will be released at about 22 years of age, having been under daily observation in institutions supported by public funds for over six years, and he will probably come out, as nearly all others come, repressed, hardened, and in many ways made worse by the miserable things that go on in prison life and, what is most curious of all from our standpoint, in any fundamental way still unstudied and still unknown.

JUDGE BAKER FOUNDATION

CASE STUDIES

SERIES 1 CASE 20



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...nal, vocational and ...ught for study by ...rt, school, and all ...ning to make intensive and all-round studies, ... those working from the standpoint of the psychological, medical, and social sciences. It is only through the devoted service of the entire personnel that the material for the present publication is available.

Readers cannot draw conclusions for scientific purposes from statements concerning localities, names, dates, nationalities, and facts of family history as given because, in the usual professional fashion cases are reported with disguises. But the general facts, even of heredity are accurately transcribed, and no matters of importance for interpretation of causation as it bears on therapeutic possibilities in the individual case are changed or omitted.

The plan of presentation is to offer a first series of twenty studies covering a wide range of problems of interest to educators, psychologists, psychiarists, sociologists, judges, probation officers, and all who deal with matters involving the adjustments of young people. For teaching purposes, a loose-leaf edition is available so that all pages designated with (a) may be withheld until the factual material of the first study of the case, given in the other pages, is treated by the student as a problem to be solved.

It is hoped that the publications can continue and include consideration of groups of cases representing types of problems in education, in make-up of individuals, in conduct, etc. It is planned at later dates to report on important facts of cases earlier published.

The gratitude of students who benefit by these studies is due to the Commonwealth Fund of New York, a grant from which has made this series possible.

The social treatment has been carried out through child welfare agencies of many sorts, and the spirit of their co-operation has been splendid. It would be a pleasure to give credit to the particular agency in each case, but since, for several reasons, it is inadvisable, we desire here to express our deep appreciation of their co-operation with the Judge Baker Foundation.

WILLIAM HEALY, M. D.
AUGUSTA F. BRONNER, Ph. D.
Directors.

Case Study No. 20

SERIES I

JUDGE BAKER FOUNDATION
40 COURT STREET
BOSTON

Copyright May, 1923

CASE TWENTY

Edward Somes: 15 yrs., 2 mos. Born in England; of English parentage. In U. S. since infancy.

Introductory Statement

1 (March, 1921) One year ago Edward was brought to us the first time at the suggestion of a teacher in one of the larger towns in central Massachusetts. She had become much interested in him through her school and club work with boys and through reading recent discussions in the field of delinquency. Finding that he had been engaged in considerable stealing for the last three years, she had taken him just before this to the psychologist of the college nearby, who, after giving him mental tests and talking to him, stated that his case certainly needed further and expert analysis.

After we saw him, Edward returned to his relatives and remained under old conditions, against our advice.

During the past year his delinquency has not only continued, but increased; indeed, after having been in court a month ago and placed on probation, he has become utterly reckless.

Now a crisis has arisen, for the school principal, the truant officer, the probation officer, and the neighbors, from whom he has recently stolen a rather large amount, all feel that his tendencies to criminality are thoroughly established and urge his commitment to the state industrial school for older boys. But the teacher still believes that "he can be saved" and has obtained permission from the judge to seek recommendations once more. While feeling practically hopeless the relatives, in the fine spirit they have all along displayed, agreed to cooperate again, and they came once more with the boy.

Study of the Background

Family

2 (Information was obtained from maternal relatives, an aunt and a cousin and more especially from the uncle who accompanied the boy on his first trip to us. He proved to be

1 In the problem presented, this case resembles in several respects Case 19; the delinquent career of both is confined to stealing, in both the stealing began when the boys were about 12 years old, and both, for the most part, stole alone. A great contrast lies in the fact that this boy stole repeatedly from his family, whereas Richard Dowling never stole from his family at all.

Edward's recklessness just after having been in court seems a very curious phenomenon, but we are no strangers to such behavior in our study of delinquents. Similar self-disregarding behavior has preceded or been shown as a feature of the development of some remarkable criminal careers that we have observed, and it has occurred in cases of less serious delinquents. It has been shown even by individuals of good mental capacity, not aberrational, with plenty of reasoning power, then, to be able to foresee the results of their behavior.

We are pleased to note here the sound recognition on the part of the college psychologist of the value of doing something more in a behavior problem than giving mental tests, of doing better than making a statement of classification.

Of course we allow that it might be considered a commonsense point of view that these various people wanted to send the boy to a school for delinquents. Supposedly, putting such a boy in such a school is quite the proper thing to do—you turn him over to those to whom is delegated authority to handle such boys and such behavior problems. Whether such authorities really know much about the cases in any scientific sense or as a basis for treating them, or whether in an institution which houses hundreds of delinquents there is much opportunity for handling them according to their needs, it seems not to be the business of the laity to consider.

2 This family background is in very great contrast to Richard Dowling's, at least so far as concerns the parents. If one believes in the inheritance of criminal trends, here is a case where the boy's *penchant* for stealing could be entirely explained. The father and mother were both delinquent; they were both weak characters, neither of them showing stability or a sense of responsibility. But our point of view concerning this matter has already been expressed in several of the preceding cases. It is interesting that even the relatives never intimated that they thought the boy inherited his tendencies to steal. Edward himself, as we came to know him, and as can be seen in the later section, The Study of the Individual, especially under Personality Traits, is very unlike either the father or the mother in his characteristics.

From certain facts about the mother—she is small and frail-looking, she seems mentally fairly capable, yet she runs away from difficulties and is unable to live up to the family level—one naturally thinks that she is possibly a constitutional inferior. Of course, to be certain it would be necessary to know other details about her, especially her developmental history.

a well educated man, showing much fine feeling, sympathy and co-operation in the matter. The interested teacher has told us much of importance, all corroborative of what others have said, and later, the boy's mother added her statement.)

Father: about 45, if alive. He was a Lancashire "operative" when he was forced to marry the mother a year before they immigrated to this country in 1907. He was then a healthy, rather good looking fellow of a coarse type, quite unrefined in manner. He had received a bare elementary school education and then tried his hand at many things, working only irregularly. He was quick tempered and somewhat alcoholic. He practically deserted his wife during the latter part of pregnancy, after his marriage to her, and again two or three times before they were divorced, when their child was 3 years old. He showed no interest in the boy afterwards, not even coming to see him when known to be in the town several years later. The mother stated to us that she definitely knew that her husband "was a crook."

Father's Family: Very little is known of them, except that they seemed to be hard working, good hearted people of the factory worker class. It was never heard that any of them were mentally abnormal or criminalistic.

Mother: 32. Rather small, frail looking, delicate features; always has been healthy. She graduated from elementary school, but did not care for more education. She was difficult in behavior as a girl, so unlike the rest of the family in her general tendencies that they used to wonder if she really belonged to them. She liked freedom and amusement; she was headstrong, deceitful, and dishonest. She has never developed an ordinary sense of responsibility. She had begun some business training before she was married; since her divorce she has been self-supporting. She has been a fairly good earner, but has paid very little towards the expenses of her child. She has resented criticism. Nothing that the family can say or do makes any appeal to her; she has little affection for them. Long ago she took money from her relatives and they know that she has been dishonest in other ways. To us the woman appeared delicate and plaintive. She says that she is very discouraged at times and very sensitive. After a little she was frank in

acknowledging her own delinquencies and made promises of trying to do better in her relationship with her boy.

Mother's Family: This family has had fine standards and is proud of its stock for generations back. Edward's grandfather was a manufacturer in a small way in Lancashire till he died at 65. He was a man of exemplary habits and a great reader. Three of his children had immigrated to America and were successful here, one as a teacher, another as an electrical engineer. The grandmother, a high-minded, proud, reserved woman, whose great grief was the conduct of Edward's mother, came to America shortly after her husband's death in 1909, together with her unmarried daughter, to join the other children. She suffered from sick headaches all her adult life. In this family there are no instances of mental disease known or any other delinquents.

Siblings: None.

Developmental History

Pregnancy normal. The mother seemed to take the affair very lightly; however, she tells us that it was not, of course, a happy time for her. Birth normal. Walked and talked early; no convulsions; never severely ill; no bad injuries—altogether a very healthy boyhood.

Home Conditions and Family Attitude

3 The region of central Massachusetts in which Edward has lived since his early infancy is one of particular beauty, and he has been about it a good deal in his trips between the towns where his relatives live. There are paper and other mills along the river and an industrial population in the towns, but the homes he has lived in are situated in beautiful residence districts and have ample space about them.

Edward lived with his mother until he was 3 years old. Though there were various irregularities of living conditions during this period, due to the fact that his father deserted at times and though the mother sometimes worked and sometimes returned to her people with her child, there is no evidence that he was neglected or poorly treated in any way.

Following his parents' divorce, his mother went with him to live with her mother and unmarried sister who had just established a home in this country. It was a thoroughly comfortable home, furnished in good taste and with other evidences of culture; and the influences of these two women were for the best. The mother worked most of the time, but evidently chafed at the restraint that living with her family imposed upon her. Altogether she had little to do with the actual care of Edward.

Then when he was 8 years old his mother left her relatives and has never lived with them since. At first she took a room not far away, but after two years or so she obtained employment in a town twenty miles distant and lived there. When he was 11 years old his grandmother and aunt thought Edward was at the age when he needed the influence of a man, and from that time to the present he has lived largely with his uncle in the next town. This uncle and his wife in their sympathy definitely set about being as much like a father and mother to Edward as they could. They have three children, younger than Edward, but have made it a great point to show him affection and to make no discrimination between them. They agreed that the grandmother had been too lenient and his uncle undertook to discipline Edward in normal ways for bad conduct. He whipped him three or four times severely for stealing. However, they were genuinely fond of him and tried to make him feel it; they wanted to trust him and left money and other things about as they would have done had he not been there. His aunt having some indication that Edward required information about sex affairs requested his uncle to instruct him and warn him about bad sex habits, but he never did so.

After she first left her family, the mother's visits to Edward were regular and frequent; but after she left the town her visits became much more infrequent, and for a considerable period now she has not been seeing him oftener than once a month. Edward occasionally spent an evening with his mother at her lodgings when she was living in the town, and since then he has more rarely spent a night or week-end with her. Earlier he was always keenly anxious to see his mother and appeared to enjoy her visits, but for

3 Again we may with profit compare the home conditions and influences of the two boys, Richard and Edward. Both were brought up under conditions that were very good from a physical standpoint. Their homes were comfortable, affording even some luxuries, and it was desired that each get a good education; Edward's home offered chances for culture rather above the average. Both were surrounded by people who loved them and who were interested in their best development.

And yet how exceedingly great were the dissimilarities. In the case of Richard there was a united family with good relationships between its various members, a continuity in the family life, a group of brothers and sisters, all of whom seemed fond of each other. In Edward's case there was irregularity in the home conditions early, a broken up family, a mother without proper interest in her son, good relatives who, though they had a fine spirit toward the boy could not possibly take the place of his own mother and father. Without knowing later details one naturally wonders what would be the effect upon a boy of the relationship to a mother who early took no care of him, allowed others to do so, who did not get along with her own people, and finally left. Then, too, shifting back and forth between relatives, however good they may be, is a situation in life that is difficult for most children. They cannot help but feel that they "belong" nowhere. It is unlikely that they would not make comparisons between themselves and others who were living in a normally constituted family.

Sentimentally—or even rationally—we might argue that Edward ought to be extremely grateful for the kindness shown him by those not so obligated to give him a good home as parents are, a point of view not infrequently taken by some agency workers. Because a child is given a good home among strangers, the cost perhaps defrayed by a public or private agency, it is expected to be appreciative. But psychologically this is not sound. Many a child would rather feel that he is among his own, that he "belongs" to the family, even if physical comforts are fewer.

While one cannot blame these well-intentioned relatives, yet one cannot help feeling that their policy of transferring the boy from one home to the other, formulating plans that were not carried out and which he probably knew about, must have accentuated his feeling of uncertainty concerning his family relationships. The psychological effect of such seemingly unimportant matters is not considered enough by families.

It is significant for the student of misconduct to learn of Edward's changed attitude toward his mother and the effect of his visits to her. This is a fact that needs interpretation.

The gradual development of a severe attitude on the part of the family was only to be expected—not that it did any good, no more good than was accomplished by their earlier lenient attitude. But as a whole, the family attitude was rational and the family discipline very normal.

two years or more the family have noted an entire change of her influence upon him. After seeing her he has frequently appeared irritable and morose, although in word he has always been loyal. Still more recently he has seemed quite indifferent as to whether he saw her or not and in general has clearly developed some embitterment concerning mutual relationships in the family.

At the time we first saw the boy, his uncle's wife had declared she had washed her hands of him, and his uncle felt that Edward was too poor an influence to retain in their home and that he really ought to be placed away somewhere. A cousin from whose house he had taken a considerable sum the previous winter was entirely unsympathetic with the lenient attitude of the family. During this last year Edward has again lived with the grandmother and aunt, who are only a few miles away. It seems certain that even recently there have been no recriminations; there has been a steady attempt to give Edward moral instruction and considerable in the way of cultural opportunities and outlets for normal boyish activity. During this period and earlier the relatives have simply stood their own losses, scolding the boy and reasoning with him (the whippings were long ago given up), and they have made restitution for the sums he has taken from others.

There has been much discussion by relatives during the last year concerning what disposition to make of the boy. During the last summer he went about much as he pleased, working only for a short time. Plans for sending him to a camp and in the autumn to a boys' school were given up after it was found how expensive it was and because there was some question about the discipline which could be given him. Besides, his relatives thought he would disgrace himself by stealing away from home. His uncle's wife had already come to the conclusion that the boy would have to go to a reform school, and there has been considerable talk of this in the family. The aunt from whom he had taken so much during the last year has grown stern and impersonal; to the visitor she acts as if she felt she had gone to the last extreme for the boy. She thinks that "by lies he must have put it all over those people" at the Judge Baker Foundation.

Interests, Companions, and Habits

4 During all his boyhood Edward has been active in healthy, outdoor sports; in these he is somewhat of a leader of the boys in the neighborhood. He reads much his own books, of which he has a number, and books obtained from the library, particularly those about adventure, travel, Boy Scout interests and the like. And then he has quite a mechanical turn; for years he has played with toys of this kind and he has many mechanical and electrical appliances which the family have bought for him. He is decidedly fond of moving picture shows and has gone to them as often as possible, recently two or three times a week. Edward went, under pressure, to Sunday School until he was 9 or 10 years old; but after that not at all. Nor did he go to church, except very rarely; the family themselves seldom went. He belonged to no clubs or organizations.

There have been no bad influences among his companions as far as his relatives know. The grandmother used to say that one boy was rather bad for him to associate with, but nothing definite was known about this. His only mates have been his play fellows in the neighborhood, with whom he has seemed to have the healthiest of interests. He has never been known to be in delinquency with companions, but reports have come during the last year from school that he was influencing other boys for the bad.

Edward's habits are reported to be quite normal. He sleeps quietly and has a good appetite. He has smoked very little if ever. He is allowed very little tea and coffee. There have been no evidences of masturbation, although the aunt has considered this as a possible factor in the situation.

School History

5 Edward's school record up to the eighth grade, which he reached when he was about 13½ years old, was just fairly good. The reports for the last year were about average and all expected that he would graduate from grammar school in June of the year when we first saw him. The teachers said that he was interested in manual training but apparently in no other subject. During this year his grandmother re-

ceived notes complaining of his inattention. He had not been truant up to this time.

A year later when we saw him, March, 1921, an entirely different report was forthcoming. It seems that because of his careless work the previous spring he had not been allowed to graduate, and he was now repeating the eighth grade. Besides this the boy had been in bad odor because of his altering marks on his report card. He had been truant several days during this last year, and in a number of little ways had proved underhanded. The principal, a kindly man, said that the boy was lazy—he had to be driven; that he never lived up to his promises; that without exaggeration he had said a hundred times that he would mend his ways, but never did so for long. He thought Edward a bad influence for other boys because of his leadership. A teacher tried to make him an officer in school clubs, but he never lived up to the position. His chief interest seemed to be in evading school regulations. He was steadily failing in his lessons this year, notwithstanding his recognized good ability.

Soon after we first saw him, when there was talk about sending the boy to a disciplinary school, one of the teachers said that she felt she was getting hold of him and could do something with him, but the school principal already then said he was not hopeful, and the other teachers felt the same way. However, for a time then, he did improve somewhat.

Court Record

6 Although this boy first appeared in court only a month ago, there has been much adverse comment recorded concerning his case. The police officer who dealt with him as a truant said that nothing in the way of discipline was too severe for him. Even when promising to improve he had in his pocket twenty dollars which he had stolen. Of all the boys he came in contact with this is the one who most needs to be sent to reform school.

The court people were impressed by the boy's indifference. He sat reading a newspaper when they were all talking about him. The interested teacher was told by several that cer-

4 In their interests and the opportunities that gave scope for them, this boy and Richard were much alike. Their range of interests was broad. Both were free of pernicious habits, and neither, apparently, had formed any very undesirable companionships. In his leadership Edward must have had means of obtaining very considerable satisfactions. However lacking in position he may have felt in his family circle through being without proper father and mother, in the outside world he had plenty of opportunity to feel himself, in his boyish way, to be a successful personage.

In total we must in fairness note that Edward's surroundings were not merely negatively good, but they offered him very positively good opportunities, as reckoned in terms of child welfare.

5 We see in this case, as we have in so many others, that a school situation becomes either first apparent or much more acute in the upper grammar grades. Perhaps this is frequently due to the incidence of adolescence, but in Edward's case one feels that it is because his personal problem is growing more serious. He is showing an increasingly bad attitude, although one might again argue that it is at adolescence when there is courage to express what may have earlier been felt and repressed until the attainment to feeling of greater independence. In his case the effect of repeating the school grade when capable of doing more advanced work was not very likely to improve his attitude or stimulate ambition. Is it ever a sensible punishment for indifference and misconduct in school to retain a pupil in a grade, thus making his work entirely too easy for him and allowing him to go on for a year without the necessity of any effort?

In fairness to the principal and teachers, however, it should, of course, be emphasized that they took a great deal of personal interest in the boy and were eager to help him; but they probably did not conceive it to be their function or their duty to meet his needs by adjustments fitted to causations; for, of course, causations are not studied as such unless under special auspices.

Perhaps the day will come when child study departments, equipped with proper personnel, will very properly attempt to discover for therapeutic ends the causes of just such a situation as Edward first presented, a change in attitude towards school life.

6 In both Cases 19 and 20 it is most interesting to note the reaction of the individual to his contact with the law. Both the boys seem indifferent and unaffected to an unusual extent, but of course interpretation of their emotional responses is not so easy. Richard's continued delinquency, in spite of his frequent arrests, court appearances, and commitments would seem definitely to indicate that these procedures were totally without any result on him. Edward's reckless misconduct, subsequent to his court appearance and his apparent lack of concern in the court room might be taken to have the same meaning, and yet one cannot be at all sure. It is possible that he assumed this unconcern for the purpose of hiding feelings that were very deep and that his recklessness betokened something

tainly he would steal if placed out on a farm and any agency that took him would have to make restitution.

What Edward did by way of further delinquency during this month, when his case was continued, is stated under Delinquencies.

Delinquencies

7 Edward is reported to have stolen repeatedly for three or four years. His relatives say that he began by taking small sums of money from a neighbor. Next he used to keep change when he was sent on errands. After that he stole mainly money from his aunt and sometimes from other relatives. On several occasions he appropriated money given him to buy groceries and charged them, instead. About a year before we first saw him Edward had taken $35 which had been put away for insurance and had gone over into New York state with another boy. There they got into difficulty; seeking a place to sleep, they broke into into a houseboat. After Edward returned, it was found that he had committed several small thefts in the neighborhood, all of money. Two or three months after this escapade he took a check belonging to a relative and had it cashed at a local bank; and before this was discovered he stole $10 out of $50 in bills which his uncle had been saving for a cousin who was working. During the last two years or so Edward has tended to become more and more lazy and indifferent, and seems clearly to have lost all affection for his relatives, who have done so much for him. He has been truant, once for two weeks at a time, and more recently has been coming in late at night, two or three times at midnight. In this last year he has taken sums of about $10 and $25 from two of his relatives, and just now is in court following the theft of $30 from a neighbor, this money, however, having been quickly recovered. And since he was in court a month ago his truancy has continued and he has been suspended from school for it; he has again been out late at night; he has cheated his aunt out of $12 of the household money; and he has taken $15 from a cousin in another town and with it disappeared for a day and a night. This latter and the stealing of another $20 from a relative was

other than the pure badness that it was taken to indicate. But one of the main points for us is that Edward did not meet the "majesty of the law" or even threatened punishment at the hands of the law with any more concern or change of behavior than he did the leniency and the forgiveness that was offered him by his own family.

The student of subtler motives of conduct will undoubtedly think by this time of Edward's possible, perhaps unconscious or only half framed, desire for some symbol of kinship to his mother and his having perhaps a vague feeling that now through contact with the law he, like her, is set apart from the other members of the family; if not an outcast, at least in family disgrace.

7 Going over the details of Edward's delinquencies, nearly all stealing, we can easily see that certain features are decidedly important:

(a) His delinquency begins and continues for a long time as stealing only—and not, as is the case with many children, stealing from home in small amounts, but he began in more serious ways, taking from neighbors.

(b) This stealing begins at a definite age, we learn, even if the relatives cannot give, as they often are unable to, the exact time of the first theft.

(c) There is frequent repetition of the offense under many circumstances and over a number of years.

(d) The stealing is, for the most part, from relatives who had done so much for him; his delinquency seems particularly mean in this respect and in his taking of such large sums, particularly the theft of savings and insurance money.

(e) There is such utter recklessness after appearance in court and serious thieving directly after conferences with the kindly principal and the truant officer—the boy evidently shows not the slightest intention of mending his ways.

(f) More recently there are signs of a general moral breakdown, shown in truancy, being out very late at night, and the disappearance from home for a day and a night.

8 Though we were so immediately impressed by Edward's peculiarly unhappy and repressed expression, and though this was strongly commented on by the psychologist who had seen him and by his sympathetic teacher-friend, and noted, while not stressed by his aunt, there was no mention of this fact by principal, teachers, truant officer and relatives other than the aunt—in spite of their long comments on him otherwise. To us there was nothing that we perceived about him that was so significant as this.

When first seen by us Edward was 4 in. below the median height for his age and 27 lbs. below the median weight; for his height he was 7 lbs. underweight. The normal growth of the year in the interval before we saw him again, 2 in., was made, and also a good gain in weight.

His pubertal development was backward; thus he was not suffering from the stress of early onset of adolescence. Altogether there is nothing on the physical side which has any significance in relation to his behavior instability.

directly after serious talks with the school principal and probation officer. Then after appearing in court again, and permission having been given for a further study of his case before disposition of it, he attempted to cheat his aunt again out of $3; he ran away for one day, and slipped out of the railroad station on another occasion in order not to keep the appointment to come to see us.

Study of the Individual

Physical

8 As seen by us, and reported by several other observers, Edward makes a pathetic figure on account of his expression, which is not unpleasant or exactly sullen, but which is, rather, repressed and most unhappy in repose. He has a rather light skin in comparison with his dark hair and regular, rather refined features. He is well dressed and cleanly.

(March, 1920) Weight 90 lbs. Height 5 ft. Posture normal. Thorax and general musculature not more than fairly well developed. Color just moderately good. Teeth, somewhat widely separated, in good condition. Throat and nose normal. Tendon and other reflexes normal. General physical examination as made by us and at a good clinic previously entirely negative. Neurological signs negative. Vision and hearing normal. Head fairly well shaped. No pubescence whatever. No phimosis, but tight prepuce.

(March, 1921) 103 lbs., 5 ft., 1½ in. Slight beginnings of pubescence. No other findings of significance.

Mental

9 (1) *Results on Psychological Examination:*[1]

(These were obtained when Edward was seen a year ago. Though distinctly repressed, he was friendly and very co-

[1] Stanford-Binet I. Q. 96. (Not retested by us because earlier given this scale; but passes 14-year memory span, on which he had failed before. Even this raises his I. Q.)
Visual memory: Binet and Healy forms, 100%.
Trabue Language Scale E: score 16, equal median for grade X.
Tapping Test: score 88, no error, above median for 16 years.
Construction Test B: score 28″, 11 moves.
Healy-Bronner Learning Tests:

A,	first trial 9;	second trial 9;	third trial 12
B,	" " 2;	" " 3;	" " 4
C,	" " 5;	" " 5;	" " 7
D,	" " 10;		

operative on tests given, which were few because he had been so recently examined elsewhere.[2])

According to age-level tests Edward grades as having fairly good general ability. Intelligence Quotient 96. But there is little doubt that this does not represent his best ability. In the light of other tests, we should regard him as having at least distinctly good ability.

Auditory memory span normal. Visual memory good.

Apperceptions, both with language and pictorial material, very good.

Mental and motor control normal.

Learning ability fairly good except that learning of ideas is excellent.

Is well advanced in school.

(2) *Balance:* Orientation and insight quite normal; not the slightest indication of delusions or even of mild paranoid trends. Moods not disproportionate to circumstances.

(3) *Personality Traits:* According to the intelligent account given by relatives Edward as a young boy was normally active, appreciative, and not fussy about anything, but his temper was explosive and he occasionally had tantrums. In later years he has not shown these. He has always been sensitive and reserved and somewhat stubborn. Recently at times he is thoroughly jolly and playful, and then again he is silent for long; they wonder if he is merely sulky or really depressed—he certainly does get depressed when talked to about his stealing. When younger he was affectionate, although not very demonstrative, but he has lost this characteristic; he seems to care nothing about his relatives now nor to pay much attention whether his mother comes to see him or not. He lies only in self defense, but he shows no remorse whatever about his delinquencies.

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[2] Results on previous examination at ——— College:
Stanford-Binet I. Q. 92; passes 12-year tests except (2) and (7); passes (1), (2), (3), (5) of 14-year and (3) of 16-year tests.
Auditory memory span: 6 digits (5 backwards).
Pictorial Completion II: 79.5, above median adult score.
Accurate, quick motor reactions. Attention good. Associations appear normal. Language development normal, but difficult to express self due to emotional inhibitions. Was unresponsive, passive, showing no curiosity about the purpose of tests; timid almost frightened manner. Impossible to get a smile from him; seems quite incapable of humorous reaction. Replies are stereotyped and as brief as possible. Every effort was made to meet him on a frank, friendly basis, but without success. Further attempt to analyze case should be made.

Until recently he was not lazy; indeed all along he has been very dependable in his household tasks. For instance, he has done his work in the garden unusually well for a boy. As a little boy he was never known to be dishonest and he was altogether trustworthy and truthful.

Edward is not easily influenced; at times he seems directly defiant. He is very good to young children. In one of the families of his relatives a little cousin cares more for him than for anybody. He is popular among his mates; he is considered a leader. On the whole his people consider that he has rather fine feelings; certainly he is sympathetic and helpful at times. Altogether they find him very hard to understand; "he's a puzzle to the family."

The teacher, who has been his special friend, tells us that he is a boy of many moods, but he is generally gloomy. He was in a particularly bad state of mind, she says, after his first examination by the college psychologist. But she thinks that he has never appeared hardened or vicious, not even during this period of recklessness since he was in court. She tells us that he preferred to wear a cheap suit of clothes that his mother had bought for him during this last year rather than wear the much better clothing with which his relatives had provided him. There is no doubt about his great sensitiveness, in her mind.

Several persons who have had officially to do with Edward, the truant and probation officers, the school principal, and indeed his family, all insist that the boy shows no real feeling about his delinquency. The principal of the school, an unusually pleasant man, says that during the last year or two Edward has appeared to him to be lazy, "smooth," underhanded, rather a leader in influencing boys towards making trouble in the classroom.

His relatives find Edward's attitude towards his mother hard to understand. Formerly he was very unhappy because he did not see her oftener, and he would make more of any little gift from her than of any present from other members of the family. He was sensitive about the fact that she did not live with him. There was a period about two years ago when he used to urge her to come to see him. But a change has come over him; while he appears loyal to her and quick to resent any reflections upon her, he never speaks of her,

9 Considering the fact that on re-trial of the memory span Edward improved within the period of a few weeks, we must conclude that the emotional disturbance which he plainly showed when he was first tested interfered with the test results, since it would be almost impossible that in such a brief interval of time there could be any growth of improvement in mental powers. He demonstrates very clearly that he is a boy of good ability. With so few tests given, fine discriminations cannot be made. It is perhaps worth noting, however, that on all the tests that were not of the question and answer type he does very much better than on the age-level scale, where the responses are for the most part oral.

10 Piecing together the items contributed from various sources, our own observations of the boy, and what a number of other people say about him, it seems not such a difficult matter, after all, to solve the "puzzle" of Edward's personality traits. We could readily enough check off on a "personality chart," such as we ourselves and others have evolved, certain clearly outstanding characteristics. There might be some doubt about what is "original disposition" and what is the result of experiences, but yet we may be sure that Edward is, by reason of innate endowment, sensitive, and that he reacts sometimes by reserve and stubbornness. In these latter ways he is given to moods. Altogether he shows rather strong characteristics. The fact that he has "no feeling about his delinquencies" (thus superficially appearing like Richard Dowling) means little for us. Indeed this, together with his recklessness and irritability following his visits to his mother, and his cherishing of tokens from her, shows us not only that there is a "sore spot" in this boy's mental life which he hides from the world, but also points pretty clearly to the source of the soreness. His extreme indifference of late, shown about his mother and more recently about what the court may do to him, may be a mask that protects him from displaying feelings that he does not wish to reveal.

About Edward's unconcern for his relatives and their loss of money, we may here say that this is a selfishness characteristic of adolescence, not infrequently seen, and in others than delinquents.

and after her visits or his trips to see her he is very cranky and irritable.

His friend the teacher says that he seems to show no concern for the relatives who have been most devoted to him. To her he has stated that his stealing was to get ahead of other people, but he really seems puzzled about himself.

As he was observed by us Edward's outstanding characteristic appeared to be his sensitiveness. His repressions were broken down and his reticence and glumness largely disappeared in the course of our study. It was clear that he was not suggestible.

Boy's Own Story

11 (March, 1920: We give here the gist of two long interviews, changing the order in which the details were elicited. We, too, found Edward showing signs of being deeply disturbed and unhappy. At first he answered generally in monosyllables. Later he was explosive in speech and at the second interview was much more communicative. Altogether he was very serious.)

He can remember back to the time when he was 3 years old, but not any earlier. Since then he has lived with different relatives, always in good neighborhoods. He never went with any particularly bad boys, and he never knew any bad girls. He never knew any boy who stole and is sure that no boy has influenced him. He knows that he never stole until he was about 10 years old and that since, he has always stolen money, usually from home or by charging at the store. When asked what started this stealing he says he doesn't know. He isn't quite sure, but he thinks his first stealing was from neighbors, money that was left on the bureau.

He is certain, however, that he does not plan his stealing beforehand. It is only when he sees money that he takes it. He gets no regular spending money, but is given money as presents or when he needs anything. He usually spends the money for things to eat. He never heard of any stealing going on in school; there was no talk there about it. He never read stories about stealing. He goes to the movies sometimes. He is sure that none of these things has influenced him.

He has heard some sex talk among the boys, first about four years ago when he was in the fifth grade. It was by the older boys at recess time. He knows, too, about boys having bad habits. Some high school boys showed him pictures of girls undressed, but he insists that he has never worried about such things, although no older person has ever talked to him. He learned about masturbation three or four years ago; he has practised it only occasionally. The boy who taught him this did not steal, nor did the other boys from whom he has learned of sex affairs. His masturbation is not connected with words or pictures. He never thinks of stealing at night when he is in bed. He never has headaches or dizziness or excitement in connection with his stealing.

He tells freely the details about his running away; he went with a boy named Clyde, whom he had known only a short time; but it was another boy, Walter, who suggested the affair and then backed out. Neither of these boys is particularly bad; neither ever stole. They do not talk about sex affairs together. He and Clyde just went for the trip. He took the insurance money and carried it around for several days planning about going. There was absolutely nothing bad that went on between them while they were away.

Asked about his parents, Edward says that he does not remember his father, who died, he thinks, many years ago. He sees his mother occasionally. At first he says he never worries about her, or wonders why she didn't raise him. But when asked if he ever thought that perhaps she was not a good woman, he answers, "Sometimes." And when asked if he ever thought she stole, Edward with averted face blurted out, "I know it!" (Once having stated this, boy became less repressed and talked somewhat more freely.)

He knows that she stole at least twice. Just before he went to his uncle's he overheard the family talking about it. Some money was missing. It was just after his mother had been to visit him, and they said they were sure she had taken it. (These facts were corroborated by the uncle, whom we questioned later.) He never heard them at any other time talk about his mother's stealing, but it got on his mind after that and he thought they were careful not to talk about her in front of him. They never called her any names in his

presence or said that she was bad in other ways. Just after this he was spending a week-end with her and he went in the afternoon to meet her at the store where she worked. Then, while he was waiting in the next aisle, unseen by his mother or the manager, she was discharged, accused of stealing, and when she denied it the things were brought out from her locker and she had to give them back. (Boy showed much emotion about this, tears filled his eyes.) He thinks about this sometimes; it makes him feel badly. These things happened before he ever took anything. He doesn't know whether he has been thinking about this just before he steals or not, or whether he is feeling unhappy just before he steals; but sometimes he feels so discouraged that he just doesn't care. He has never spoken to any one about these things that his mother did.

His mother never talks bad in any way. She has never talked to him about herself or about his father. He can think of nothing that makes him unhappy except his mother, and it does make him very unhappy to think of her. He is fond of her. He doesn't know just what would help him to stop his stealing, but he would not like to leave his family.

(March, 1921: At this interview it was clear again that Edward is not in the least suggestible. His responses are positive in affirmation or negation. He once more is very serious, depressed, sensitive, but again appears relieved to tell his story.) The trouble, he says, now is that he has been in more stealing, this time from neighbors. He has been going off to a nearby town day after day, spending the time in "shows." And he has taken money from his grandmother a number of times. He is always thinking he would like to go away somewhere and have pleasure. "I'll hear of some show and I'll want to go." He spent the last $25 all alone in Springfield.

He is sure now that he can't make good at home. He doesn't really know where he could make good. His school work is all right. The boys he goes with are good fellows. He rarely goes to shows with them and they have their own money. (After some talk about commonplaces, the subject of his mother was approached.)

He has seen his mother several times in the last few months, but not for long before that. He does not know

11 It is interesting to compare the Own Story in this case with that of Richard Dowling, inasmuch as the details in both tend to rule out much that we frequently find in the background or directly related to the development of delinquent traits, such as bad companions, unfortunate sex experiences, ideation of delinquency, pernicious reading, etc. But with Edward, during the course of analysis over a day or two, we were fortunate enough to find experiences that were directly responsible, apparently, for much of the beginnings of delinquency. And not only is original causation made plain, but also the effect of recurring emotional reactions.

This case well represents the fact, of which we could give many examples from our experience, that few matters are more disturbing to some young individuals tha tthe acquirement of knowledge which undermines their respect for their parents. A chapter in *Mental Conflicts and Misconduct* is devoted to this.

The reader may ask how it came about that the interviewer happened to ask this boy so pointedly the illuminating question concerning his mother's honesty. Of course it was known that she was living apart from her family and under somewhat dubious circumstances, and so it appeared quite natural to question him what he thought about her. And then, of course, the interviewer had in mind the bare possibility of her being herself a delinquent and his knowing about it. It was a most fortunate interrogation, as it proved, with corroboration obtainable from other members of the family.

To one accustomed to the study of juvenile delinquents by methods that are aimed at unearthing the dynamics of behavior tendencies, the boy's own emotional reactions as shown during this interview are most enlightening and convincing. And perhaps still more significant is his show of relief at being able to talk out his story.

just where she is living. He thinks she boards; she lives with another girl. (We note that Edward always calls his mother by her first name.) He sometimes feels sorry about her. She paid back the last $25 that he recently took. When he stole the largest amount from his relatives all the family were spending the day there; his mother was there, too. He took the money suddenly, and they found it was gone and he gave it back. (Boy cries.) "If I hadn't said I took it, they would have blamed her." He doesn't know at all that his mother is stealing now, but he thinks about what she did before and when he has opportunity to steal he thinks of her and he feels reckless, as if it didn't matter if he stole.

He claims that he hasn't been out late nights except when he was spending the large sum of money. He has no temptation to masturbate nowadays. He sleeps well and does not dream at all; he hardly worries, but he feels sorry about things sometimes. He belongs to no clubs but plays with boys on the playground and goes for walks. He now believes that he would like to go far away in the country.

At this point SUMMARY OF CASE and SUBSEQUENT HISTORY follow.

SUMMARY OF STAFF CONFERENCE

March, 1920

PROBLEM: **Delinquencies:** Stealing small sums and larger amounts very repeatedly, sometimes from neighbors but mostly from relatives, over a period of three or four years. Ran away once.

PHYSICAL: Short, poor development, only fair nutrition. Rather refined features. Unhappy, repressed expression.

MENTAL: (1) **Abilities:** Good general ability. Apperceptions, learning ability, and language all good. Normally advanced in school. (2) **Balance:** Normal. (3) **Personality:** Pleasant, co-operative, frank with us, but unhappy and evidently sensitive. Reported a faithful worker in many ways; shows contradictory characteristics; varying moods; sensitive; reserved.

BACKGROUND: (a) **Heredity:** Father irregular worker and moderately alcoholic earlier; deserter; his family not well known. Mother dishonest as a girl and later; sensitive, secretive; indifferent morals; comes of a good family. Maternal grandmother, sick headaches. (b) **Developmental:** Negative. (c) **Home Conditions:** Since parents divorced, when boy 3 years old, lived with mother in household of grandmother until 8 years old; since then not with mother, but in household of grandmother and uncle—very good homes. (d) **Habits:** Negative, except slight masturbation for some years.

PROBABLE DIRECT CAUSATIONS: (1) Impulses to steal, developed directly upon (2) Dynamic associations and resulting mental conflict concerning (3) Misconduct of mother, namely her stealing, knowledge of which he has kept to himself.

(It is a question whether certain other features of the situation, particularly the rather weak attitude toward these delinquencies on the part of relatives, may not have been a part of the causation; but at least matters in this respect should be changed.)

PROGNOSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS: The boy's delinquent tendencies should be very sharply met. The main cause being known, we may now look forward to re-education and an entire change in conduct, as we have witnessed in other cases. Thinking of this boy's loyalty to his mother, we wonder whether it would not be most fundamental to attempt to reform the mother herself on the basis of the fact that she has been so influential in causing his misconduct. At least the whole matter should be made plain to her and openly faced by the family. On account of the unwillingness of his relatives to keep him now we

should suggest his being placed, preferably in country life. He needs upbuilding physically. If he does better over the summer perhaps the family would take him again; otherwise he should remain in the foster home or go to a good school for boys. He needs being treated with sympathy and understanding through a long period, with much attention to his need for re-education and to the building up of more wholesome relationships between him and his mother and with close study of needs for readjustments as such needs may occur.

We strongly advise against his commitment, having known cases of this sort which have gone on to more grudge formation under correctional school conditions and have become typical criminals.

March, 1921

Additions to Summary

Good physical gain has been made during this last year.

There seems to be nothing fundamental to add to the findings in this case.

Our recommendations have not been carried out. The boy has been living with his relatives under old conditions and nothing really constructive or re-educative has taken place. We still insist on the necessity of the mother's meeting the situation frankly, after which the boy should be placed. It is very important to note that he has retained a great deal of mental upset, indeed it seems accentuated. We still feel that the chances for his turning towards criminalism as a career if he is sent to the correctional school without fundamental situation being met are very great indeed.

Subsequent History

First Temporary Placing

A year earlier there had been considerable feeling on the part of several members of Edward's family and some outsiders that he should be sent to "the reform school." At the time of our second study of the boy this had crystalized to a very definite sentiment that there was nothing else to do with him, and our recommendations were met by much opposition on the part of most of those concerned, some of whom said he clearly displayed hardened criminal tendencies. But our summary, with the later additions, was taken by the friendly teacher back to the judge and he volunteered to find a place on a farm for the boy until this woman could get an agency to work on the case and find a more permanent home for him. A child placing agency, well known for its good work, which has its office in a large city near the town where Edward lived willingly took charge of the case, but they knew at once that it would be difficult to find just the right sort of a home for him.

The farm on which Edward was placed belonged to a friend of the judge and was some twenty miles distant from their town. The boy at once took hold there very well indeed and the people on the place were delighted with him. They found him helpful, pleasant, and reliable. It was thought too late to enter him in a new school, so he helped about the farm and received not only his board but a small amount of pay, this being an arrangement that the judge had made in order that the boy might have some spending money. There were some other young fellows of not very high calibre on the farm and Edward refused to go with them to the town, particularly to the "movies." To his visitor he said that he wanted to stop going to anything which would remind him of his old habits of life. He seemed rather sad as he spoke of the past, almost tearful, and said a number of times that he hoped that there would be no reason for people to believe he did not mean to change his ways. The other fellows smoked there, but Edward did not. He talked much of the possibilities of becoming a farmer, saying he wished never to return to school. He enjoyed the games that went on at the farm during the summer and was active in them. But he also spoke with enthusiasm of the day's work. Altogether the visitor was highly pleased with the boy's attitude.

(It was early in this period while the boy was at the farm that on a trip to Boston the mother came in for a little while to see us and gave us some bits of information which we have noted in the main study of the case. While refusing at first to believe that it could have been an influence on Edward, Mrs. S. acknowledged the circumstances of her stealing of which he had told us. She didn't even know that he saw the episode or knew of her stealing at any time. She argued that his stealing preceded the affair in the store, but figuring the dates with us she herself came to see that his statements about this were correct. Of course we urged her to talk it out with the boy soon and explained to her the importance of this for his welfare.)

During the two months that he remained in this home before the agency found a more permanent place for him, Edward is not known to have stolen anything. It was thought he rummaged through some drawers, but there would have been opportunities for him to have taken money, which he did not, as far as known.

His visitor, a man who commands a great deal of respect, undertook, during this period to make the mother frankly discuss the situation with Edward. She promised to go to see him and talk over her own life with him, but she never did so. She seemed to the visitor "to merit all the descriptions of negativeness and weakness given of her" by her family. It was hard to stir her feelings, although she seemed frank. She said that she had never been very intimate with the boy, nor had she known anything of the workings of his mind during the last few years. "She seemed flattered by the idea that he is fond of her, but is surprised at it and says that it must be instinct." Learning that the boy was earning money she decided that the farm was just the right place for him.

First Foster Home

(May 1921) The place then found for Edward by the agency promised to be very fine. It was a well-kept farm in southeastern Massachusetts, conducted by two young men, the mother of one of whom kept house. They were jolly fellows, interested in fun, and it was hoped that they would be companionable with Edward, who was to earn his way there but not to be paid until he proved himself worth wages. His visitor took him there, Edward being rather reluctant to leave the farm where he had been earning and where he had been so well contented. He soon wrote that he was not happy; he was dissatisfied without pay; he was lonesome, and he did not have enough to do to keep him busy. During the three months that he remained there it was reported that he was smoking on the sly, rummaging, and that he repeatedly stole small articles such as a jacknife, a safety razor, and a match safe. His visitor, who had been steadily writing to him urging him to try to get along, went up to spend a week-end with him. He brought the boy back with him feeling that his complaints were at least partly justified. The men went often to the grange dances, talked much of girls, and while entirely pleasant had made no effort to win the boy's confidences nor had they planned his daily occupations. The woman was kind but showed little personal interest in Edward and he never talked to her of himself or of his problems. He was alone and idle much.

Second Temporary Placing

(Aug. 1921) Edward went back to his grandmother, but he showed his old attitude there; so that it was decided that he had better not stay at home even for a short time, and he was transferred to a temporary home in the town where the agency had its headquarters. A proper farm home proved very difficult to find at this season of the year and Edward was kept in the city much longer than had been anticipated. At first he was entirely idle because, expecting to stay only a short time, he neither went to school nor worked regularly. He did odd jobs for the

neighbors and with the money which he thus earned, he went to see his mother who was not very far away, sometimes two or three times a week. The foster mother was not a very intelligent woman and it was not expected that she would be able to give Edward any personal help. The man visitor tried to see the boy fairly often, but of course he had not a great deal of time to give to him.

When, however, he found that Edward had again been stealing several times in this foster home, he decided to go with the boy on one of his visits to his mother and have the situation faced plainly. Besides, the mother had not attempted to live up to any obligation, she having earlier promised to contribute towards the boy's board until he was again placed and earning his way. At this interview it was the visitor who had to tell the boy that his mother was sorry for the past and anxious for him to earn a good reputation, she only weakly acquiescing by monosyllabic responses or by silence.

After this interview the visitor redoubled his efforts to fill the boy's evenings, at least, by bringing him books to read or going with him to entertainments. And Edward did somewhat better, although he stole again small amounts on several occasions and remained away from the house all day. He continued to visit his mother. He was unreliable in keeping appointments with the visitor, although when they were together he tried to joke and seemed on the whole somewhat happier than he had been earlier. Finally, about four months after he came to the city, a farm home was found that seemed promising. Edward was most anxious to get back to the country. Before he went it was told him that if he failed in this home, commitment to the institution would have to be very seriously considered. Commitment had been discussed with us when it was found Edward had been stealing in foster homes. Each time we made the point that he had not yet been tried under the right conditions and that the institution was not fitted to help him. The visitor accompanied the boy on a trip to tell his mother good-by and was much struck by the casual manner in which they left each other. Then Edward and he went up to the new home.

Second Foster Home

(Dec. 1921) It was a large farm near the Catskills owned by a Mr. and Mrs. B., both of whom seemed very kind, wholesome people. They had no children and were eager for a boy to help about the place, but also to be companionable with them. The boy met Mr. and Mrs. B. pleasantly, while they greeted him with evidences of cordiality. They were told to keep him thoroughly occupied and also, but not in the boy's presence, they were asked not to put temptation to steal in his way.

Their first letter stated that they liked Edward. He was polite, cleanly, and did thoroughly the jobs assigned, but he frequently was sulky, was hard to make friends with, and particularly after he received letters from his mother he was very disagreeable. Mr. B. wrote that his wife felt badly because she tried so hard to be nice to the boy and win him and she met with so little response. Edward's visitor urged the boy to write frankly to him how he liked the place and Edward

responded by letter to the visitor and to us, saying that the farm was fine, he liked the work, but he was discontented because he was receiving only a dollar a week pay while doing a man's job and his mother was writing that she was receiving bills. She wrote him that she felt she ought not to be paying for him, she couldn't afford to do so, and he thought that he was working hard enough not only to be independent but earning money. The visitor then went up to see the B's. who talked the matter out and agreed that the boy should have more money. Following this Edward showed a much better spirit, and when summer came and there was much work for him to do, Mr. B. increased his pay to twenty dollars a month.

By this time the reports about Edward were very good. Indeed there were no complaints; he had not stolen once since being in this home, and the B's. wrote that they trusted him absolutely. Six months after he was first placed there his visitor again spent a week-end with him; his notes concerning this visit say, "Found a different looking boy, both physically and in facial expression. He has been growing very fast, is now 5 ft. 8 in ., weight 130 lbs. He is able to do lots of hard, strenuous work. Talked to Mrs. B. alone before seeing Edward; she very enthusiastically told of different things which had recently taken place. On a certain day a few weeks ago, which day Mrs. B. treasures, Edward asked her if he could talk alone with her. At that time he told her a great deal about his past life; he said he had never known what it was to have a real mother. His mother had not given him the care that an average mother would give a son. He told her many facts connected with his stealing. After hearing this story Mrs. B. told him that while he was on the farm she would take his mother's place as far as possible and hoped that he would feel that she was always anxious to do everything possible to help him. And in return for giving him her love she asked him to promise that he would do nothing which he thought she would not wish him to do. Very seriously the boy said, "By God, I will promise." Since that time Mrs. B. and he have had many similar talks. He seems anxious to confide in her and comes to her with any thing that bothers him. Mrs. B. told visitor that she could not care any more for an own son. She trusts him implicitly and makes him feel that she has confidence in him. Family now leave money about where boy cannot help but see it and he has been absolutely honest. He does errands in the town for the family and always brings back the correct change. He has never taken a thing in the house that does not belong to him. He asked Mrs. B. if she would not give him one of her pictures to keep in his room. He calls her his "Ambition." Recently he bought her a chain and pendant, saying it was a birthday present, although her birthday was weeks off. He never returns from town without bringing her some slight token."

Mr. B. likes the boy also, although he is not on such confidential terms with him. They work together and in the evenings they read and discuss the daily papers.

Edward himself is no longer self-centered, and from seeming to have no interest in life he has become interested in all that goes on about him. He has just begun a correspondence course in scientific farming

and his papers come back with extremely good comments and grades. He has bought himself new clothes and has saved quite a bit of money. He says he looks forward to spending the coming winter on the farm. He smokes but has been encouraged to do this openly. He receives letters from his grandmother and aunts and at present is hearing only seldom from his mother, although twice she has asked him to send her money. He talked this matter over with Mrs. B. and together they decided it was wisest for him not to do so. The boy himself said she hadn't given him help when he needed it, and now he thinks he had better save his money for his own future.

Edward has remained with Mr. and Mrs. B. up to the present. He has steadily done well. Not a single serious complaint has been received about him; not once has he stolen; his sulky spells have practically disappeared. Mr. and Mrs. B. and he all feel that he belongs on the farm. Mr. B., because he has been unable to pay him as much as he should be earning, has encouraged him to do some work on neighboring farms, and in this way Edward has earned quite a bit of money, which he is saving in order, he says, that he may perhaps be able later to purchase a farm for himself. The only difficulty in the situation has been due to his mother. As Edward has succeeded better and better she writes less kindly letters, frequently threatening that if he does not send her money or do what she wishes she will take him away from this home. Sometimes she has written that the B's. pretend to be fond of him but are keeping him there to get what they can out of him. The visitor who has had several conferences with her, endeavoring to appeal to her better self and asking her to help rather than hinder the boy, feels that in spite of her unwillingness to change her life for Edward's sake she, nevertheless, is jealous of Mrs. B., and resents her influence.

FOOTNOTE OF DISCUSSION

This Subsequent History in its record of fact and its implications is worthy of a lengthy discussion. Wise readers will find in it much to reflect upon. We offer here only a few of the points that are most salient:

The change in the boy through the influence of Mrs. B. is very remarkable, not so much because his delinquency has ceased as that there has been such a change in personality trends. Her accomplishment is inspiring.

It is a convincing demonstration of what a foster home may bring about. In a year and a half Mrs. B. has done what his good relatives failed to do in many years of effort.

It is clear that it was not merely a good home and the ordinary pleasures of boyhool, or even family affection other than parental, that the boy needed. Nor was the companionship of wholesome men, such as he found in his first foster home, sufficient.

What he has all along needed, we see it now proved, is a mother substitute.

His relatives, even the good women among them, were so handicapped

by circumstances that they could not succeed in taking the place of his mother. Mrs. B. has had the great advantage of being free from relationship with any member of his family.

In this case, discovery and exploration was the first step in treatment. Faith in the diagnosis was the next step. But patience, too, was required to carry on the treatment in the face of discouragement.

There is no reason to disbelieve that if a satisfying family relationship could have been built up earlier, either in the boy's own home or through earlier placing, Edward long before would have ceased his delinquent trends. Nor is there reason to disbelieve that many another case of similar import could not be as successfully handled.

FINAL COMMENT

This last case has been selected not merely because it is in itself interesting or because it has been successful. Serving as an illustration for some generalizations it has still greater value.

There are delinquents who baffle all who attempt to understand and deal with them until it is discovered that there is underlying their misconduct some "sore spot." Then there is successful outcome only when the soreness is alleviated and substitutive satisfaction is found.

We have observed a number of delinquent careers, some definitely criminalistic over long periods, developed on the basis of a grudge or an anti-social attitude that has followed repressed, childhood experiences, experiences that have left a wound, often deepened by blundering treatment at the hand of authority.

Like this boy, such individuals are not infrequently misjudged; called, as he was, hardened and of thoroughly criminal tendencies.

Had he undergone such treatment as many of them have, he, too, might very conceivably have plunged further into a criminalistic career that would have seemed unaccountable, purposeless, directly self-injurious.

But, following diagnosis, judge, social agency, visitor, foster mother, by their enlightened efforts, patience, and fine spirit, effected what will probably be a permanent cure.

The case preceding this, by reason of its failure, this case, by virtue of its success, each and in contrast is a challenge for a point of view in the field of delinquency. Comparing the two, we are led to a renewal of conviction of values accruing from study of the delinquent until the underlying cause of misconduct is made clear and treatment determined in the light of causation.

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